

London Printed for Ric. Chiswell. 1683.

ECCLESIASTICI:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Lives, Death, & Acts, Writings,

Of the most Eminent
Fathers of the Church,

That Flourisht in the
FOURTH CENTURY.

WHEREIN

Among other things an Account is given of the Rise, Growth, and Progress of **ARIANISM**, and all other **SECTS** of that **AGE** descending from it.

Together with An

INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

An Historical Account of the State of **PAGANISM** Under the First *Christian Emperours*.

By **WILLIAM CAVE, D.D.**
Chaplain in Ordinary to His **MAJESTY.**

Greg. Nazianz. Orat. XXI. p. 376.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλος ἔσται, ὡς ἀγαλλεῖ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδὼν βίαις τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμετέρων· τὰ δὲ ἐν τοιαύτῃ διακρίσει
αὐτῇ παρατηρήσει.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *J. R.* for Richard Chiswell at the *Rose and Crown* in
S. Paul's Church-Yard. MDC LXXXIII.

TO THE
Most Reverend *FATHER* in GOD
WILLIAM,
By Divine Providence,
Lord ARCH-BISHOP of *Canterbury*,
Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan,
And one of the Lords of His MAJESTIES
Most Honourable
PRIVY-COUNCIL.

May it please your GRACE,



O Pardon the Presumption of sending abroad the following Papers under the Patronage of your Name. Not that by the advantage of your Graces Authority I design to cover any Mistakes or Failures that are in them ; or that I think any Authority, how great soever, can protect even the most usefull and innocent Undertaking from the Censures of the Envious and the Malicious : But that I should esteem it a singular Honour and Privilege to have them own'd by a Person, who by his excellent Learning is as able, as by his Place he is oblig'd to defend those Great *Catholic* and *Apostolic* Truths, whose hard lot and portion is Historically represented in the following

lowing Book. The Doctrines, I mean, of the holy and undivided Trinity, and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, together with the appendant Articles, so vigorously persecuted in the Age we write of, and now again oppos'd in the Age we live in.

Nor is this the only instance, wherein the Church needs your Graces Learning, and wise Conduct; no less now, than it did that of *Athanasius*, *Basil*, or *Ambrose* of old. Our Times, like theirs, are troublesome and unquiet, full of disorder and distraction on every side. The common Laws of Charity are broken down; and Religion, in it self the strongest Principle of Peace and Unity, is made the Instrument of Feud and Faction, and of a bitter and intemperate Zeal. The Church of *England*, incomparably the best Part of the Catholic Church at this day visible upon Earth, is miserably torn in pieces, hated and malign'd; secretly undermin'd by Enemies from abroad, and openly assaulted by pretended Friends at home. *Altar* is erected against *Altar*, and private Congregations kept up in opposition to the publick Constitutions. Her Liturgy and Forms of Divine Administration derided, odiously traduc'd, and run down with nothing but Noise and Clamour. Her Rites and Institutions, though the same that were used in the Primitive Ages of Christianity, decried as Antichristian. Her Discipline and

Autho-

Authority weakned, and by the obstinacy and perverseness of Men made ineffectual. The small remains of Her Endowments (the Monuments of the Bounty and Piety of elder Times) envied, and greedily gap'd at by those who again expect and watch for a lucky Revolution of Affairs. Her Governors and regular Clergy reproach'd, belibell'd, and affronted upon all Occasions, though generally for no better reason than doing of their Duty, and daring to be honest in an evil time. And in pursuance of these ill designs, Calumnies are fram'd without any regard to truth and justice; and no arts, how bad or unwarrantable soever, scrupled, that may serve to wound either Her Interest, or Reputation. And as Schism in the Church seldom fails to draw on Faction in the State, we find the same evil Spirit fermenting, and mixing it self with Civil Affairs, and that Character which the Apostle fixt upon the Schismatics of old, too notoriously reviv'd amongst us, to *despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities. Presumptuous are they, and self-willed*, and seem dispos'd quite contrary to the mild and gentle Spirit of the Gospel, to *beat their Plough-shares into Swords, and their Pruning-hookes into Spears*.

This is our case; and as sad was theirs in the Age we are speaking of. The Faith once delivered to the Saints, as the noblest Depositum that could be committed to the

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Church,

Church, and which was secur'd and settled with all the Care, which the Piety of the Great *Constantine* could bestow upon it, was yet not only shaken, but attempted to be pluckt up by the roots, and though Truth can be but one, was broken into a thousand Blasphemies, and lewd Opinions. The Ark of God was tofs'd and driven from place to place, and the honour and interest of the Catholic Church run down with all the force, which an insolent and powerful Faction could raise against it. But I had rather your Grace should take the account of their deplorable state from *Nazianzen's* Pen than Mine. Arianism (says he) *though it began like a little Spark at Alexandria, yet like Wild-fire it quickly overran the World; and however for the present stopt and quench'd by the decisions of the Nicene Council, yet it broke out again in the next Reign, like a Wound slightly cur'd, that opens and runs afresh; when grievous Wolves from several quarters invaded us, and made havock of the Church. Priests were up in Arms against Priests, and one part of the People furiously engaged against another, and under the countenance of the Imperial Authority Laws were made against the Catholic Doctrine, and that too by the procurement of those who were neither Men nor Women, a Generation that govern'd all in that Court. Who can sufficiently represent the Tragical face of things at that time? the Banishments, Confiscations, Disgraces, the Assemblies kept in the Deserts, the vast Multitudes of Persons, yea whole Cities forc'd to sojourn in the Fields, and open Air, and there to contend with*
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*Hunger and Cold, with Wind and Weather, and yet not secure there, the very Wilderness not affording them Safety and Protection; and what is yet more lamentable, the Torments, Deaths, and Triumphs of Bishops, contemplative Ascetics, of Men and Women, and those both young and old. Who can set forth the great Ministers that contriv'd these horrible Actings and Sufferings, and those who studied in this kind to out-do one another, and who had this addition to the honour of their Enterprize, that they far outwent in Cruelty the design of the Prince that employ'd them. And then lightly passing over the Reign of Julian (whereof he had sufficiently spoken elsewhere) he proceeds to describe the Miseries which the Catholics endured in the time of Valens, which I shall not here represent. In short, so Calamitous was the state of those Times, that Religion must have sunk under its Pressures, or been stifled in a crowd of Heresie and Prophaness, had not God rais'd up an extraordinary race of Men, who set themselves to oppose that Impiety and Licentiousness that was become Epidemical, who by their diligent Preaching rescued the Minds of Men from Errour, and by the Learnedness of their Writings, and their great Acumen and dexterity in Disputing contended earnestly for the Faith, baffled and convinc'd Gainsayers; who by the exemplariness of their Lives ballanc'd the iniquity of the Age, and by their Prayers to Heaven arrested that Vengeance that was ready to overtake the World. 'Twas the Patience
and*

and Constancy of *Athanasius*, the Vigour and Activity of *S. Hilary*, the Prudence and Temper of *S. Basil*, the Learning and Eloquence of the *Gregories*, the Courage and Impartiality of *S. Ambrose*, the Zeal and Vehemency of *S. Chrysostom*, that supported the Catholic Cause, while they liv'd, and ever since rendred their Names Venerable to Posterity.

Of all these Matters I have endeavored to give some competent Account in the following Lives; but with what Success and Satisfaction, I know not. May the Work prove so happy, as in any measure to gain your Graces Approbation, (so great a Master in Church-Antiquity) and I shall be less solicitous about others; being well assur'd, I may much trulier say in this case what *Sozomen* told the younger *Theodosius*, (to whom he dedicated his Ecclesiastic History) *Whatever shall seem right and acceptable to you, will certainly appear good and useful to all other Readers; nor will any venture to find fault with what has once past your Graces judgment and examination.* But whatever becomes of the Book it self, if it shall serve to no other purpose, 'twill at least to this, to convey to the World a gratefull Sence of those Favours, wherewith your Grace is pleas'd to oblige

My Lord,

Your Graces most Obedient and Dutiful Servant,

WILLIAM CAVE.

THE

THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.



WO Things there are, whereof 'tis like the Reader will expect some Account in reference to the following Papers; First, Concerning the Work it self; and next, The Materials out of which it is fram'd and built.

The Work contains the Noblest Portion of Church History, this being in many respects the most considerable Age of the Church. For besides what concerns particular Persons, whose Lives and Actions are here related, he will here find an Account of the Fall and Suppression of *Paganism*, the Antient and Universally received Religion of the World; of the Conversion of Princes to the Faith, the Adopting Christianity to be the Religion of the Empire, the Acts and Proceedings of the Two First General Councils, the Advancement of the Church to its greatest height of Splendour, and those lamentable Ruptures, that soon after were made in it by Schism and Faction, by Covetousness and Ambition, and the cunning Craftiness of those that lay in wait to Deceive.

It had pleas'd the Divine Wisdom and Providence, now at length to rescue Christianity from the Cruelties of those Heathen Persecutions, which for some Ages had quartered so heavily upon it, and to raise up a Prince to be a *Nursing Father to the Church*, whose Piety made
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him as willing, as his Power made him able, to protect and defend it. He guarded it with Wise and Prudent Laws, enrich'd it with an immense Bounty and Munificence, honour'd and rever'd its Bishops, encourag'd and nobly provided for its Clergy; demolisht Churches were repair'd, and new ones were erected with all the Pomp and Magnificence, which Cost or Art could bestow upon them; the Solemn Assemblies were mightily frequented, and increas'd by the daily accession of New Converts; the Holy Offices were perform'd with all due Reverence and Devotion, and days of *Jubilee* were kept in every place, in thankfulness to Heaven for so happy a Change and Revolution of Affairs, so blessed a Scene of Prosperity and Safety. It added to the joys of the common triumph, to see *Pagan* Idolatry and Superstition going so fast down the Wind, and every where driven into Holes and Corners. All this the Devil, the great Adversary of Mankind, beheld with an Envious and an Evil eye; and because no longer able to assault the Church by Force and Violence, he resolv'd to attack it by more Secret and Destructive Councils. Hereupon the *Envious Man* betook himself to his old trade of Sowing Tares, stirring up fit Agents and Emisaries to poyson Mens minds with Errour, intending thereby to break the Church into Parties and Factions, and to introduce irreconcilable Feuds and Quarrels, which produc'd Fatal and Mischievous effects, beyond the rage of all the Heathen Persecutions. Nor did these Agents make their onset upon the Out-works of the Faith, but set themselves to undermine the main and Foundation Articles of Christianity; and whereas hitherto the *Gentiles* had exalted Creatures into the place of God, these Factors endeavour'd to dethrone God into the rank of Creatures.

The first that enter'd on the Publick Stage, to set on foot this Design, was *Arius*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, who being a Man of nimble Parts, and a daring Spirit, openly call'd in Question the Catholic Doctrines concerning the Divinity, Eternity, and Coessentiality, of the Son of God, and in opposition thereunto advanc'd quite
contrary

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quite contrary Propositions of his own; which notwithstanding his shuffling Compliances at every turn to serve his Cause, he stiffly maintain'd while he liv'd, and his Disciples and Followers improv'd and carried on after his decease. The growth and progress of whose pernicious Heresie, we have with some Care and Diligence trac'd from its very first Originals, remark'd the several steps and advances which it made, and the evil arts which that subtle and potent Faction made use of to promote and further it. The Account whereof we have chiefly lodg'd in the Life of *Athanasius* (the proper Seat of the *Arian* Story) where if any passages seem but hinted at, or briefly related, they will be found more at large in some of the other Lives, where they more properly fall in. And because from this root of bitterness many poysonous Branches sprang up; we have taken Notice, as they came in our way, of the several subordinate Sects and Heresies, that infested the Church within this Period.

But though all along we have kept an eye to the general Story, yet we have still remember'd what we had more particularly in design, the Lives of the Learned and Excellent Persons of this Age, whose Story we have drawn together, as far as the Records of those Times would enable us, with useful Reflections upon those Divine Graces and Vertues, which rendered them so Exemplary and Conspicuous in their several Stations: Nor have we forgotten, what conduces not a little to clear the Learned part of their Story, to observe the particular Times and Occasions, upon which many of those Books which they have left behind them, were written. If we have not made so particular a *Crisis* and Censure of every single Tract, as some Men perhaps may expect, it was because the thing has been done so often, and to far better purposes by others, than I can pretend to do it. And I had no mind to write *Church-Histories* out of *Binius*, or to present the World with a *View of Antiquity*, by transcribing what *Sculietus*, *Cook*, *Rivet*, &c. what *Possevine*, *Bellarmin*, *Labbee*, &c. have said upon those Arguments. However I hope enough is here said to clear the most
c 2 material

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Be. Abridg. of
Ch. Hist. ch. 5.
sect. 17. p. 92.
Treat. of E-
pisc. p. 1. ch.
14. p. 169.

material Cases, and that their Works are set in such a Light, as will let the World see, how unjust and unfcho- lar-like that Censure is, which a *Hater of false History* has past upon the Primitive Fathers, and usher'd in with a, *'Tis past all doubt, that the Number of Learned Bishops among them was very rare; and that there are many Poor men among us, divers Weavers and Plough-men of his own Church at Kidder-minster, who are able not only to Pray and Teach, as well as most of those, who are by Eusebius extoll'd as the Famous Bishops of the Second and Third Age, but to Write as methodical, pious, weighty Tractates, as any that were Written by men that neither convers'd with the Apostles, nor had been bred up in Philosophy; no not excepting Clemens Romanus himself, Ignatius, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Macarius, Ephrem Syrus, Synesius, Isidor Pelusiota, and many more; and that he could name many Laymen not only Learned, but such as have neither had many Languages nor Philosophy, who have Written more Accurately, and Judiciously, and as Piously, as any of these.*

If it shall seem strange to any, that so Learned and Busy an Age of the Church should afford Materials but for Nine Lives (for no more were at first drawn up) that wonder will cease when it is consider'd, that the Story of these Persons is very Large and Comprehensive, and gathers in the Account of most others of Note, which of themselves were not enough to fill up distinct single Lives. However these Papers lying a long time by me, gave me an opportunity to look back upon the Story of this Age, and to gather up the scatter'd and imperfect Memoirs, that were left behind; which accordingly I pickt up, and put together, and have thrown into an *Appendix* at the end of the Book. I might indeed have taken the advantage of the Lives of *S. Augustine, Jerom,* and some others; but their Story runs too far out into the following *Saeculum*, to be properly brought within the compass of this. Besides that, I was sensible that the Volume was already swell'd into too great a bulk, and indeed much greater than I either desired, or intended. And because I had elsewhere observ'd the Methods, by which Christianity had prevail'd in the World, during the

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the times of the Heathen Emperours, I now thought good to premise an Historical Survey of the state of *Paganism* under the Reign of the First Christian Emperours; though not with that Latitude which the Subject may seem capable of; remembering I wrote not an History but an *Introduction*. I know not whether the Reader may expect to find more particular Accounts of some things relating to the Reign of *Julian* (of late so hotly contested among us.) But besides my natural avernness to Controversie, this *Introduction* was not only Written, but Printed some Months before ever the Dispute was started concerning *Julian*, which has made so much noise amongst us. If the Reader shall meet with any Passages in the body of the Book, which may more properly seem to challenge a place in the Introduction, he may please to take notice, that this last was a Piece of a later date, done after the other was completed. A good part of the Accounts relating to this affair, I have borrowed from the Imperial Laws of those times; for adjusting the dates, and ascertaining the true meaning of many of which, I own my self oblig'd to the Learned *Monsieur Gothofred*, in his elaborate Commentaries on the *Theodosian Code*. The same Author has a small Tract under this Title, *De Statu Paganorum*, &c. but which upon view, as these Papers were going to the Press, I found to be nothing but short Notes, which he afterwards publisht more at large in his Comment on the *Tenth Title* of the last Book of the fore-mentioned *Code*, viz. the Title *de Paganis, Sacrificiis, & Templis*. And pity it is that that Title is so defective, the Laws of Five several Emperours, relating to these matters, viz. *Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian*, for the space of no less than Five and twenty Years (the full fourth part of the *Saeculum*) being utterly lost.

Such is the Work we have here built up. Come we next to the Authors, that furnisht out Materials for it. And herein I have constantly observ'd this Method. In the first place I alwaies had recourse to the Works of that Person, whose Life I design'd to write, as which were likeliest to afford the most certain and satisfactory Account of things. And herein none serv'd me to better purpose

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purpose, than the Writings of *Athanasius*, who is most punctual and accurate in setting down all the important Affairs and Passages of his own Life, and indeed in recording the general Story of those Times. And it could not but seem strange to me, as I suppose it will do to others, that the Church Historians, *Socrates*, &c. who trade so much in his Writings, have yet so wofully perplexed and entangled his Affairs, even in those things which in *Athanasius* himself are very plain and easy. And here by the way, I cannot but bewail the unhappy Fate of this Great mans Writings, (and indeed of most of the *Greek* Fathers) that they are generally so ill translated, as must very often unavoidably mislead those that are forc'd to depend upon them. Of the truth whereof, were there no other, *Baronius* is a notorious instance. Next, I betook my self to those who liv'd at the same time with them, or at no great distance from them, and from them pickt up such Historical Remarks as might be most usefull to my purpose; especially such who had written the Lives of any of the Antients, that liv'd not long before them. Last of all, I apply'd my self to the Ecclesiastical Historians; the chief whereof (setting aside *Eusebius*, of whom elsewhere, and a small part of whose History relates to this period) are Four, all Writing much about the same time, viz. *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodorit*, and *Philostorgius*.

Socrates was born at *Constantinople*, probably about the beginning of the Reign of *Theodosius*, educated under two Famous Masters, *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, who having fled from *Alexandria*, had open'd a Grammar-School in the Imperial City. Being grown up, he turn'd Advocate, (thence term'd *Scholasticus*) and pleaded Causes. In his declining Age, he set himself to write the History of the Church, which he dispatcht in Seven Books, beginning where *Eusebius* left, and ending Anno CCCXXXIX. A Work designedly written in a plain style, but with singular Industry and Fidelity, and which he review'd and corrected more than once. Nor did he trade in flying Reports, the Accounts he gives being either of such things as himself had seen, or had

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receiv'd from credible Eye-witnesses, or transcribed from Records of unquestionable Authority. As to his Religion he was a Catholic, for though some Passages in his History look favourably upon the *Novatians*, yet they are not sufficient to evince him to have been of that side.

Sozomen was descended of Ancestors that were of *Palæstine* extraction, he studied the Law at *Berytus*, the University of the *Roman* Laws. And thence betook himself to the practick part of them, viz. to plead Causes at *Constantinople*. During this employment he set upon Writing an Ecclesiastical History, which he began from the Birth of Christ, and brought down to the deposing of *Licinius*. But this 'tis like was nothing but a Compendium of *Eusebius's* History, and is long since lost. Hence he carried it on through the Reigns of the several Emperours, 'till the times of the younger *Theodosius*, to whom he Dedicated it. His Style is even, and very agreeable to his Subject, wherein he goes as far beyond *Socrates*, as he falls short of him in judgment and accuracy. They both liv'd at the same time, and it admits of some debate which of them Wrote first; but there are some circumstances that adjudge the precedency to *Socrates*; and this not the least, that *Sozomen* frequently adds to, and enlarges the others Relations and Accounts of things.

The next that succeeds is *Theodorit*, born at or near *Antioch* in *Syria*, devoted by his Parents to a very strict and devout Life; and accordingly brought up under great Severity of Discipline, especially under the Care and Tutorage of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*. Preferr'd afterwards to the Bishoprick of *Cyrrus*, a City built by the *Jews* in honour of *Cyrus*, the great *Persian* Prince. A Man of excellent Learning, and admirable Parts, among the many Monuments whereof, which he has transmitted to Posterity, his Ecclesiastical History is not least considerable; consisting of Five Books (though there are that say he writ as many more) which he publisht not till some time after those that had writ before him, whose Defects and Omissions he design'd to

to supply, especially as to the Church Affairs of the *Eastern* parts, where himself liv'd. His Style and way of Writing is highly commended by the incomparable *Photius*, as more polish'd, clear, and equal, and every ways adapted to an Historical strain.

Contemporary with the rest was *Philostorgius*, a *Capadocian*, the Son of *Carterius*, and *Eulampia*, born about the Year CCCLXVIII. At twenty Years of Age he came to *Constantinople*, to accomplish his Studies, and attain'd to a great Proficiency in all the polite, as well as usefull parts, both of Secular and Sacred Learning. As to his Religion he was an *Arian*, and that of the worst stamp, an *Eunomian*, as also his Parents were before him. He wrote an History of the Church from the rise of *Arius*, till about the Year CCCCXXV. which he digested into XII. Books, with this peculiar contrivance, that the first Letter of every Book, being taken in order, and put together, ingeniously expresses the Author's Name. Though his Style be generally very neat and good, yet his Accounts are intolerably partial; his design throughout the whole being to expose the Catholics, and to vindicate the *Arians*, especially *Aetius* and *Eunomius*, making all his Relations look in favour of them. So that as *Photius* well observes, his Book seems rather a Panegyrick upon Heresie, than an Ecclesiastical History. For which reason he cannot safely be trusted in those things, wherein the interests of *Arianism*, but especially *Eunomianism*, are particularly concern'd. His History has either miscarried, or has not yet seen the light; only the large *excerpta*, which *Photius* long since made out of it, are still preserv'd, and were first publish'd with an usefull Comment by that Learned *French* Lawyer *Jacobus Gorhofredus*, whom we mention'd before. In short, the Authorities of the Antients, which we rely upon, are generally Authentick, and unquestionable, and need no suffrages to support their Credit.

As for Writers of a modern and later date, we have made little use of them, especially such as have particularly dealt in this way of writing Lives. I know the Lives of several of these Fathers have of late times been
written

written in *French*. But besides that, my unacquaintedness with that Language had kept me from knowing what they had done in that kind, their lax and diffuse way of writing Lives made me less curious and solicitous in enquiring after it. Whether herein I have done Well or Ill, I know not; sure I am, I have gratified my own Inclinations. For it being my design to derive the notices of things immediately from the Fountain head, I thought it to little purpose to go so great away about, for what I must come to at last. I have but one thing more, and that is to request the Learned Reader, that if he chance to meet with any material Mistakes, besides those that lie at the Printers door, he would please to drop a soft and favorable Censure, considering that the Work is large, and the searches that were to be made Diffuse and Various, and which necessarily drew such an hurry of thoughts along with them, as perhaps might not always leave Consideration at home, minutely to weigh every thing in an exact ballance. Not that I am conscious to my self of having been wanting in any Point, either of Fidelity or Care, but that after all, I dare not confidently secure my self from Error. If the Reader shall be at any time at a loss in Circumstances that relate to time, I desire him to consult the *Chronological Table*, which I have added at the end of the Book.

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The Division of the Empire among the three Sons of Constantine. Their care to advance the Christian, and to suppress the Pagan Religion. Pro-
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vision

ERRATA.

Though all due Care was taken in correcting the Sheets from the Press; yet, through the negligence of others, several Errors have escap'd, which the Reader is desir'd thus to amend.

INTROD. p. 12. l. 5. r. 25th. p. 23. l. 1. after, stood, add (*as some affirm*) 24. 19. r. Febr. the 14th. 39. 49. r. for all. 45. 38. r. Schoolmaster. 52. 4. r. παραβολῆς. 59. 4. r. May the 2d. 63. 21. del. the Parenthesis and what is in it.

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APPEND. p. 5. l. 25. r. *man*. 32. 14. for, 30. r. *three*, (which place, upon second thoughts, I conceive relates to the number of the *sixes*, Lines or Verses, that were contained in his whole Works.) *ib*. l. 25. for, *world*, r. *light*. p. 35. l. 35. del. *and*. 47. 42. r. *Simplicium*. col. 2. l. 23. r. *restione*. N. B. A Passage concerning *drus* p. 75. is again made use of p. 89. occasioned by following *S. crates*.

Whereas in P. 248. it is said from S. Basil, that Hermogenes was Bishop of Caesarea at the time of the Nocene Council; the Reader is not to understand it (as otherwise he will be apt to do, and Baronius so far took for granted, as to affirm, S. Basil had mistaken, and forgot himself, *Ann*. 325. N. 33.) of the Great Csesarea in Cappadocia (for Leonius was at that time Bishop of that See, as we have noted from Naz. p. 273. and is generally granted) but rather of another Csesarea in Armenia minor, mentioned by Pliu. l. 6. c. 8. p. 91. and that as distinct from the Cappadocian Csesarea, *ib*. c. 3. and whoever carefully considers S. Basil's account, will think it not only probable, but beyond all peradventure.

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A N INTRODUCTION: CONTAINING AN Historical Account Of the STATE of P A G A N I S M UNDER THE FIRST Christian Emperours.

S E C T. I.
The State of Paganism under the Reign of
C O N S T A N T I N E the Great.



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I.



Y what means and methods the Christian Religion made its own way into the world, and unassisted by any Secular Power or Interest, triumpht over all the opposition that was made against it, has been considered in another place. The subject of this Discourse will be to observe by what degrees Paganism, that part of it especially that was the public and standing Religion of the Roman Empire, a Reli-

gion that for so many Ages had influenc'd the Minds of Men, and seem'd firmly rooted by Custom, Laws, and an inveterate prefeription, was driven into corners, and in effect banisht out of the World. The main of the Story lies within the compass of the Age we write of, and being a Subject both pleasant in it self, and that which will reflect no mean Light upon several passages in the following Lives, it will not, I conceive, be unuseful here to lay it all together. The account whereof we shall briefly deduce from the time that the Empire became Christian.

II. CONSTANTINE the Great was born in Britain, as all impartial Writers, not bias'd either by Envy at ours, or by a Concernment for the Honour of their own Country, are willing to allow. A thing own'd by some, not contradicted by any Writer of that Age, asserted by the very Orator^a in the Congratulatory Oration that he made to him. His Father Constantius, a wise, merciful, and vertuous Prince, died at York on the 25th of July, Ann. Chr. CCCVI. His Son Constantine had for some years resided in the Court of Diocletian, and after in that of Galerius Maximian in the East, where he was kept as an honour-

^a Paneg. Maxim. & Constant. dil. p. 3.

able Pledge, and as a check and restraint upon his Father. Galerius hated the Father, and was jealous of the Son, whom he would have taken off by a violent death, had he not fear'd the Army, to whom he knew Constantine was very dear. He fought therefore under pretence of Sports and martial Exercises to have dispatch'd him out of the way; but the Divine Providence still brought him off. His Father had often sent for him, and had as oft been delay'd. And now again in his Sickness had renew'd his Importunity, till Galerius asham'd any longer to deny so reasonable a request, gave him a Warrant under Seal to be gone, intending nothing less, but that by some device he would stop his Journey, and therefore willed him to come to him again the next Morning to receive his final Instructions and Commands. But no sooner was the Emperour gone to bed, but Constantine immediately took Horse, and at every Stage where he came, besides those few he made use of, he ham-string'd all the Post-Horses that he left behind him. The next day Galerius call'd for him, but was told, That he was gone the night before: He gave order to go after him, and when he understood that all the Post-Horses were disabled, he burst out into an equal passion of Rage and Grief. Constantine in the mean while made hast, and arriv'd at York four days before his Father died. Upon whose decease, and by whose Last-Will he succeeded in the Western Empire, unanimously saluted by the joyful Acclamations of the Army, and readily submitted to by the Western Provinces. His Image, as was customary upon the advancement of a new Emperour, being publicly exhibited at Rome, provok'd the Ambition of Maxentius, Son of Maximianus Hercules, who had resign'd the Empire to Constantius, who looking upon himself as having a better Right, and every way as fit for Government, by the help of some great Officers, whom he gain'd to his Party, usurp'd the Empire, tho he paid dear for it a few years after.

III. CONSTANTINE having solemniz'd his Father's Funerals, and settled his Affairs in Britain, pass'd over with his Army into Gaul, where he resided the six first years of his Reign, all which time he continued in the Gentile Religion; but that, as Zonaras^d adds, he should at the solicitation of his Wife Fausta, Daughter of the Emperour Maximian, who stirr'd him up to a zealous Vindication of Pagan Idolatry, persecute the Christians, is, I believe, merely a conjecture of his own, unwarranted by the Authority of any ancient Writer. He contented himself as yet with the name of Cæsar, not presently assuming the Title of Augustus or Emperour, expecting the Senior Emperour should have sent him that Title; but in vain: For no sooner was his Image wreath'd with the Imperial Laurel presented to Galerius, but he was resolv'd to have thrown both it and the Messenger into the Fire, had not his Friends upon wise considerations over-ru'd his Anger. That therefore he might seem to do voluntarily what he could not help, he sent him the Purple, but withall made Severus Emperour, and gave him only the Title of Cæsar. But Constantine stood in no need of his Approbation to confirm his Title; his Fathers declar'd Will^e for his Succession, and the Universal Consent, both of the Army, and the whole West, put his Right beyond dispute. Besides, Maximianus Hercules, who, together with Diocletian, had some years since laid down the Purple, did now again endeavour to resume it, and upon some ill suc-

^b Lactant. de morib. persec. c. 24. p. 47. Edu. Oxon. Vid. Zosim. l. 2. p. 572. Aur. Victor. Cæsar. c. 40. p. 310.

^c Zosim. l. 2. p. 672.

^d Annal. Tom. III. p. 3.

^e Panegyr. sub sup. LaB. ibid. c. 25. p. 49.

^f Vid. Emmer. Paneg. Constant. dil. p. m. 93.

cess of his Affairs fled into *Gaul* to *Constantine*, to whom he gave the Title of *Augustus*, together with his Daughter *Fausta* to Wife into the bargain. Here *Constantine* govern'd with great success, till hearing from all hands of the intolerable Outrages^a and Insolencies committed by *Maxentius* at *Rome*, and solicited^b by an Embassy sent to him for that purpose from the Senate and People of that City, he took up a resolution worthy of so great a mind, to march against him, and free the City from the Tyranny and Extravagancies of that Usurper. No sooner was he engag'd in this Expedition, but like a prudent and good Man he began to think of some assistance beyond the meer strength and courage of his Army, and knowing there was great variety of Deities at that time worship'd in the World, his first care was, which of these to pitch upon, and implore as his Protector and tutelar Guardian. He observ'd the fatal miscarriages of his Predecessors, that had stickled hard for a multiplicity of Gods, had repos'd entire confidence in their assistance, and courted their favour by all the formal and fond Rites of Worship; notwithstanding all which, their Wars had been generally improperous, and they themselves brought to unfortunate and untimely ends: On the contrary, that his Father had acknowledged and ador'd one only God, and him the supreme Governour of the World, who had strangely succeeded his Undertakings, and given him many illustrious Instances of a Divine Power and Goodness through the whole Series of his Life; so thereupon he grew to this Resolution, to lay aside the vulgar Deities, who 'tis plain did but pretend to Divinity, and cheat the World, and to adhere only to the God of his Father; to whom therefore he address'd himself, beseeching him to make himself known to him, and effectually to assist him in this expedition. And Heaven heard his Prayer, and answered it in a most miraculous manner, so wonderful, that *Eusebius*, who reports it, grants, it would not have been credible, if he had not had it from *Constantine's* own mouth, who solemnly ratified the truth of it with his Oath. The Army was upon their march, and the Emperour taken up with these devout Ejaculations, when the Sun declining, (about three of the Clock, as 'tis probable, in the Afternoon) there suddenly appear'd a Pillar of Light in the Heavens in the fashion of a Cross, whereon (or as others, about it) was this Inscription (in *Latin* say some, but *Eusebius* mentions not that) express'd in Letters form'd by a configuration of Stars, (if what *Philostorgius*,ⁱ and some others report, be true) ΤΟΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, *In this Overcome*. *Constantine* was not a little startled at this sight, and so was the whole Army that beheld it; and 'tis plain, the Commanders and Officers, prompted by their *Auspices*, look'd upon it as an inauspicious *Omen*, portending a very unfortunate Expedition. The Emperour himself knew not what to make of it, musing upon it all that Evening: At Night our Lord appeared to him in a Dream with the Cross in his hand, which he had shew'd him the day before, commanding him to make a Royal Standard like that which he had seen in the Heavens, and cause it to be born before him in his Wars as an Ensign of Victory and Safety. Early the next Morning he got up, and told his Friends what had happen'd, and sending immediately for Workmen, sat down by them, and describ'd to them the form of the thing, which he commanded them to make with the most exquisite Artifice and Magnificence, and they

^a *Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 1. c. 26. 27. &c. p. 420. &c.*
^b *Zonar. ibid.*

ⁱ *H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 6. p. 459. Zonar. loc. cit.*

Vid. etiam La. Har. ibid. c. 44. p. 79.

they made it accordingly after this manner: A long Spear plated over with Gold, with a Traverse piece at the top a little Oblique, in the fashion of a Cross; to this Cross-piece was fasten'd a four-square Curtain of purple, embroider'd and beset with Gold and precious Stones, which reflected a most amazing lustre, and towards the top of it were pictur'd the Emperour in the midst of his Sons. On the top of the shaft above the Cross stood a Crown overlaid with Gold and Jewels, within which were plac'd the sacred Symbol, *viz.* the two first Letters of Christ's name in *Greek*, X and P, the one being struck through the other as in the Margin. This Device he afterwards wore in his Shields, as not only *Eusebius* tells us, but is evident by some of his Coins extant at this day. This Imperial Standard in all his Wars was carried before him; and my Author assures us, he had often seen it. And in imitation of this he caus'd Banners (which they call'd *Labara*) to be made for the rest of the Army, continued by his Christian Successors, tho not always keeping exactly to the same form. 'Tis true, the Gentile Writers make no express mention of this apparition of the Cross, nor is it reasonable to expect they should: But this they confess, which they say was a currant and uncontradicted report in the mouth of all, that before this Engagement an Army in the Air was seen to come down from Heaven, persons of great strength and stature, with vigorous and chearful looks, and bright flaming Armour, who were heard to say, *We seek for Constantine, we are come to assist him*; as the Heathen Orator^k tells us in that very Oration, wherein he congratulated the Victory.

IV. *CONSTANTINE* had a mighty curiosity to be farther instructed in these Divine significations, and therefore calling for some Christian Bishops, ask'd them, who this God was, and what he meant by this sign. They told him, the person that had done this was the only-begotten Son of the one only God; the Sign that had appear'd to him was the Symbol of Immortality, and the Trophy of that Victory, which this God while he was upon Earth, had gain'd over Death: They explain'd to him the reasons of his coming down from Heaven, and the state of his Incarnation, and undertaking the cause of Mankind. He heard their Discourses with great pleasure and satisfaction, but kept himself upon the reserve, like a wary and prudent Man, not giving too much way at first; he oft compar'd the heavenly Vision with what they had discours'd to him upon that Argument, and the more he did so, the more he was satisfied, not doubting but that in due time God would more perfectly discover these things to him; in order whereunto he resolv'd at leisure hours to peruse the Holy Scriptures. But herein he kept his thoughts to himself, nor indeed for the present was it safe for him to declare them. However assur'd in his own mind he march'd through *Italy*,ⁱ against all opposition almost to the very Walls of *Rome*, encamping his Army (consisting, says *Zosimus*,^m of ninety thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse) in a large Plain before the City. *Maxentius* was a Manⁿ that wholly gave up himself to Ease and Luxury, dividing his time between Pleasure and Superstition. He never went out of the City, and seldom out of the Palace; so intolerably idle, that to remove into the *Salustian* Gardens, (tho to enjoy a fresh scene of pleasure) was accounted a Journey, and an Expedition, as the Orator



^k *Nazar. P. neg. Constant. lib. 1. p. 71.*

ⁱ *Euseb. ibid. c. 37. 38. p. 426. Vid. Liban. Or. III. p. 105. m Lib. 2. p. 676.*

ⁿ *Vid. Paneg. II. Constant. p. 42. &c. Zosim. l. 2. p. 676. La. Har. loc. sup. citat. A. VII. c. 40. p. 313.*

his Journies, and oft entertaining them at his own Table : by several constitutions he exempted the Clergy from all Civil and Secular Offices and Employments, with which hitherto they had been forely vext, receiv'd their Appeals, and appointed Commissioners to umpire and end the Controversies that arose amongst them, and (which was a kindness beyond that of his Successors) freed the Churches from the Taxes and Tributes ordinarily assess'd upon all other Persons and Societies ; and if the Commentator * upon the *Theodorian Code* hit it right, (which yet methinks is not very clear from the Laws themselves) he took away about this time the punishment by Crucifixion, the most slavish and ignominious method of Execution (which the very Heathen Historian remarques in him, as an argument of a noble and generous Mind, tho he did it chiefly) out of Reverence to our Saviour's Passion; he might have added, and out of Honour to that Heavenly Vision of the Cross that had so lately appear'd to him, as the forerunner of a happy Victory.

VII. ALL this the *Gentiles* beheld with an envious and malicious Eye, as what certainly prophesied the fatal declension, if not final overthrow of their Religion ; and were more confirm'd in these suspicions, when they saw the Emperour neglected the Celebration of the *Ludi Saculares*, or Solemn Games, that were wont to be kept for three days and nights with unusual Magnificence and Devotion, with abundance of pompous Sacrifices, peculiar and appropriate Hymns, and a long train of other Ceremonies. They were holden but once every hundred years, or a few years under or over, whence the Crier that proclaim'd them us'd to do it in this form, *Come hither and behold those Sports, which no man alive ever saw before, or shall see again.* The period of the last Century was now run out, and fell in with *Ann. Chr. CCCXIII.* But the Emperour took no notice of them, for which the *Gentiles* severely censur'd him, not only looking upon it as an Argument of his aversion to their Religion, but crying out against it as pernicious to the State, and that which drew down the vengeance of the Gods upon it. And it added not a little to their Trouble, when they found that *Maximinus* himself, upon whom they relied so much, began to turn upon them : For falling out with *Licinius*,² and being miserably defeated by him, notwithstanding all the vain hopes and assurances, wherewith his Priests and Southlayers had blown him up into a confidence of Success and Victory, at his return home he put several of them to death as Cheats and Impostors, and Traitors to his Life and Crown. And either in spite to them, or in this declining state of his Affairs to keep in with so numerous a Party, he publish'd an Edict³ in behalf of the Christians, wherein he confirm'd the Rescript which he had sent to *Sabinus* the year before, and supplied now what was defective in it, *viz.* the restitution of their Churches, with all those Revenues and Possessions which had been seiz'd into the Exchequer, and either sold, or bestow'd upon any public Corporations, or private persons. Not long after, just as he was resolv'd to try his fortunes in a second Battel, he was struck with infinite pains and torments all over his Body, so that in a little time he wastet to nothing, and

and his very Eye-sight failing, he became stark blind, and died at *Tarsus*, confessing upon his Death-bed, that all this was but a just punishment upon him for his spiteful and virulent proceedings against Christ, and his Religion. The Churches hereupon in those parts began exceedingly to flourish, and the Christians for the present enjoy'd a very serene and prosperous Season.

VIII. BUT alas ! this peace and security lasted not long ; for *Licinius*, who had hitherto dissembled with *Constantine* and the World, having now the whole *Eastern* Empire at his Command, began to shew himself in his own Colours ; he heartily espous'd the cause of the *Gentiles*, which he fought every where to relieve and support, and by a Law⁴ expressly forbad the Christian Bishops to go to the Houses of the *Gentiles*, leit by their intimate Converse with them they might have an opportunity of propagating Christianity among them. Nor content with this, he took all occasions of venting his Spleen and Malice, raising one of the hottest Persecutions against the Christians, whom he every where pursued with all possible Cruelties ; so that (as *Ensebius*⁵ observes) the *East* and the *West* seem'd like night and day, a dreadful Darkness overspread all the *Eastern* Parts, while the *West* fate under the warm and benign Sun-shine of Prosperity and Peace. In compassion to whose deplorable case, and to chastise this Man's monstrous Inconstancy and Ingratitude, (whom no ties of Blood, Friendship, or Interest, could oblige) and his horrible Perfidiousness and Hypocrisie, *Constantine* resolv'd upon an Expedition against him. The Armies first met at *Cybalis* in *Pannonia*, where *Licinius* was worsted, but afterwards recollecting his Forces, engag'd again in *Thrace*, at what time *Constantine*, in the midst of his Bishops and Chaplains, was earnestly engaging Heaven by Prayer to be on his side, while *Licinius* on the other hand laugh'd at him, and calling for his Priests and Fortune-tellers, his *Auspices* or Diviners, fell to sacrificing, enquiring what Judgment they made by inspecting the Intrails of the Beasts ; the Expounders of Dreams likewise were at hand, and the *Auspices* that divin'd by the flight of Birds, who unanimously agreed, that Success would wait upon him. Whereupon he took the chief Officers of his Army into a private Grove, thick set with the Images of their Gods, where having lighted Torches, and perform'd the accustom'd Sacrifices, he made this Oration to them, which my Author had from the mouth of those that heard it. "Gentlemen, said he, and Fellow-Soldiers, these are the Gods of our Country, whom we worship according to immemorial Custom and Tradition deriv'd from our Ancestors. The Enemy that fights against us, is one that has renounc'd the Religion of his Country, and join'd himself to an impious Sect, and being thus impos'd on, has chosen I know not what strange Deity for his God, with whose infamous sign he dishonours his Army, and in confidence of it is come forth not so much against us, as against the Gods themselves, whom he has thus vilified and rejected. To day will shew which of us is in the right, and whether ours or theirs be the true Gods. For either the Victory which we shall obtain, will evidently declare our Gods to be the Saviours and Deliverers, or if notwithstanding their number this strange and obscure God of *Constantine* shall get the better, no Man will then any longer doubt which God he ought to worship, but will go over to the most power-

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"full

* C. Tk. lib. XI.
Tit. 1. l. 1. p. 6.

* Vid. Gothofred. in lib. 9.
Tit. P. 1. unic.
Tit. XVIII. l. unic. Tit. XL.
l. 2.

Eo pius, ut etiam
venia veteri-
munque (f.
veterium)
supplicium paucorum & crucibus suffringendis primis removerit : hinc pro conditore, seu Deo habuit. A. Vill.
Schotti. c. 41. p. 315.

* Zosim. l. 2.
p. 671.

* Euseb. H.
Ecl. 9. c. 10.
p. 363.

* Ext. ap. Euf.
loc. cit.

* Socr. l. 1. c. 3.
f. 8.

* De vit. const.
l. 1. c. 49. &c.
p. 432. &c. l. 2.
c. 1. 2. &c.
p. 433. aliqua
ad c. 19. p. 452.
vid. Zosim. l. 2.
p. 678. &c.

"full Deity, and ascribe to him the honour of the Victory. And if
 "this strange God, whom we now so much despise, shall appear to be
 "the more powerful Being, we our selves also ought to embrace and
 "adore him, and bid adieu to those, to whom we have lighted our Ta-
 "pers to so little purpose. But if ours carry the day, which no Man
 "can doubt, after such a signal Victory, we may securely go on in our
 "attempts against these impious Contemners of the Gods. The Ar-
 "mies now fac'd each other, and *Constantine* having piously recommended
 his Cause to God, gave the Signal, the Imperial Standard of the Cross
 was born before him, fifty Men being peculiarly deputed to guard it,
 and to carry it by turns; which way soever it turn'd, the Enemy fled,
 so that when the Emperour saw any part of the Army press'd hard
 upon, he call'd for the Cross to that place, and it turn'd the Scale.
 The Engagement was renew'd in several Encounters, 'till the Enemies
 Forces being wholly broken, the greatest part threw down their Arms,
 and yielded, and *Licinius* himself fled the Field; who finding his
 Affairs desperate, betook himself to his old arts of Treachery and
 Dissimulation, begging Peace with *Constantine*, who readily accepted
 the motion, the other ratifying it with his Oath. But what Obligations
 can hold a bad Man? All is soon forgotten, and *Licinius* raises
 another Army, but charges his Soldiers to offer no violence to the Stan-
 dard of the Cross, nor to engage near it. The Battel, tho bloody,
 went against him, who fled thereupon to *Nicomedia*, whither *Constantine*
 follow'd, and besieg'd him. But he surrender'd himself upon
 condition of life, which he promised to lead private and obscure, and
 which some say *Constantine* granted, and confirm'd with his Oath.
 However that was, he sent him to *Theffalonica*, and there, upon his at-
 tempting new Seditions, put him to death.

IX. BY the death of *Licinius* the whole Government of the Em-
 pire devolv'd upon *Constantine*, who immediately restor'd ^a Peace and
 Tranquility to the Christians, and directed several Orders to the Pro-
 vincial Governours, whereby they recall'd the banish'd, releas'd those
 that had been put upon Offices, restor'd Estates to those that had lost
 them, set at liberty the imprison'd, and those who had been condemn'd
 to the Mines, or any other slavery, all whom he bountifully rewarded;
 and for them that had suffer'd Martyrdom, he commanded their
 Goods and Lands to be restor'd to them that were next a kin, or where
 they had no Relations, to be appropriated to the uses of the Church.
 Of all which his prolix Edict ^c sent to the Provincial Governours of
Palestine, (and the same no doubt to other places) is a sufficient Evi-
 dence. Great Encouragement the *Gentiles*, even in the *Western* Parts,
 had taken from the Patronage of *Licinius*, whom they hop'd to see
 the prevailing Conquerour, and perhaps might by some secret and
 mystic Rites of their Religion endeavour to promote his success; so
 that even during those Wars *Constantine* was forc'd to lay some check
 upon them. By two Laws, ^d *Ann.* CCCXIX. the one directed to *Maxi-*
mus Provost of the City, the other to the People of *Rome*, he forbade
 the *Aruspices* or South-sayers, and all the rest of that divining Tribe,
 to exercise their Skill within any private House under any pretence
 whatsoever, adjudging the Southsayer so offending to be burnt, and
 the person that consulted him and receiv'd him into his House, to con-
 fiscation of Estate, and banishment into some remote Island; but
 withall,

withall, permitting them to exercise their Art at the public Altars and
 Temples, and in the open light, where every one might see and hear
 what was done or said. Two years after by another Rescript ^e to the
 same Provost he gave leave, in case of mischief done by Lightning,
 publicly to consult these *Aruspices*, but with this limitation, which
 laid no small Restraint upon them, That their Answers and Interpre-
 tations should be sent to the Emperour in writing: Not that he ap-
 prov'd these Diabolical Rites, but to try what Principles they sugge-
 sted to the People, and to keep them in awe, well knowing how apt
 the *Gentiles*, who were vext at his espousing Christianity, would be
 under these pretences to consult and carry on Designs against the peace
 and safety of the Empire. About six Months after he prohibited ^h all
 Sorceries and Magic Charms, that were us'd either against the health
 and lives of persons, or to inveigle Men's Affections to unchast Love,
 permitting such only as were accounted harmless, either for the curing
 or alleviating of Distempers, or the driving away pernicious Storms and
 Tempests. The same year he provided, ⁱ that Slaves (heretofore emanci-
 pated in the Pagan Temples) might be made free in the Christian
 Churches in the presence of the Bishop; and that Clergy-men might
 do it alone, and by word of mouth, without any formal Writing.
 That this Solemnity ^k might be perform'd upon a Sunday, tho all Con-
 tentions, Controversies, and Law-Suits, were utterly forbid upon that
 day. Indeed this good Emperour took all imaginable care to secure
 the honour and observation of the Lord's day, he commanded ^l it to be
 set apart for Prayer and Holy Exercises, that Priests and Deacons
 should constantly attend upon them, that all persons should, as far as
 might be, be drawn to it, and that his great Officers and Comman-
 ders should set them a good Example, and accompany the Emperour
 in his Devotions on that day. And that none might be then unem-
 ploy'd, he took care that his Pagan Army should be busied in Prayer
 to Heaven, as the only giver of all Victory, and upon every Lord's
 day should go out in the open Fields, and there, upon a Signal given,
 fall down, and offer up their Requests in a form of Prayer, which him-
 self compos'd, and commanded them to learn by heart, in these words:
We do acknowledge thee to be the only God, we confess thee to be King, upon
thee do we call for help. By thee it is, that we have at any time got the Vi-
ctory, and subdu'd our Enemies. To thee we thankfully ascribe all our past
Blissings, and from thee we expect all for the time to come. We beseech thee
to preserve us in our Emperour Constantine, together with his hopeful Pro-
geny, with long Life, Health, and Victory. The like proportionable
 care he took for *Friday*, both as to the Cessation from Courts of Judi-
 cature, and other Civil Affairs, in memory of our Saviour's Passion,
 as he had done for the other in honour of his Resurrection.

X. THE *Gentiles* vext at this prosperity of the Christians, omit-
 ted no opportunity of venting their Spleen against them. In many
 places, and at *Rome* especially, they forc'd them to joyn in the Cele-
 bration of their *Lustræ*, their solemn Processions, attended with Sacri-
 fices, Hymns, and Festival Entertainments, and sometimes with inspec-
 ting the *Sibylline* Books, which was done in cases of any public neces-
 sity, or of Invasion by a Foreign Enemy, or any extream danger to
 the State. And perhaps they might pretend the Christians could not
 refuse it, without declaring themselves Enemies to the Peace of the
 State,

^e Ib. lib. 16.
^f Tit. X. l. 1.
^g p. 257.

^h Ib. lib. 9. ubi
 sup. l. 3.

ⁱ Ib. lib. 4. Tit.
^j VII. leg. unic.

^k Ib. lib. 2. Tit.
^l VIII. l. 1.

^m Enf. de vit. C.
ⁿ l. 4. c. 18, 19.
^o 20. p. 534. 50-
^p 20m. l. 1. c. 3.
^q p. 412a.

^a Euseb. de
 vit. C. l. 2.
^b c. 19. &c.
^c p. 452.

^d Ext. lib. c. 24.
^e & sch. p. 455.

^f C. Tb. lib. 9.
^g Tit. XVI. l. 1.
^h & 2. p. 114.

State, and the Safety of the Emperour, especially at this time, when the *Goths* had made a violent irruption into *Thrace*, and the Empire was disquietted with intestine Wars, I mean, the last attempts of the Emperour *Licinius*. But this was complain'd of to *Constantine*, who by a Law,^m bearing date *May* the 30th, *Ann. CCCXXIII.* expressly forbade any such compulsion to be us'd towards Christians, under the penalty of being publicly beaten with Clubs, if the person offending was of *Plébeian* rank, but if of better quality, of being severely fin'd. And in this Edict, as he styles Christianity *The most holy Law*, so he calls Gentilism *Alienam Superstitionem*, a strange Superstition. Next he took care, that none should be Governours or Presidents, but who were Christians; or if *Gentiles*, that they should not offer Sacrifices, and this to extend even to the *Prætorian Præfects*, the highest Officers in the Empire. He publish'd a Lawⁿ likewise, which he sent to the Governours of Provinces, for the erecting, enlarging, and beautifying the Christians Churches at his own Charge, notice whereof he gave by Letters to the Bishops of the several Churches. That to *Eusebius*, being the first that was written, is still extant, written *Ann. CCCXXIV.* soon after the final Defeat of *Licinius*, whom he styles in it that *great Dragon*, which by his Ministry God had remov'd from the Government. Besides this, he wrote a large exhortatory Epistle to the Provincial Governours of the *East*, wherein with great Wisdom and Piety he persuades all his Subjects to embrace Christianity, a Religion attested by the Heathen Deities themselves, whereof he assures them himself was an Ear-witness, *Apollo's* Oracle confessing, that certain righteous persons were the cause why he could no longer deliver out true Oracles. And when *Diocletian* (whom he then attended) ask'd, who these Men were? One of the Priests answer'd, They were the Christians: Which so enrag'd the bloody Emperour, that he immediately publish'd the most severe mercilefs Edicts against the Christians, commanding the Judges to contrive more exquisite Instruments of Torment, than what the Law had hitherto provided for them. But tho he endeavour'd both by Prayers and Arguments to bring them over to the Truth, yet he still left them to the freedom of their own choice. He would not, he tells them, force them to change their Religion, nor that one Party should offer any injury or violence to the other upon that account: If they would still obstinately persist in their old way, let them enjoy their Temples stuf'd with nothing but Lies and Falshoods; assuring them it was not true, what some reported, that he had abolish'd the Rites of their Temples, and their Religious Solemnities: He wished indeed they would steer the same Course that he had done, and doubted not to have persuaded the World to it, if the power and efficacy of an inveterate Errour, deep rooted in the minds of Men, had not prejudic'd the design'd Reformation of Mankind. About the same time he repeal'dⁿ the Edicts of his Predecessors, which in maintenance of the Pagan Superstitions in the times of Persecution, they had put out against the Christians, and particularly the cruel and unjust Laws^p and Constitutions of *Licinius*, as soon after he did the Acts and Decrees of his Judges, tho this was not to extend to any thing which either he or they had warrantably done according to Law.

XI. *CONSTANTINE* having now restor'd perfect peace and tranquility to the *Roman* World, took up a resolution of transferring the Seat of the Empire to some other place: Whether it was, because he was offended with the people of *Rome* for the rude Reflections wherewith they affronted him, when on a Festival day going up with his Retinue to the *Capitol* he spake contemptibly of those sacred Rites (as *Zosimus*^q reports it), or whether because he would not honour that place with his Court, that for so many Ages had been the chief Stage of Idolatry, and the Scene of Martyrdom and Persecution; or whether because he thought the *Eastern* Parts did more immediately require his Presence to defend them, not only against the Incroachments of the *Persians*, but against the Inroads of the Northern Nations, which at that time did usually thereabouts break in upon them; or whatever else the occasion was, 'twas certainly a Policy very fatal and unfortunate to the Empire. After many Designments he pitch'd upon *Byzantium*, a City of *Thrace*, situate upon the *Isthmus*, or neck of the *Hellefpont*, a place which Nature seem'd to have form'd, on purpose to command the World. He re-edified and enlarg'd it, beautified it with the most stately and magnificent Buildings, and all the Ornaments which Art could contrive, or Wealth could purchase, or any curious pieces of Antiquity, which *Rome* or any other Parts could furnish it with. He endow'd it with vast Privileges and Immunities, peopled it with the best Families he could draw from *Rome*, or other places, and by a Law (engraven upon a Stone-Pillar, and plac'd in the *Strategium*, near the Emperour's Statue on Horse-back) commanded, it should be call'd *New Rome*, tho in despite of his Edict it retain'd the honour of his Name, and keeps it to this day. He laid the Foundations *November* the 26th, *Ann. CCCXXVIII.* finish'd and dedicated it about two years after. But what is most proper to be here observ'd is, that he built^r many noble Churches and Oratories both in the City and Suburbs, wherein he suffer'd no Gentile Altars or Images to be plac'd, nor any Pagan Festivities to be solemniz'd, nay, suffer'd the follies, imposture, and vanities of them to be expos'd in the open Streets. I know *Zosimus*^r tells another story, That *Constantine* set up the Statues of the Heathen Deities in several public places of the City, and that at one end of the four-square *Portico* that encompass'd the *Forum*, he erected two Chappels on purpose, in one whereof he plac'd the Image of *Rhea* the Mother of the Gods, in the other that of the *Gentius* or Fortune of *Rome*. But his known partiality in matters of this nature abates his Credit, especially when set against the express Testimony of those, who liv'd at that time, and saw what was done. And probable it is, that to make the best of a bad Cause, he laid hold of any Twig which he could bend the contrary way, and represented that as done in honour of their Gods, which was done only by way of Derision and Contempt. But tho *Constantine* thus routed the Monuments of Pagan Idolatry, yet did he not demolish or deface the Temples, some of which were here standing 'till the times of *Theodosius*. Indeed he took away their Sacred Treasures,^s and seiz'd the Rents and Revenues belonging to them, which he employ'd in building those noble and magnificent Structures, wherewith he adorn'd that Imperial City. Nor did the barbarous Countries go without their

^q Lib. 2. p. 686.^r *Euseb. lib. 1. 3. c. 48. p. 507. Socr. l. 1. c. 16. p. 45.*^s *Ibid. p. 687.*^t *Elhan. Orat. de Templ. p. 9. l. 1. c. 22. Orat. XXXI. p. 591.*

* *Rufin* l. i. c. 9.
p. 225. *Socr* l. i.
c. 19. p. 45. 102.
l. 2. c. 24.
p. 477.

* *Rufin* c. 10.
Socr c. 19. 102.
ib. c. 7. p. 45. 11.

* *Rufin* loc.
cit.

* *Socr* ib. c. 6.
p. 45.

Euf. de vit. C.
l. 3. c. 54. &c.
p. 510. *Socr*
l. 2. c. 5. p. 449.

their share in these happy influences of Christianity. The *Indians* * were brought over to the Christian Faith by the ministry of *Frumentius*, who had been brought up the greatest part of his time there, and whom *Athanasius* having ordain'd Bishop, was sent again amongst them. The *Iberi*, since call'd *Georgians*, a People near the *Caspian* Sea, were converted by means of a Woman-Slave, who being a Christian, was become famous among them for the incomparable strictness and piety of her Life, and her miraculous Cures; among others, she cur'd the Queen of the Country, and thereby converted her, and by her solicitations, the King himself, who convening his Subjects, preach'd to them, and persuaded them to embrace the Faith. Hereupon a Church is erected, and an Embassy sent to *Constantine* to request, that Bishops and Preachers might be sent amongst them to carry on and compleat the work. Which was done accordingly, and the Emperour to give an additional honour to their King *Bacurius*, created him *Comes Domesticorum*, or Comptroller of his Household, from whose own mouth my Author ² receiv'd this Relation, with many more particulars, which he sets down at large. The like success the Christian Religion had in other Countries, for by reason of the frequent Wars which the *Romans* had with the *Barbarians*, many Christian Priests were taken Captive, who employ'd all their time and pains to subdue those Countries to the Faith of Christ. And by this means were the Inhabitants of the *Rhine*, the *Celte*, and the remotest parts of *Gaul*, the *Goths*, and those who dwelt upon the *Danow*, brought to embrace and entertain the Gospel.

XII. THE Emperour had hitherto tried by patience and persuasion, and by all the Arts of Lenity and Gentleness to reclaim the Gentile World: But finding the greatest part perverse and obstinate, he proceeded to rout Idolatry by rougher methods. To which purpose he gave out Dispatches, which the Christians that were about the Court greedily caught, and readily transmitted into the several Countries, and put them into present Execution. The Commissioners enter'd every where into the Temples, and threw open the Doors of their most secret *Recesses*, so that those Mysteries, which before-time none but the Priests might behold, were now publicly expos'd to the Eyes of the People, and many of the Temples untiled, and laid open to all Storms and Weather. The common people were afraid, and durst make no resistance, and the Priests and *Flamens* being left alone, quietly submitted, and did themselves bring forth their most venerable Deities, which being stript of their external Pageantry and Ornament, were shewn in their own colours to every vulgar Eye. The Statues of Gold, and like precious Materials, were melted down, and coin'd into Money, the best of those that were curiously wrought in Bras were brought up to *Constantinople*, where they were drawn with Ropes up and down the Streets, and set up for the people to behold and laugh at. Here might you have seen the *Pythian*, there the *Sminthian Apollo*; in the *Circus* were plac'd the famous *Tripodes* brought from *Delphos*, in the Palace the *Muses* of *Helicon*, in another place the great God *Pan*, so solemnly and universally worship'd in *Greece*, planter there as standing Monuments to Posterity of the folly and madness of Pagan Superstition. At *Aphaca* in *Phenicia* near the top of Mount *Libanus*, stood a famous Temple in the midst of a Grove, dedicated

to

to *Venus*, where the Men busied themselves in performing the Rites of Worship, while the Women prostituted themselves to all manner of Lewdness in every corner. This Temple the Emperour commanded to be pull'd down to the ground, and all its rich Gifts and Ornaments to be disposed of, and that lewd Society to be dispers'd and scatter'd. There was another dedicated to her at *Helopolis* in the same Country, where the Men gave leave to their Wives and Daughters to prostitute themselves in honour of the Goddess; this he abolish'd, and built a Church in the room of it, and furnish'd it with a Bishop and other Ministers of Religion. *Abraham's Oak* at *Mamre*, which for so many Ages had been annually desil'd with Jewish and Heathenish Solemnities, he remov'd, and erected a Christian Church there. He demolish'd the celebrated Temple of *Ascalapus* at *Aige* in *Cilicia*, where that pretended God was worship'd for his eminent Cures, and frequent appearances in Dreams to his Votaries. At *Alexandria* he dispers'd and banish'd the *Androgyni*, ^b or Priests of *Nile*, who us'd to perform ridiculous Ceremonies to that River, accounted by them a Deity, and caus'd the *Nilometrium*, or famous Cubit, wherewith they wont every year to measure the height of the River, to be remov'd out of the Temple of *Scrapis* (where it was Religiously kept) into the Christian Church at *Alexandria*: And when the people cried out hereupon, that the Goddess would be angry, and the *Nile* no longer overflow its Banks, the event shew'd the prediction to be false and foolish, the River overflowing the Country the next year in larger measures and proportions than it had done before. In short, by several Laws he forbade to offer Sacrifices, or to erect any Images to the Gods, or to consult their Priests and Oracles, or to exercise any of their Mysterious Rites. And tho *Libanius* more than once affirms, ^c that their Temples were left open, and Sacrifices permitted at *Rome* and *Alexandria*, yet was it no otherwise true, than as they could do it by stealth, or by connivance, not by any public allowance or constitution of the Empire. I will not deny but that *Rome* and *Alexandria* being the capital Cities of the Empire, and places where Gentilism had taken the deepest Root, and whence it could not be easily pluck'd up, a more particular permission or connivance might be allow'd there. But when my Author ^d affirms, that *Constantine*, tho he took away their Revenues, made no alteration in the ancient usages of their Worship, he must be understood of the former part of his Reign, it being unquestionably evident from the Testimony both of Christian and Gentile Writers, ^e that in his latter times he shut up all, and demolish'd some of their Temples, and forbade their Sacrifices and Superstitions. Indeed, that he might not altogether seem to exasperate and provoke them, he suffer'd the people, at least in some places, still to chuse their Priests and *Flamens*, and those Priests to enjoy the Temporal Honours and Immunities belonging to their Office, as appears by a Law ^f which he made *Ann. CCCXXXV.* and directed to *Felix* the *Pretorian Præfect* of *Afric* to that purpose. By these smart and vigorous proceedings against the Idolatry and Impieties of the Heathen World, *Satan* every day visibly fell as Lightning from Heaven, and the great Dragon, that old Serpent, which had so long deceiv'd the World, fled before, and fell under the power of the Cross. In memory whereof, this good Emperour caus'd some of his Coins, still extant, to be stamp'd on the Reverse with the figure of a

Ser.

^b *Euseb. lib. 14.*
c. 25. p. 537.
Socr. l. 1. c. 18.
p. 43.

^c *Or. de Templ.*
p. 20. 21.

^d *De Templ.*
p. 9. 22.

^e *Hieron. Chr.*
ad Ann.
CCCXXXII.
Oras. 11. p. 17.
c. 28. fol. 322.
Enap. in vit.
Ages. p. 33.
c. 16. lib. 16.
Tit. X. l. 2.
^f *C. Th. lib. 12.*
Tit. l. 1. c. 21.
l. 1. 32.

v. *ruscb. de vin.*
C. 1. 3. 6. 3.
P. 434.

Serpent bowing under, and struck through with the Banner of the Crofs. And in the *Portico* before his Palace he caus'd his Picture to be drawn at full length with the Crofs over his head, and a Dragon under his feet struck through with Darts, and thrown into the Sea, to denote by what assistance he had routed and ruin'd the old Enemy of Mankind, and had cast him down to Hell. All which, my Author says, was foretold by that of the Prophet, *Isa. 27. 1. That the Lord with his force, and great, and strong Sword, should punish Leviathan, that crooked Serpent, and slay the Dragon that is in the Sea.*

XIII. AND now God having brought about so great a Change and Reformation, and advanc'd Christianity, which had lately been so much despis'd and trampled on, to be the Religion of the Empire, took this excellent Prince into a better World. He died at *Nicomedia* May the 22th, Ann. CCCXXXVII. to the irreparable loss of the Church, and the grief of all good Men. I shall conclude his Reign with the comparison, which *Eusebius*, in an Oration deliver'd at the Solemnization of his *Tricennialia*, about a year before his Death, makes between this and the preceding Times, the sum of whose Discourse upon that Argument^h we shall here represent. "The former Empe-

^h *Orat. de laud.*
Const. c. 9.
p. 628.

"rours, says he, were passionate Admirers of their Gods, and the people every where honour'd them with Statues and Images, which they erected to them in Fields and Houses, yea in their very Buttries and Bed-chambers; Chappels and *Portico's*, Groves and Temples were with infinite pains and charge set apart for their Worship, and enrich'd with the most costly Ornaments and Oblations. The fruit of all which Devotion was nothing else but War and Fighting, Mutinies and Seditions, which fill'd the World with blood and slaughter: Their Gods by their feigned Answers and Oracles vainly flattering them into hopes of Prosperity and Success, when, alas! they could not foresee that sad Fate that did attend themselves. Encourag'd with this assurance, and carrying the Statues of their fond and senseless Deities at the head of their Army, they march'd into the Field: Whereas *Constantine* arm'd with no other Breast-plate but that of Piety, nor carrying any other Banner than that of the Crofs, at once triumph'd both over his Enemies, and their Gods. In a grateful fence of so signal a Mercy he openly own'd the power of that triumphal Sign, a Monument whereof he set up in the midst of *Rome*, and commanded that all should look upon it as the tutelar and guardian Power of the *Roman* Empire. He taught the Mystery of it to all, and especially his Soldiers, and train'd them up both in the principles and Practice of true Prayer, and holy Adoration, and that they must not depend upon the strength of their Arms, the greatness of their Courage, the multitude of their Number, but look up to God as the only Fountain of all Power and Victory, and observe the Lord's day as most proper for their Devotions. His own vacant time he spent in Prayer, reading the Scriptures, and other divine Exercises and Employments, and he form'd his whole Court after his Example. He paid a just Reverence to the victorious Crofs, and erected triumphal Arches to it in every place, and with a noble and magnificent bounty commanded Churches and Oratories to be built, and those to be re-edified which had been demolish'd by the rage and madness of his Predecessors, who taking upon them

"to

"to fight against God, had all come to untimely ends, and both they and their Families been swept away as in a moment. While this Emperor, guarded by the salutary Standard, carried Victory about him, and had founded newer and more stately Churches, and re-built the old ones into greater Magnificence than before; conspicuous Instances whereof were to be seen at *Constantinople*, *Nicomedia*, *Antioch*, and in *Palestine*, where at *Jerusalem* he rais'd an immense and admirable Structure over the place of our Saviour's Sepulcher, which he enrich'd and adorn'd with the most exquisite Artifice. Three other incomparable Churches he built, the one over the place of our Lord's Birth, another at the place of his *Ascension*, and a third at the place of his *Passion*. So illustrious a Piety God was pleas'd to reward with the enlargement of his Empire, and the prosperity and security of his Family, besides those eminent Blessings which were reserv'd for his Posterity. A signal Evidence of that Divine Power that superintended the happiness of the Empire, that could so equally distribute Recompences suitable to each party: For all those that had ruin'd and laid waste the Churches, had quickly reap'd the Wages of their Impiety, and had been swept away without leaving either House or Posterity behind them. But this good Emperor having endear'd himself to Heaven by an unusual Piety and Bounty, had accordingly engag'd God to be the Saviour and Protector of his Empire, his Family, and his Posterity.

D

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Condition of the *Gentiles* under the
Reign of CONSTANTINE Junior,
CONSTANTIUS, and CONSTANS.

The Division of the Empire among the three Sons of Constantine. Their care to advance the Christian, and to suppress the Pagan Religion. Provision made against violation of the Tombs and Sepulchers of the Dead. Sacrifices prohibited, but Temples left standing. Julius Firmicus his Address to the Emperours against the Errors of Paganism. Magnentius his Usurpation of the Empire, his Overthrow, and Death. The favours allow'd by him to the *Gentiles*, recall'd, and Sacrifices utterly abolish'd, and made Capital. Curious and unlawful Arts strictly forbidden. A Law to that purpose, wherein the several sorts of Diviners are particularly enumerated, Haruspices, Mathematici, Harioli, Augures, &c. what and who these were, and how distinguish'd. Constantius at Rome removes the Altar of Victory. All practisers of Divination severely prohibited to come near the Court. The occasion of that Law, Barbatio the General's consulting with Southsayers about an extraordinary Omen. That Treason how brought to light. Constantine's jealousy of his Cousin Julian, for his secret Dealings with Magicians. Several in the Eastern parts punish'd and put to Death upon pretence of consulting with Oracles. Constantius's last Law to exempt the Clergy from Civil Offices. His Death.

I. CON-



I. CONSTANTINE upon his Death-bed divided the Empire among his three Sons, to *Constantine* his eldest, he assign'd *Britain, Spain, Gaul, and part of Proconsular Africa*; to *Constans* the youngest, *Italy, Illyricum, Macedonia, Greece, the parts that border upon the Euxine, and the remainder of Africa*; to *Constantius* the middle Son, *Asia, Thrace, Asia, the East, and Egypt*. The first of these Princes liv'd

but a little while, and the Reigns of the two other were so taken up with the *Arian* and other Controversies, which unhappily divided the Christian World, and distracted the State as well as the Church, that we meet not with much relating to the *Gentiles* within this period. *Sozomen*¹ in the general gives us this account of the state of things, that the Emperours trod in their Fathers steps in their care of, and kindness to the Church, investing the Clergy, their Children, and Servants, with many peculiar Privileges and Immunities; they not only confirm'd their Father's Laws, but enacted new ones, prohibiting any either to offer Sacrifices, or to pay any Adoration to the Images of the Gods, or to exercise any part of Pagan Superstition: The Temples that stood either in the Cities or Fields, they commanded to be shut up, or bestow'd them upon Churches, where they wanted either room or materials to build with; for 'twas their great care either to repair ruined Churches, or to erect new ones more splendid and magnificent. *Constantine* had reign'd scarce three years, when quarrelling with his Brother *Constans* about the division of the Empire, he march'd with his Army as far as *Aquileia* to encounter him, where he was slain about the latter end of *April, Ann. CCCXL*. but whether by Treachery (as some report) or in open fight, is not easie to determine. His Death was no less passionately than elegantly bewail'd by a *Grecian* Sophist of that time, in a Funeral Oration² still extant.

II. THE first thing that occurs after his Death, is a Law³ of *Constans* publish'd two Months after, directed to *Titian* Praefect of *Rome*, against those that violated and demolish'd the Tombs and Sepulchers of the Dead, and took thence the Materials to any other use, with a Penalty upon the person that did it, of being condemn'd to the Mines, if he did it of his own head; and of banishment, if done at the command of his Lord: And that wherever any of those Materials should be found, that House or Edifice should be forfeited to the Crown. 'Twas occasion'd, as is probable, by the forward Zeal of some Christians, who resolving to destroy all Monuments of Gentile Superstition, wherever they met with them, slew upon, rifled, and defac'd Tombs and Burying-places, which were wont to be consecrated with Heathen Rites, and adorn'd many times with Altars and Images. And not content to spoil and pull down the Sepulchers themselves, they often took the Stones and other Materials to their own use. The Penalty provided was severe enough, but did not, it seems, wholly cure the Distemper; so that about nine years after, he was fain to reinforce it by a second Law⁴ more punctual and particular, wherein provision is made, both against the Offenders in time past, whether

¹ L. 3. c. 17.
P. 529.

² *Novad. de*
Konstantin. Gr.
L. 4. c. 1. Morcelli
edit. 1616.
³ *Th. lib. 9.*
Th. XVI. l. 11.

⁴ *Ibid. l. 24.*

Defacers, Demolishers, Conveyers, Converters, Buyers, or Concealers of any part or parcel of them, as also against the like Offences for the time to come, and that the Officers to whom it appertain'd should from time to time inspect the Monuments, and see to the necessary Reparations of them, and if any of them neglected their Duties herein, they should not only incur the Penalties inflicted upon the transgressors of this Law, but the known ordinary punishment of such Offenders, which was that of Death. The like care herein *Constantinus* took afterwards, by two Laws^a very express in this matter.

^a *Ibid.* l. 3. & 4.

III. THE Emperor *Constantius* being now at Peace, resum'd his Zeal against the *Gentiles*, whose follies he restrain'd by this following Law,^b the Inscription wherof we have duly rectified.

^b *Ib.* lib. 16. Tit. X. l. 2. p. 261.

The Emperours *CONSTANTIUS* and *CONSTANS*, the August, to *Madalian* Vice-Prætorian Præfect.

LET Superstition cease, let the madness of Sacrificing be abolish'd: for whoever shall presume contrary to the constitution of our Father, a Prince of Blessed Memory, and contrary to this command of our Clemency, to offer Sacrifices, let a proper and convenient Punishment be inflicted, and execution presently done upon him. Received, *Marcellinus* and *Probinus* being Consuls: That is, *Ann.* CCCXLI.

^c *Ibid.* l. 3. vid. *Goskroft*, in loc.

This was follow'd with another^c the next year, (for the date of the Consulships as now extant is plainly mistaken) concerning the Temples at *Rome*, that altho all Idolatrous Superstition should be rooted up, yet 'twas his Majesties pleasure, that the Temples that stood in the Fields and Highways (for of those within the Walls there seems to have been no question, they being spar'd as highly conducing to the splendour and ornament of the City) should not be pull'd down or defac'd, many of the solemn Sports and Games, wherewith the people were wont to be entertain'd, depending upon, and having taken their Rise and Original from these Temples: So that the Structures were left standing either for Delight or Ornament, only the Abuse and Idolatry of them was quite removed. Encourag'd with these Laws, *Julius Firmicus Maternus* wrote about this time his Book *De Errore profanarum Religionum*, which he dedicated to the two Brother-Emperours, wherein after he had run down and expos'd the notorious follies and absurdities of Paganism, he addresses^d to those Emperours, that they would go on to make a perfect Reformation, and by very severe Laws cut off what did yet remain, that the *Roman* World might be no longer infected with such pernicious Errors and Impieties, and Wickedness gain ground by Custom and Connivance. He knew there wanted not those that oppos'd it, Men fond of their own Ruine; but God had committed the Government of the World to their Majesties for this end, that they might be Physicians to heal the wounds that were made upon the Souls of Men, and they must not in this case stand to humour every Palat; inveterate Disorders were not to be cur'd but by unpleasing Physic, which must be taken, how bitter soever it seem to the Patient, lest by too much indulgence the Distemper grow worse, and

^d *De error prof. Relig.* p. 11.

call for sharper methods, and it come at last to the Knife and the Caustic. A little more^e to what they had already done, would lay the Devil fully prostrate, and make the Contagion of Idolatry (the Vænom whereof grew weaker every day) wholly to evaporate and expire; they should therefore exalt and advance the Banner of the Cross, which would be a certain forerunner of Success and Victory; they should quite remove^f the Deities that were accounted the Safety and Ornament of their Temples, and either melt them down into Money, or some other use, and transfer all their Gifts and Treasures to the profit of the Empire. Great things God had already done for them as the reward of a well-begun Zeal and Piety, and greater Blessings were reserv'd when they should have finish'd and crown'd the Work. All which should oblige them with a pure Mind, and a pious Conscience, sincerely to look up to Heaven, to solicit the Divine Assistance, and implore the help of our Blessed Saviour, and worship him only with Spiritual Sacrifices. By which means they might assure themselves of Peace and Plenty, Victory and Triumph, that they themselves should rule quietly and securely, and the World enjoy the happiness and prosperity of their Government. *Constantinus* being about this time inform'd, that many *Gentile* Masters, to put the greater affront and dishonour upon the Christian Profession, us'd to sell their Female Slaves that were Christians to be prostituted at the Stews, restrain'd it, ordering that none but Christians should have leave to buy them, and that they might pay their Ransom, and set them free.

^e *Ibid.* p. 144.

^f *Ibid.* p. 19. & 20.

^g *C. Th.* lib. 15. Tit. VIII. l. 1. p. 379.

IV. *Ann.* CCCL. *Magnentius*, a great Commander in the Army, having treacherously murder'd the Emperor *Constantius*, usurp'd the Empire, as upon notice of his Death, *Vetranio* also did in *Pannonia*, and *Nepotian*, Nephew to *Constantine* the Great, at *Rome*. But these two were soon cut off, the former by *Constantinus*, the latter by *Anicetus*, whom *Magnentius* had constituted *Præfect* of *Rome*. *Magnentius* himself made shift to hold out a few years, and like a prosperous Usurper went on without controul, raising Taxes at pleasure, proscribing, nay killing any that stood in his way, and confiscating and seizing their Estates; where it made for his interest, he conniv'd at the *Gentiles*, and persecuted the Christians, many of whom he caus'd to be put to Death. But after three years and six months Tyranny, he was finally routed by *Constantinus*, and equally despairing of Pardon and Success, ran himself through and died. *Constantinus* revers'd^h the Proceedings which he or his Judges had illegally acted, and restor'd persons to their just Rights and Possessions, and for the better quieting Men's minds, publish'd a general Actⁱ of Indemnity and Oblivion, excepting only five of the greater and more capital Crimes, which he left to the ordinary procedure of the Law. And whereas *Magnentius*, to carry favour with the *Gentiles* at *Rome*, had given them leave to celebrate their Sacrifices^j in the night, *Constantinus* immediately abolish'd those Nocturnal Sacrifices, and took away the License that had been granted them: Nay, by another Law,^k he expressly forbid all manner of Sacrifices, and commanded that every where, both in City and Country, especially within the *Præfecture* of *Italy*, (for which the Edict seems more immediately calculated) the Temples should be shut up, and none suffer'd to go into them (agreeable to what is related by other Writers^l of this time); that the person offending should lose his Head, and forfeit his Estate to

^h *Ib.* Tit. XLV. l. 5.

ⁱ *Ib.* 9. Tit. XXXVIII. l. 2.

^j *Ibid.* lib. 16. Tit. X. l. 5.

^k *Ibid.* l. 4.

^l *Sozom.* l. 3. c. 17. p. 529. *Liban. Orat. fun. in Julian.* p. 253.

the

the Exchequer, and the Governours of Provinces be punish'd, if they neglected the Execution of this Law. I know the names of the *Consuls* usually affix'd to this Rescript, make it to be past *Ann. CCCXLVI*. But it being directed to *Taurus* the Pratorian Prefect of *Italy*, and he not being made Prefect 'till the year *CCCLIII*, does with far greater probability fasten it upon this time, and the occasion we have mention'd; when the Emperour no doubt highly resent'd the kindness which the *Gentiles* had shew'd *Magnentius*, and the Favours he had conferr'd upon them. A like Command^b to this he issued out three years after, making it Capital for any to offer Sacrifice, or adore the Images; these vigorous Proceedings did, it seems, strike a terrour into the greatest, even into *Julian* himself, so that about this time^c he was wont to rise at midnight, and in the most secret manner pay his Devotions to *Mercury*.

V. *CONSTANTIUS* was an utter Enemy to Magic, and all curious and unlawful Arts, than which nothing more common among the *Gentiles*, and indeed were the very Life and Spirit of their declining Superstition. And therefore the next year, *Ann. CCCLVII*, he put out a Law^d against all Curiosity in this kind, that no Man, under the penalty of his Head, should dare to consult any of these Masters of Divination, who in the body of the Rescript are reckon'd up by their several Titles; *Haruspices*, who made a judgment concerning future Events from Sacrifices, and inspecting the Entrails of Beasts slain to that purpose; *Mathematici*, who judg'd of things by the course and position of the Stars; *Haroti*, who attended the Altars, offer'd up Sacrifices and Supplications to the Deity, and receiv'd the Answer the *Demon* return'd; *Augures*, who divin'd by the flight or chattering of Birds; *Vates*, who were more immediate Chaplains to the Deity, and being fill'd, as they gave out, with an Enthusiastic Inspiration, gave out Oracles to the Notaries that requir'd them; *Chaldeans*, or Fortune-tellers, were much the same with the *Mathematici*, who read Men's Doom by calculating their Nativities, and finding what Constellations govern'd at the time of their Birth; *Magi*, were properly such as dealt in Charms and Conjurations, fram'd into odd and uncouth Schemes of words; *Malefici*, in a strict sense, were those that traded in *Necromancy*, but are here us'd in a more general way, as comprehending all the other Professors of these Diabolic Arts. This was at the beginning, and about the end of the same year out comes another Law^e against them that exercis'd Arts of Magic, by which they undertook to disorder the course of Nature, and do mischief to the Lives of innocent Persons, and by peculiar Charms to disquiet and conjure up Spirits, and the Souls of the Departed, that they might become Instruments of Revenge upon their Enemies, such persons, as being contrary to Nature, he commands to be destroy'd *Ferali peste*, that is, as some think, by being burnt alive, the ordinary punishment of Magicians among the *Romans*, or as others more probably, by being thrown to wild Beasts. Either of them severe enough, and yet not exceeding the merits of such enormous Villanies.

VI. ABOUT the end of *April* this year *Constantinus* came to *Rome*, where he took care to Regulate several things that were amiss there. And now probably it was, that he took away the famous Altar, and Image of *Victory*, which being plac'd upon a triumphal Cha-

^b *Ibid. l. 5.*^c *Ann. Marcell. l. 16. p. 1498.*^d *C. Th. lib. 9. Tit. XVI l. 4. ubi vid. comment. Gothofr.*^e *Ibid. l. 5.*

riot, stood in the Entrance or *Portico* of the *Capitol*. It was the only Idol left there, for tho it had been remov'd by *Constantin*, yet was it again restor'd by *Magnentius*, and now taken away a second time, to the infinite grief and resentment of the *Gentiles*, who heavily complain'd^f of it, especially *Symmachus*, who rais'd no little stir and bustle about it afterwards. After a month's stay at *Rome*, the Emperour return'd back to *Milan*, where finding that notwithstanding all the Provision he could make, the Trade of Divination still went on, and crept into his very Court, to the hazard of his Person and Government, he publish'd a most severe Law^g the year following against this sort of Men, setting forth, that altho in any part of the World they were to be accounted Enemies of Mankind, yet when they presum'd to intrude into his Court or Presence, they offer'd a more immediate violence to Majesty. If therefore any Magician or Diviner, or any practising that way, should be found either in his Court, or in that of *Cesar*, be he of what rank or condition soever, he should not escape being tortur'd, tho in other cases the Law exempted persons of Honour and Dignity from that Penalty; so that if upon proof he still persisted to deny the Fact, notwithstanding the privilege of his Place and Quality, he should, as in ordinary cases of High-Treason, be put upon the Rack, and have his flesh rak'd off his sides with *Ungula*, or Iron Hooks, made on purpose to torment the Malefactor. And indeed 'twas but time for *Constantinus* to look about him, both with respect to himself and *Julian*. As to himself, he had a fresh instance at hand. *Barbario*,^h General of the Foot, had a swarm of Bees settled in his House; the Man was infinitely concern'd at the Accident, and presently went to consult the Southsayers, who told him, it portended some extraordinary Events, and gave him intimation of an advancement to the Empire. This the Man kept secret, and march'd out with the Army; but his Wife, jealous of her own Interest, wrote to him, to beg, that after *Constantinus*'s Death, which was then at hand, and himself, according to his expectations, advanc'd to the Empire, he would not despise her, nor prefer *Eusebia*, the Queen-Dowager that was to be, a Woman of exquisite Beauty, before her. A Copy of this Letter her Maid carried privily to Court, whereby the whole Design came to light, for which both *Barbario* and his Wife died, and several others were rack'd as accomplices in the Treason. And then for *Julian*, *Constantinus* had for some time suspected him of hatching ill Designs, and knew that his chief Converse was with this sort of Men, who, by all the little insinuations of their Art, endeavour'd to push forward his youthful Ambition. He always kept a company of Magicians about him, who went in the habit, and under the notion, of Philosophers, and sent for a famous Pagan Priest out of *Greece*, with whom alone he us'd to spend some time, and transact some Affairs in private, just before he broke out into an open Rebellion against *Constantinus*. These things every day more and more alarm'd the Emperours suspicions, and awaken'd his severity against these Men, especially after he understood that there was a mighty concourse toⁱ *Abydus*,^h a Town in *Thebais*, famous for a Temple of *Bera*, the topical God of that Country, and he as much celebrated for his Oracles, and those who could not come themselves, sent their Questions in writing. This was represented to the Emperour as a thing of dangerous consequence,

^f *Tit. Symmach. Relat. l. 10. Ep. 54. p. 538.*^g *Lib. 9. C. Th. Tit. XVI l. 6. p. 124.*^h *Ann. Marcell. l. 18. p. 1524.*ⁱ *Ann. Marcell. l. 19. p. 1555.*

quence, who immediately dispatch'd away *Paulus* and some others into the *East* to examine the matter, and call persons to account. Among others, *Simplicius* was accus'd for having put Questions to the Oracle about his obtaining the Empire, and tho' commanded to be tortur'd, was only banish'd; many more were banish'd, or rack'd, or tormented, and their Estates confiscated. And so rigorous were the Proceedings, (if my Author say true) that if a Man wore but an Amulet about his Neck for the cure of a Quartan Ague, or any other Distemper, or walk'd but at night among the Tombs and Monuments, he was forthwith challeng'd for a Conjuror, and as a person trading in *Necromancy*, and was put to Death as guilty of High-Treason. The last thing considerable that *Constantius* did, was a Law¹ (if not the last, the last of this nature) he made to exempt the Clergy in every place, whether in City or Country, from all Civil Offices, which he did the rather, he says, because he rejoyc'd and gloried in nothing more, than in his munificence to the Church, well knowing, that the Empire was better preserv'd and kept in order by Religion, than by any external Offices, or corporal Labours whatsoever. This Law bears date *March* the 17th, *Ann.* CCCLXI. at *Antioch*, whither he had retir'd from the *Persian* Expedition for his Winter Quarters, and whence he set out to go against *Julian*, but died in his march at *Mopsucene*, *October* the 5th, others say *November* the 3d, partly wearied out with Troubles, partly Heart-broken with the Ingratitude and Rebellion of his Cousin *Julian*, wherein, now it was too late, he was sufficiently sensible of his Error, it being one of the three things he solemnly repented of upon his Death-bed, that he had taken him into a Partnership of the Empire.

¹ C. T. lib. 16.
T. II. l. 16.
P. 44.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

The State of Paganism under the Reign
of J U L I A N.

Julian's Parentage, and Education under several Masters. His inclinations to Paganism nourish'd by Libanius and others, who blew him up with hopes of the Empire. His subtle dissimulation of Christianity confest'd by his greatest admirers. His taking upon him the place of a Reader, and erecting an Oratory to *S. Mamas the Martyr*. His residence at Athens, and frequent consulting with Pagan Priests. His driving away the Dæmons at a Consult, by an undesign'd making the sign of the Cross. Advanc'd to the Dignity of Cæsar, upon what account. Sent into Gaul to govern there, and to repress the Germans. Auspicious Omens at his arrival there. His great success, and assuming the Empire. An account of it sent to *Constantius*, and his passionate Resentment of it. *Julian's* preparation to march against *Constantius*. His gradual opening his Resolutions to restore Paganism, and his caressing the greater Cities to that purpose. The forwardness of some zealous Gentiles in setting up their Superstitions. His arrival at Constantinople, and public care about the restitution of the Gentile-Rites, their Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, Ceremonies, Revenues, &c. His Zeal for these things in his own Person and Practice. The principal methods he made use of for the suppressing Christianity, and restoring the Gentile Religion, considered. His design to reform Paganism from its more gross Abuses; an Abstract of his wise Discourses, and prudent Directions, to that end: His endeavours to conform it to the excellent Institutions of Christianity; his Letter to *Arsacius*, Chief-Priest of Galatia, to that purpose. His taking all occasions of exposing Christians, and making them and their Religion appear ridiculous. His Wit mainly employ'd that way. The Title of Galileans by Law fix'd upon them. The blasphemous Speeches and Practices

lives of others after his Example, and their fatal and miserable Ends. His traducing the Emperour Constantine, as a person dear to Christians. His attempts to bring Christians low, and to weaken their Power and Interest, by banishing them from all places of Honour and Trust, by unreasonable Fines and Taxations, and by setting the several Parties of Christians at variance with each other. Instances given of all these. His con-
 viving at the Persecution rais'd against the Christians by his Commanders and Governours. His abstaining from open Persecution, why; tho it fell heavy upon particular persons and places. His discouraging and driving away the Bishops and Clergy, and abolishing their Revenues and Privileges. The policy of that attempt. His encouraging the Jews, and restoring their Temple and Religion, in opposition to the Christians. The advantages which he propounded to himself therein. His endeavour to extinguish all Human Learning among the Christians, thereby to make them more pliable to Gentile-Insinuations. The folly of that attempt. The infinite encouragement he gave to Philosophers, and all that appear'd able and zealous against Christians. His project to ensnare unwary Christians into a compliance with Pagan Superstition. Some Instances given of it. The Historical part of the remainder of his time briefly profecuted. His expedition against Persia. The Orations he compos'd in his march in honour of the Pagan Deities. His coming to Antioch, and reproaching them with the notorious neglect of the Gentile Rites. The scurrilous Reflections cast upon him by the people of that City. His writing his Misopogon, a Satyrical Discourse, to be reveng'd of them. His departure from Antioch, and execrable Divinations at Carræ, the Relicks whereof found after his Death. His engagement with the Persians, ill Success, and Death. The Author of his Death unknown: Several Reports concerning it; charg'd by Libanius upon the Christians. Some extraordinary passages relating to his Death. His Character. The seasonableness of his Death to the Christians. Nazianzen's triumphant Discourse upon it.

I.



LIBIAN was the youngest of the three Sons of Constantine, Brother by the Fathers side to Constantine the Great. He was born at Constantinople, An. CCCXXXI. His Mother Basilina died soon after, and his Father was taken off in the first of Constantine. At seven years of Age he was committed to the tutorage of Mardonius the Eunuch, who read to him, and form'd his tender years to a strict course of Vertue, and an utter aversion to all those Pleasures and Diversions that are apt to debauch the Minds and Manners of young Gentlemen: And therefore 'tis a great mistake in Baronius,¹ when from Julian's account of his Education under this Man, he makes him to have instill'd into him the first Principles of Paganism, when, as 'tis plain, Julian represents it only as an ironical Accusation of his Master for training him up to such four Manners, and so great an hatred of Luxury and Effeminacy; an humour so ingrateful and displeasing to the people of Antioch. And Libanius^m puts the case past adventure, when he tells us, this Eunuch was an excellent Guardian of Temperance and Sobriety,

^k Ful. Misop. p. 78. Cc. Socr. l. 2. c. 1. p. 165. Sozom. l. 5. c. 2. p. 593.

^l Ad Ann. 337. N. 17/11.

^m Epitaph. in Ful. nec. p. 262, 263.

Sobriety, but withall, a bitter and open Enemy to the Gods. Under the conduct of this Mardonius he attended some other Masters, famous Professors at that time: Nicocles the Laconian for Grammar, and for Rhetoric Eccebolus the Sophist. But Constantine thought it not safe to continue him in the Imperial City, and therefore sent him and his Brother Gallus to Macellus, a Mannor belonging to the Crown, at the foot of the Mountain Argæus, not far from Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where there was a magnificent Palace, pleasant Gardens, adorn'd with Baths and Fountains, and other noble Entertainments: Tho Julian himself seems to speak of it under a worse Character, and look'd upon their confinement there as a better sort of Imprisonment, not being allow'd to go thence upon any occasion, and being restrain'd from all other Company but that of their own Servants. Six years they remain'd in this place, during which time they were educated in all Arts and Exercises suitable to their Age and Birth. After which, Gallus being call'd to Court, Julian was suffer'd to return to Constantinople, where he frequented the Schools of the most celebrated Professors, and became so famous for his proficiency in Learning, his plain Garb, and familiar Carriage, that he began to be talk'd of as a person fit to succeed in the Empire. To silence the spreading of such Rumours, Constantine remov'd him to Nicodemia, and recommended him to the care and superintendency of Eusebius, Bishop of that place, who by the Mother's side was somewhat of kin to him. The Emperour began to suspect his Inclinations, and therefore gave particular Charge, that he should hold no Correspondence with Libanius, a famous Orator, but a profest'd zealous Pagan, who having been forc'd to quit Constantinople, had open'd a School at Nicomedia. But 'tis hard to chain up natural Inclinations, tho the Emperour had commanded, and his Tutor Mardonius had engag'd him by Oaths to have nothing to do with Libanius, he could not wholly contain himself. He did not indeed personally converse with him, but a way was found out, whereby his Orations and Speeches were by a secret Messenger convey'd to him every day, which he read with infinite greediness and delight, and laid before him as a Copy for his imitation. The news of his coming to Nicomedia brought thither Maximus, one of the greatest Philosophers of that Age, who, under pretence of teaching him Philosophy, confirm'd him in his love of Paganism, and his spleen against Christianity: And being a Man famous for Magic, blew him up into a belief of the common report, that he should one day be Emperour, which so endear'd the Man to him, that he took him into his most intimate friendship, and accounted him one of the most valuable Blessings of his Life.

II. ALL this he manag'd with great artifice and subtilty: For knowing how jealous his Cousin Constantine was of his affection towards the Heathen Religion, he profest'd himself a zealous Christian, and to cast the greater blind upon it, he took upon him the Tonfure, enter'd into a Monastic life, and suffer'd himself to be ordain'd Reader of that Church, where he read the Scriptures in the public Congregation. Nay, so far did his disguis'd Zeal extend, that he pretended a passionate Honour and Reverence for the Martyrs, and joyn'd with his Brother Gallus to erect a stately Oratory to the memory of S. Marcellus the Martyr, the one undertaking one part of the Work, and the other

ⁿ Epist. ad Athan. oper. part. 1. p. 499.

^o Liban. Panegy. ad Jul. p. 175. in Jul. nec. p. 263. Socr. loc. cit. iud. Ant. Marc. l. 22. p. 162a.

^p Sozom. lib. sup. Nazianz. Orat. 1. in Jul. p. 58. Theod. l. 3. c. 2. p. 125.

other the other. But God disdain'd that either himself or his Servants should be honour'd with such thick and damnable Hypocrisy, and accordingly gave testimony from Heaven against it: For when that part of the Church which *Gallus* had undertaken went up apace, and prosper'd, that of *Julian* could take no effect; in some places the Foundations could not be laid, the Earth throwing up the Stones again; in others, where 'twas built up to any height, it was immediately shatter'd, and tumbled to the ground. An accident that administred great variety of Discourse, and made many preface what would be the event and issue of things. However, he kept himself upon his Guard, tho he could not forbear, where he knew his Company, to open and disclose the Secrets of his Mind; and many times in discourse with his Brother *Gallus*, he would take upon him very eagerly to defend the cause of suppress'd Paganism, wherein tho he pretended to manage the cause only by way of disputation, yet the warmth of his Temper, and the strength and seriousness of his Arguments, sufficiently shew'd he did it *ex animo*, what colour soever he otherwise put upon it. And his Practice was accordingly: For whatever he made the World believe, he equally divided his time between Study and Idolatry, studying all day, and sacrificing at night. And the thing is confess'd by one of his dearest friends, than whom none knew him better, that it being dangerous for him to appear in his own Colours, he seem'd to be another Man than what he really was, and in public hid himself under another Dress; he was not the *As* in the *Lion's* skin, but a *Lion* clad with the skin of an *As*, (as my Author expresses it, scoffingly reflecting upon his Christian Profession :) He well understood the best way, ἡδύμην δὲ πρὸς ἀποκρυψέμεν, but he thought good to dissemble, and for the present to steer the safest Course. While in truth it almost broke his Heart to see the Temples desolate, the Sacrifices forbidden and neglected, the Altars and Victims taken away, the Priests banish'd, and the Revenues of the Temples shar'd among the Impure and Profane. And, if we may believe *Libanius*, it was not Pleasure or Power, Grandeur and Dominion, made him affect the Empire, but only to have an opportunity to restore the Worship of the Gods. But this, as yet, he kept to himself, waiting a more favourable season wherein to declare himself. This hypocritical Garb he wore about him 'till he was twenty years old, when he put it off by degrees. He left *Nicomedia*, and retir'd to some little part of his paternal Estate in *Asia*, for the far greatest part had been confiscated by *Constantius*. But finding the Times growing troublesome and dangerous, by mediation of the Emperors, who always stood his friend, he got leave to go to *Athens*, under pretence to perfect his Studies, but indeed to enjoy the Company of Philosophers and Pagan Priests, and to consult more securely about future Events. And he wanted not enough of that Tribe to attend him, nay he frequented the most celebrated Oracles in *Greece*. Among the rest he met with a Priest, who seem'd more peculiarly for his turn: The Priest brought him to the Temple, and carrying him into the innermost Retirements, began to conjure up the *Demons* about him. *Julian* was affrighted at the sudden and horrid Appearance, and in that amazement sign'd himself with the sign of the Cross, whereat the *Demons* immediately vanish'd. The Priest was angry, and severely chid him, and withal told him, that the

Demons

Demons had fled not because they were afraid of the Cross, but because they were angry at his making use of that detestable Sign. And so the Contest ended, and the Priest initiated him in those solemn Rites and Mysteries.

III. HIS Brother *Gallus*, who had been some years *Cesar*, was now for some treasonable Innovations depos'd, and put to Death. But things going to rack in *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Constantius* was necessitated to think of another Partner, and none could be thought of so proper as *Julian*; the Emperors *Eusebia* whispering it into *Constantius*'s Ears, that he was a young Man, of a simple undesigning temper, wholly addicted to his Books, and unacquainted with the tricks of Ambition, and the intrigues of Government: If Success attended his Enterprizes, the Glory of them would redound to the Emperour; if he miscarried, and was cut off, they should be rid of him, and there would be none left of the Royal Family to hatch any dangerous Designs against the Empire. He reupon he was sent for to Court. Before he left *Athens*, with Prayers and Tears he solemnly recommended himself to the care and protection of *Minerva*, the tutelary Goddess of that place. He pretends he went to Court upon this Errand with a mighty Reluctancy, and when he came to *Milan*, drew up a Letter to the Emperors to be excus'd from it, which the Gods, he tells us, whom he consulted upon this occasion, did by a Vision at night forbid him to send upon pain of Death. So he was invested with the Title and Ornaments of *Cesar*, and sent into *Gaul*, but with a Train and Retinue altogether Strangers to him, and some persons join'd with him, and set as so many Spies about him, especially *Marcellus* and *Sallustius*, without whose privacy no Persons nor Dispatches could be brought to him. He had only two intimate Confidants along with him, the one his Library-keeper, who alone was privy to, and assisted him in the Secrets of his Religion; the other his Physician, who was his familiar Friend and Companion, whom I suppose to have been *Oribasius*, one of the most eminent Physicians of that time. He complains he was sent thither in the midst of Winter with but three hundred and sixty Men, and himself in a manner subjected to the Officers, being so limited in his Commission, that he could attempt nothing without their Concurrence, and they charg'd to keep as quick an Eye upon him, as upon the Enemy. However, encouraging himself in the presence and assistance of the Gods, which he promis'd himself would go along with him, he undertook the Expedition. At his arrival at *Vienne* in *Gaul*, when the whole City ran out to see him, and to give him an honourable Reception, an old blind Woman being told who 'twas that was coming, cried out, That he was the person that should repair and restore the Temples: And at his entrance into another City, adorn'd (as the custom was) for the reception of so great a person, a Crown that hung between two Pillars, dropt full upon his Head as he pass'd under it; look'd upon by all as a plain Omen of his sudden succeeding in the Empire. Five or six years he manag'd this Province with admirable success, all which time he publicly profess'd himself a Christian, and would sometimes, especially upon the Feast of the Epiphania, go to Church, and offer up his Prayers to God. What he did otherwise was by stealth, rising at Midnight, and doing his Devotions to *Mercury*. And finding now by Auguries and Divinations that *Constantius*

was

^a Zosim. l. 1. p. 72.

^a Euseb. ad Athanas. l. 5. c. 2. ad Liban. Epist. in Jul. nec. p. 258.

^a Vid. Eunap. in vit. Oribas. p. 142.

^a Liban. loc. cit. p. 270.

^a Am. Marcell. l. 15. p. 1457.

^a Id. l. 21. p. 1584.

^b Id. l. 16. p. 1468.

^c Id. l. 21. p. 1582.

^a Naz. ibid. p. 61.

^a Liban. Epist. in Jul. nec. p. 265.

^a Id. ib. p. 265.

^a Theod. l. 3. c. 3. p. 126.

was not like to live long. Designs were set on foot with all speed to advance him to the Empire. And to hasten the matter, and inflame the Army, Papers^a were scatter'd abroad among the several Regiments, containing an account of the mischievous Designs that were hatching against *Julian*, and that the Emperour intended to withdraw his Forces, and leave him expos'd to the utmost danger; as indeed *Constantius* had sent to recall part of the Army, which he had occasion to make use of in his Wars with *Persia*. Upon this the Army began to mutiny, and refus'd to march, and coming to the Palace, clamorously requir'd him to take the Empire upon him, who went presently apart and made his Address to *Jupiter*, and having receiv'd a favourable and benign Answer, comply'd with their Importunity, who lifting him up upon a Shield, and in want of a better Crown, a Soldier's Wreath being put about his Head, they saluted and proclaim'd him Emperour. He had now thrown the Dye, and was necessitated to maintain what he had done. But that he might proceed with the greater fairness and plausibility, he first dispatch'd an Embassy to *Constantius*, to let him know, that his assuming the Imperial Power was a force put upon him by others, more than his own voluntary choice; and that if he pleas'd, he was ready to lay it down again, and return to the station and capacity of *Cæsar*. *Constantius* told the Ambassador, That if he would secure his Head from the Vengeance due to so great an Insolence, he should not only quit the Empire, but resign the *Cæsarean* Dignity, and returning to a private Station, refer himself to him. Upon the declaration of which Message, *Julian* openly affirmed, He would much rather commit himself and his Fortunes to the Gods, than trust his Life with *Constantius*. And in order whereunto, he prepar'd to march into the Eastern Parts, giving out, he did it only to satisfy *Constantius* in the true reason of what had pass'd. He had long since among his Confidants abjur'd Christianity, but his Army being most what made up of Christians, he durst not yet publicly renounce it, and therefore came into the Church upon *Christmas-day*, and did his Devotions among the rest. But the more he secur'd his Interest in the Soldiery, the more he open'd his Inclinations to Paganism every day. All along his march he wrote^e to most of the great Cities, accommodating himself to their several Humours or Interests. That to the Senate and People of *Athens* is still extant, wherein he gives them a large and accurate account of his Affairs, what Designs he had on foot, what Injuries and Provocations had been offer'd him by *Constantius*, and how the Army had forc'd him, contrary to his inclinations, to take the Empire upon him. In his Letters to his private Friends he dealt more openly; in that to *Maximus*,^g he tells him among other things, he would acquaint him with what he knew he would be right glad to hear, that they publicly worship'd, and sacrific'd to the Gods, and that the whole Army was of his Religion, and that in gratitude to the Gods several *Hecatombs* had been already offer'd up. And indeed knowing his mind, they began in several places, and particularly in *Greece*,^h to open their Temples, and to beautify and trim them up, and to introduce Sacrifices; all which he encourag'd by his Counsel, Direction, and Example: Nay, no sooner did the first newsⁱ of his assuming the Empire arrive at *Constantinople*, but some, forward enough to adore the Rising-Sun, set up his Statue

in

in the Porch of *Constantine's* Palace in that City; and *Demophilus*, Commander of the Soldiers, a bigotted *Gentile*, erected a Porphyry Pillar to him, with this Inscription, ΜΕΤΑΣ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΤΙΑΡΑΝ Ο ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ, *The Great and the Religious Julian*.

IV. HE arriv'd upon the Borders of *Illyricum* about Autumn, when the Vintage was over, and yet on a sudden^k the Vines put out afresh, and appear'd laden with four Grapes, and at the same time certain drops of Dew fell upon his and his Soldiers Coats, every drop forming it self into the fashion of a Cross; both which he made a shift to interpret, the one as an effect of Chance, the other as a forerunner of good Fortune. In *Thrace* he heard the news of *Constantius's* death, who died in *Cilicia* as he was coming with a great Army to encounter him. Thus deliver'd from his fears, and all Rivalty and Partnership in the Empire, he march'd with all speed to *Constantinople*, which he enter'd *December the 11th, Ann. CCCLXI.* and having solemniz'd the Funerals of *Constantius*, began to let the World see, what Religion he intended to espouse. He order'd the Temples^l to be set open, those that were decay'd, to be repair'd, and where new ones were wanting, to be built: The Privileges and Endowments whereof he restor'd; where any Temples had been demolish'd, and the Materials converted to private uses, he find the persons that had made use of them in a certain sum of Money, which he commanded should go towards the building new ones. Altars were every where set up, and the whole train of *Gentile-Rites*, Ceremonies, and Sacrifices, brought again into use. So that, as *Libanius* tells us, you could go no where, but you might behold Altars and Fires, Blood, Perfumes, and Smoak, and Priests attending their Sacrifices without fear or interruption; the tops of Hills had their Oblations, and sacrificial Feasts, and the Imperial Palace its Temple and sacred Furniture. The Emperour assum'd^m the Title and Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and valu'd it as equal to that of Emperour; he renounc'd his Baptism, and profan'd it by polluting himself with their bloody Rites, which he oppos'd to the Christian method of Initiation. The first thing he did every morning as soon as out of his Bed, was to sacrifice to the Gods: He went up and down in person, and was both present, and assisted at public Sacrifices, and gave encouragement to all that did so, writing to those Cities which he knew most devoted to *Gentilism*, and promising to grant whatsoever they should ask. The warrant of so great an Example made the *Gentiles* unmeasurably insolent in every place, so that not content with leave to celebrate their impious Mysteries, they beganⁿ in their wild cursitations up and down the Streets to scold and deride the Christians, and by all imaginable ways of scorn and reproach to expose them and their Religion. And when with much greater advantage the Christians paid them home in their own kind, they burst out into a rage, and with blows and wounds fell foul upon them, the Emperour in the mean time conniving at what was done. In short, he recall'd the Laws lately made against Pagan Superstition, and confirm'd the ancient Edicts of his Predecessors that had been made in favour of them. And here perhaps 'twill be no unacceptable entertainment to the Reader, to present him with some of the principal methods *Julian* made use of for the supporting Paganism, and the suppressing Christianity.

V. AND

^a *Jul. Ep. ad Athen. p. 519. Ec. Zosim. l. 3. p. 710. Liban. ubi supr. p. 282.*

^e *Zonar. Annal. Tom. III. p. 19.*

^g *Lib. Panegy. Jul. p. 242. Or. pro Aristoph. p. 217. vid. Zos. ib. p. 712. Mamert. Paneg. Jul. p. 53.*

^h *Ep. xxxviii. p. 182.*

ⁱ *Liban. Epitaph. in Jul. nec. p. 288. Demetri. Chronol. Gr. & Lat. à Combef. Edit. lib. Orig. C. P. p. 25.*

^k *Sozom. l. 1. c. 1. p. 590.*

^l *Liban. Epitaph. in nec. Jul. p. 291. de vit. Jul. p. 41. Sozom. ib. c. 3. p. 596. Naz. ubi supr. p. 70. An. Marcell. l. 22. p. 1612.*

^m *Liban. Orat. VIII. l. 245.*

ⁿ *Theod. l. 3. c. 6. p. 129.*

V. AND first, he set himself to reform Paganism, and the Professors of it, from the more gross Corruptions, and to introduce many wife and excellent Institutions, which he observ'd among the Christians. The faults and follies of the *Gentile* World were so conspicuous in themselves, and had been so often expos'd by Christians, that they lay open to every Eye. And he had no way to recover his Religion into any credit, but by retrenching what was so very scandalous and offensive, and planting what was more useful and excellent in the room of it. Earnestly therefore, and with great importunity, he press'd, that Magistrates would take care, that Men liv'd justly and according to the Laws, and express'd a great Piety towards the Gods, and Humanity towards Men, that they would correct Men only in order to their Reformation, and relieve the Necessities they lie under, as the Gods do ours; that this was the best and noblest quality, and that which did most recommend us to the favour of the Gods, who could not but be pleas'd with what was most agreeable to their own nature, and would certainly reward it, seeing no Man was ever made poor by his Charity; and he himself had often found, that the more he had given this way, the more he had receiv'd from Heaven; that our bounty to the Poor ought not to be stinted or limited, all Mankind is a kin to us, whether we will or no, and we derive our Pedigree from one common Original, and accordingly ought liberally to communicate to the needs of all, even to the worst of Men, and our greatest Enemies, (it being the Men we are to relieve, and not their Vices) but more especially to the Good and Vertuous. That being train'd up in, and acted by these generous Principles, every Man should strive to be pious towards the Gods, kind to Men, chaste and regular in their own Persons, and conversant in all the duties and offices of Religion; especially that he should always entertain in his Mind sacred and venerable apprehensions of the Gods, and with sanctity and honour approach their Temples, and adore their Statues and Images, as if we beheld themselves present before our Eyes: For we were not to look upon Altars and Images as Gods, (the Gods being incorporeal, and in themselves needing no Sacrifices) but as Symbols and Representations of the Divine Presence, and as means and instruments by which we might pay our Adoration to them. And because nothing tended more immediately to secure the Honour and Interest of Religion, than a just Respect and Reverence towards those who attend the Ministries and Solemnities of it, he thought it highly reasonable, that the Priests should be honour'd equally with, or rather above the Civil Magistrates, as being the Domesticities of Heaven, our common Intercessors with the Gods, and the means of deriving down their Blessings upon the World. And so long as they retain'd this Relation, they were to be treated with a reverence due to their Function, but if debauch'd and vicious, they should be depos'd, and turn'd out. Persons invested with this Office, were to undertake as Sureties for the honour of the Gods, and should behave themselves so, that their Lives might be a Copy and Pattern of what they were to preach to Men: That to this end, they should engage in all acts of Worship with a mighty awe and dread, and abstain not only from all vile and wicked Actions, but Words also, yea, from listening to any such Discourses, from all scurrilous and abusive Jest, all filthy and impure Converse; that they should

should read no idle Books, trifling Pamphlets, or loose wanton Plays, but seriously apply themselves to the study of that divine Philosophy, which was most apt to beget a great sense of God upon Mens Minds, and to learn by heart the Hymns that were to be sung in praise of the Gods, to whom they were both publicly and privately to put up their Supplications at least thrice a day, however, that nothing less than Morning and Evening should serve the turn, that every Priest in the course of his waiting should intirely attend upon it, and never depart out of the Temple, but give himself up to philosophic Thoughts, and a careful discharge of the Duties of that place; and when his time expir'd, and he was to return home, he converse with none but the best and most select Company, seldom go into the *Forum*, or approach the Houses of great Men, unless in cases that concern'd his Office, and when he might be helpful to the Poor and Indigent; to be habit'd when he went abroad in a plain decent Garb, and different from what he wears in his Ministration in the Temple, that in no case they should frequent the *Theaters*, or exhibit any obscene Sports or Shows in their own Houses, which he wish'd were reform'd, or quite taken away, but since there was little hopes of that, that the Priests at least should abstain from all such Theatrical Impurities, and leave them to the people, and be so careful of their Converse, as not to be seen in the company and familiarity of a *Charioteer*, or any Player or Dancer belonging to the *Theater*. Lastly, that in every City they ought to be chosen out of the best, the most religious and charitable Persons, without any consideration whether they be rich or poor, external circumstances not being to be regarded in this matter. 'Twas enough if the person was endu'd with Piety to God, and Humanity to Men. An evidence of the first whereof it would be, if he train'd up his Domesticities and Relatives in the same paths of Piety: Of the latter, if out of that little which he has, he freely distributes to the Indigent, and does good to as many as he can. And the neglect of this, he tells them, was that which gave opportunity to the wicked *Galileans* by their singular Humanity and Charity, to strengthen and establish their pernicious Party, and pervert honest-minded *Gentiles* to their Impiety.

VI. THIS is the sum of that excellent Discourse, (so much of it as is now extant) wherein he lays down Rules for reforming Paganism, which indeed he sought to bring as near as might be to those admirable methods and forms of Discipline, by which he saw Christianity had mainly prevail'd in the World. In imitation 'whereof, he design'd and endeavour'd to introduce Schools for the Education of Youth in every City, Churches and Altars of different degrees and privileges, Lectures both of moral and speculative Theology, stated tunes, and forms of alternate Prayer, the use of Anathematism and Pennance, Monasteries for devout and philosophic Persons of either Sex, Alms-houses and Hospitals for the Poor and Cripple, and the reception of Strangers, and what he most admir'd, the commendatory Ecclesiastic Epistles, or Letters testimonial, from the Bishop or Governor of the Church, whereby persons travelling from one Country to another were upon the producing these Letters sure to meet, wherever they came, with a very kind and ready Entertainment. All which he heartily recommends in his Letter to *Arfacius*, which, because so express to the case in hand, we shall here insert.

* *Frigen. Epist.*
p. 529. &c.

* *ib. p. 536. &c.*

* *ib. p. 542. &c.*

* *ib. p. 547. &c.*

* *Naz. Orat. 1.*
in *Jul. p. 101.*
Soz. l. 5. c. 16.
p. 617.

* *Jul. Epist.*
XLIX. p. 202.
* *ap. Soz. ib.*
p. 619.

To ARSACIUS Chief-Priest of GALATIA.

That the Gentile-Religion does not as yet go on according to our desire and expectation, is the fault of those that do profess it: for what has been done in reference to the Gods is splendid and magnificent, and great beyond either our desires or hopes. For (with reverence to the Justice of the Divine Providence be it spoken) to bring about such and so great a change in so short a time, was more than any Man a little while since durst so much as wish for. What then? Shall we acquiesce here, and think these things enough, and not rather cast our Eyes upon those things that have advanc'd the impious Religion of the Christians? I mean, their kindness and compassion to Strangers, their diligent care in burying the Dead, and that feigned seriousness and gravity that appears in their whole carriage; all which, I am of opinion, we ought really to put in practice. Nor is it enough that you alone are thus qualified, but all the Priests in Galatia ought to be altogether such: And to that purpose either shame, or persuade them into it, or remove them from their sacerdotal function, unless, together with their Wives, Children, and Servants, they studiously apply themselves to the worship of the Gods, not suffering their Servants, Children, or Wives, to be Galileans, who are despisers of the Gods, and prefer Impiety before Religion. Moreover, warn every Priest that he go not to the Theater, nor sit drinking in Taverns, nor apply himself to any mean sordid Trade. Those that comply, give them honour and respect: those that continue obstinate, turn them out. Appoint several hospitals for poor Travellers in every City, that indigent Strangers, not of ours only, but of any other way, may enjoy the benefit of our Grace and Charity. For the defraying which Expences, I have now made provision; for I have order'd thirty thousand Modii (or Bushels) of Wheat to be yearly distributed throughout Galatia, and sixty thousand Quarts of Wine: A fifth part whereof I will have allow'd to the poor Officers that wait upon the Priests, the remainder you shall distribute among the poor and Strangers: For it were a great shame, that when none of the Jews go a begging, and when the wretched Galileans relieve not only their own, but ours too, that our poor only should be deserted by us, and left naked and helpless. Wherefore admonish and instruct the Gentiles, that they contribute liberally to these Services, and that every Village dedicate their first fruits to the Gods. Accustom them to this kind of Benevolence, and shew them that this has of old been practis'd among us. For so Homer brings in Eumæus speaking thus:

Ζεῦ ἢ μοι θεῦς ἐς, οὐτ' εἰ χυδαῖον σέθεν ἔλθοις,
 Ζεῖνον ἀπὸ μὲν πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἶναι Λατιάδης
 Ζεῖνοί τε Πρωχρίτη· δόσος δ' ὀλίγη πὶ φίλῃ πῆ.

Welcom,

Welcom, kind Stranger, 'tis not just with me
 Strangers to slight, tho meaner far than thee:
 Strangers and Beggars are alike from Jove;
 Mean is thy Treatment, yet a Feast of Love.

Let us not then suffer others, who emulate our pious usages, to carry away the Glory from us, while by our carelessness and negligence we disgrace our selves, and seem rather to betray and forfeit our Piety to the Gods. If I hear you shall bring these things about, I shall rejoyce exceedingly. So but seldom to the Governours Houses, but write often to them. When they make their entrance into any City, let no Priest go out to meet them; if they come to the Temples, let him only meet them in the Porch; and when they enter in, let no Officer go before them, but as many as will may follow after, for no sooner does any one set his foot over the Threshold of that place, but he becomes a private Man, equal with the rest. For your self, you know, are sole Commander there, according to Divine Constitutions. Such only as are obedient, are the true worshippers of God, they that stand upon Pomp and Grandeur, are proud and vain-glorious. For my part, I am ready to afford Relief to them of Pessimus, provided they atone and propitiate the Godhead of the Gods; but if they shall slight her, they shall not only be not blameless, but, which I am loath to tell them, incur our heavy Indignation.

Οὐ γὰρ μοι θεῦς ἐστὶ χυδαῖον, ἢ ἐλαΐον
 Ἀνδρες, οἱ γὰρ ποτὶν ἀπὸ γαλιλαίων ἀσπασάμενοι.

'Tis impious to be kind to them,
 Who do th' Immortal Gods contemn.

Persuade them therefore, if they desire I should take any care of them, universally to make their public Supplications to the Godhead of the Gods.

By this design'd Reformation, and which, had he liv'd, he would no doubt in a great measure have accomplish'd, he hop'd to render his Religion so amiable in the Eyes of Christians, as easily to bring them over to it, at least he should throw out of the way those popular Objections that were commonly made against it.

VII. SECONDLY, he took all occasions of exposing Christians, and making them and their Religion appear ridiculous to the World. He was a Man of great Wit, and his Wit particularly set to a sharp and sarcastic Edge, and he principally turn'd it this way. He read the Scriptures for no other end but to cavil or confute them, to pick out, as he thought, the most obnoxious passages, which he first dress'd up according to his own humour, and then derided them, and set them up for others to laugh at. If he met with a seeming contradiction, he made it real; if with an hyperbolic expression, he improv'd it into Blasphemy, and would run it down as inconsistent

with the Dictates of infinite Wisdom. He scorn'd the simplicity of the Apostles and Prophets, whom he represented as a pack of ignorant and illiterate fellows, that had no Breeding and Education, and understood little beyond the Shop, or a Trade. He carp'd at them almost in every Epistle, and in his *Persian Expedition* wrote seven whole Books in confutation of Christianity, which were afterwards solidly and fully answer'd by S. *Cyrill of Alexandria*. When he spake at any time of our Saviour, he would give him no other Title than the *Son of Mary*, or the *Galilean*, and by a particular Law^a commanded, That the Followers of our Lord should not be called Christians, but *Galileans*, foolishly thinking to render them odious to the World by clapping an infamous Name upon them. The Imperial Standard^{*} of the Cross, which his Uncle had made with so pious an Intention, and with such exquisite Artifice, he took down, and in the room of it put up another, in all his Pictures and Statues representing *Jupiter* near him as coming down from Heaven, and delivering him a Crown and the Purple, the two *Insignia* of the Empire; sometimes he had *Mars* and *Mercury* looking upon him, and seeming to give Testimony, one to his Valour, the other to his Eloquence. And his great Officers walk'd apace after his Example. His Uncle *Julian*,^y who was Governour of the *East*, entering into a Church of the Christians at *Antioch*, piss'd against the Holy Table, and when *Enzoims* reprov'd him for it, he took him a box on the Ear. And his Colleague *Felix*, Keeper of the Imperial Treasures, and who in compliance with the Emperour, had renounc'd his Christianity, taking up the noble and magnificent Communion Plate, which the Piety of the former Emperours had bestow'd upon the Church, See (said he in a scorn) *in what brave Cups and Vessels the Son of Mary is serv'd*. But behold the Justice of the Divine Providence, that immediately overtook these blasphemous Miscreants. *Julian* was seiz'd with a miserable Distemper, his Bowels rotted within him, and his very Excrements flow'd out of his prophane Mouth, and after having lien forty days together under the most unconceivable torments of the Bowels, he breath'd out his miserable Soul; tho before his Death his Lady, a pious and vertuous Christian, had brought him to so great a sence of his Sin, that he petition'd the Emperour in the behalf of the Christians. *Felix* had a quicker Execution, for one of the Master-Veins breaking, all the Blood in his Body emptied it self out at his Mouth, to the horror and amazement of all that saw it, and in less than a days time he vomited up his Blood and his Soul together. But to return to the Emperour, who catch'd at all advantages of deriding whatever had any relation to Christianity: And because he knew how just a Reverence the Christians paid to the memory of the great *Constantine* for being the first open Patron of Christianity, he traduc'd him at every turn, and in the conclusion of his *Cæsars*, represents him as a person notoriously guilty of the most scandalous Effeminacy and Debauchery, with other Vices as falsely as spitefully charg'd upon him; and indeed hooks in all occasions to bespatter and reproach him. And in the same place he proclaims the Christian Religion to be little else but a Receptracle and Sanctuary for Rogues and Villains, where the vilest of Men might shelter themselves, and tho guilty of the most enormous Crimes, might upon a little trifling Penance be *toties quoties*, in a moment made pure and clean. This he thought

^a Naz. *ibid.*
p. 81.

^{*} *Id ib.* p. 75.
Soc. ubi sup.
p. 621.

^y *Theod. l. 3.*
c. 12, 13 p. 135.
Philost. l. 7.
c. 10. p. 506.

must needs render it cheap and ridiculous to all wise and considering Men, and if he did not laugh Christians out of their Religion, he should however confirm the *Gentiles* in his own.

VIII. THIRDLY, he fought by all ways to bring Christians low, and to weaken and destroy their Power and Interest: To this end, *First*, He banish'd them out of all places^{*} of Honour and Authority, reducing them to this *Dilemma*, either to do Sacrifice, or to quit their Employment, and become incapable of all Civil Offices. If they complied with the first, he had his ends, and they fell under the reproachful Character of persons, who lov'd their Places better than their Consciences, and prefer'd an empty Honour before their Religion; if they laid them down, he was rid of so many potent and dangerous Enemies, who might head a Party to oppose his Designs, or at least encourage the common sort of Christians to stand to their Religion with a firmer constancy and resolution. Thus among others, *Valentinian*, who was afterwards Emperour, generously threw up his place of *Colonel* of one part of the Guards of the Palace, and submitted to the sentence of Banishment, rather than he would come under the least shadow of an Idolatrous Compliance, whereof more in its proper place. And not content with this, where any had been employ'd in the Reigns of the preceding Emperours, in demolishing Pagan Altars, pulling down Temples, taking away their Ornaments, or the like, he not only stript them of their Honours and Privileges, but suffer'd them to be indicted, condemned, and executed, where a bare Accusation, was many times proof enough. *Secondly*, He exacted unreasonable sums of Money from them on all occasions, that being impoverish'd, they might either lie under a strong temptation to Apostacy, or be secur'd from attempting any thing against the Civil State. Hence the Fines, Penalties, and Confiscations, that fill'd his Reign, any pretence serving to start a Title to their Estates. If a Man was but suspected to have enrich'd himself by any Revenues formerly belonging to Heathen Temples, he was presently brought into the Exchequer, and right or wrong forc'd to refund: If guilty of the least Mutiny or Riot, their Purse were sure to smart for it. Thus when the *Arians*^a at *Edeffa* had fallen foul upon the *Valentinian* Heretics, he presently seiz'd the Treasures of that Church, which he bestow'd upon his Soldiers, and the Lands, which he appropriated to his own use, jeering them into the bargain, that he did but herein deal with them according to the admirable Law of their own Religion, ease them of their Burden, that they might go so much the lighter unto the Kingdom of Heaven, and that being made poor, they might become wise, and not fall short of that heavenly Kingdom they so greedily expected. But nothing serv'd him to better purpose than his War against *Persia*, under pretence^b whereof he amass'd infinite Treasures, imposing a heavy pecuniary Mule't upon the Heads of all those that refus'd to offer Sacrifice to the Gods. The Edict was executed with merciless severity, yea even upon those who had nothing to pay: Nay, the Commanders and Officers stretch'd it beyond its natural intention, extorting greater sums than the Edict had impos'd, beating and abusing them that refus'd to pay. And when the Christians complain'd to him of the Oppressions and Injuries which in this case the Governours of Provinces put upon them, all the Redress they

^{*} *Soc. l. 5. c. 18.*
p. 623. Chry-
sost. Mon. in
Juvenc. &
Max. T. 1.
p. 486.

^a *Jul. Epist.*
XLIII. p. 195.

^b *Niceph. l. 10.*
c. 24. p. 53.

could get, was a Sarcasm tart enough, *Your Christ* (said he) *has given you a Law, that when you suffer unjustly, you should bear it resolutely; and when oppress'd and injur'd, should not answer again.* Thirdly, He studied to set them a clashing and quarrelling with one another, that he might do his work with their hands. The politic Prince remember'd the old Maxim, *Divide, and govern*; 'twas but setting them together by the Ears, and they would ruine themselves. He was not ignorant what powerful Factions there were among them, what implacable Feuds and Animosities had been exercis'd between several Parties in the times of his Predecessors; he knew these bitter Contentions were not forgotten, and that they would return to them with fresh, and perhaps more eager Appetites. To which end he no sooner came to the Crown, but he recall'd the banish'd Bishops, whom he gave leave to return to their Sees, possess'd by those, who he knew would not easily part with them. And tho to gain himself the Reputation of a wise and merciful Prince, he sent for the Bishops and their people to Court, and press'd them to concord, and that every one would peaceably enjoy the freedom of his own way, yet the design at the bottom was plainly this, that he might set them a wrangling more effectually, and that the liberty he gave them might widen and encrease their Dissentions, that so they might be incapable of confederating into any dangerous and formidable Combinations, as is confess'd by his own Historian.^d An artifice he was sure would take effect, having by experience found (says mine Author, with reproach enough if it was true) that no kind of wild beasts were so outrageous to Mankind, as some Christians were to one another. At the same time, and for the same purpose, he gave the like Indulgence to all sorts of Heretics, and wrote particularly to *Actius*,^e the Patron and Ringleader of the *Eunomian* Sect, whom he not only permitted to return home, but sent for to Court at his own charge; who (that I may note this by the way) was no sooner return'd, but his Party gather'd about him, and ordain'd him Bishop, and *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople* wrote in his behalf to *Euzoius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who getting together a convention of nine Bishops, synodically cancell'd all the Acts that had been made against *Actius*, particularly those that had pass'd in the late Council at *Constantinople*. Besides this favour to *Actius*, at *Cyzicum* the Empe-
 rour commanded *Eusebius* Bishop of that place to rebuild the Church of the *Novatians*, which he had formerly pull'd down, at his own charge, placing a heavy Fine upon his head, if he did not within two Months set upon it. He publish'd likewise an Edict^h in favour of the *Donatists*, a Sect of Men peculiarly dispos'd to Quarrels and Contentions, whom he restor'd to their Liberties, Revenues, and the Possession of their Churches. What fatal and mischievous effects this licentious Toleration produc'd in the Christian World, they who have read the Church History of that time, need not be told.

IX. FOURTHLY, tho he himself abstain'd from open Persecution, yet he conniv'd at those that did persecute the Christians. He passionately affected the character of Justice and Clemency, and knew no readier way to do it, than by treating his declared Adversaries with some kind of Gentleness and Lenity. Hence he gloriesⁱ once and again, how kind he had been to the *Galileans*, beyond the rate of that usage they had met with in the time of his Predecessors, instead

^a Sozom. l. 5. c. 5. p. 611.
^b Philost. l. 7. c. 4. p. 504.

^d Am. Marcell. l. 22. p. 1612.

^e Epist. XXXI. p. 164.

^f Philost. l. 7. c. 5. 6. p. 504.

^g Soz. l. 3. c. 11. p. 183.

^h Vid. c. Tb. lib. 16. l. 38. & Goshof. Comment.

ⁱ Epist. VII. p. 120. l. 11. p. 212.

of Banishment, they had been sent for home; instead of a Prison, they enjoy'd Liberty; instead of being plunder'd, their confiscated Goods had been by Edict restor'd to them; that he had commanded none of them to be beaten, abus'd, or put to death without Law, and beyond the Rules of Justice. And notwithstanding their madnes and folly had almost ruin'd all, yet the worst he had done them was, that in his esteem and choice of Persons, he had preferr'd pious and good Men before them: And one of his greatest Advocates^k triumphs in this, that he did not prosecute the untrue Religion (meaning the Christian) with Fire and Sword, nor drive Men over by Cruelty and Torment; which yet must be understood of his general carriage, and what he did above-board, and of negative rather than positive Favours. Besides, he consider'd, that all the methods of Rage and Fierceness would never compass or attain his ends; he might put the World into a Flame and a Combustion, but he could never drive the Christians out of it, nor force them to be of his mind; their Religion might be shaken, but it would take deeper Root. He had observ'd^l the unhappy miscarriages of his Pagan Predecessors, who by sanguinary Laws, and rigorous Proceedings, had been so far from extinguishing Christianity, that they had spread it through the World, and that the Churches Field was never more fruitful, than when water'd with the Blood of Martyrs, who grew up thicker the faster they were mow'd down. Great and generous Minds are not easily daunted with opposition, but grow up thereby into a more manly Courage and Resolution. In the midst of all their spite and cruelty Christians could court the Stake and the Flames, the Sword and the Rack, and their Persecutors sometimes had enough to do to keep them from pressing on to an Execution, and people could not but enquire into, admire, and embrace that Religion, which supported and invigorated the Minds of its Professors, and made them triumph in the midst of those Sufferings, which were beyond all the Powers of humane Nature to bear up under. The same Spirit he saw continued still, and Christians were as ready as their Enemies, and to use his own expression, *Give them but occasion, and they'll crowd as fast to Martyrdom, as Bees swarm to their Hives*. But he would not gratifie them in that, tho it had been so dearly to their cost; he envied them the honour of Martyrdom, a thing he found they so eagerly desired, and valued beyond all the conveniences of Life, or the enjoyments and advantages of this World. And if any died in defence of their Religion, he commanded they should not be accounted Martyrs, and that they should be thought to dye for any Crimes, rather than upon the account of Religion. For these reasons he laid aside all thoughts of a public and general Persecution, which would have made him and his Party so much the more odious, and them more great and venerable. But tho no public Warrants were issued out, he left his Commanders and Governours to use their discretion, especially in those places that were far from Court, who were not backward to improve their Authority and Power. They well understood their Master's mind, and from one instance among others might take measures from all the rest, when upon occasion of a complaint^m made to him of a miserable outrage the *Gentiles* had committed upon the Christians at *Cesarea*, he replied, *What great matter is it, if one Gentile-hand dispatch ten Galileans*. This made it a hot season,

^k Liban. Epistaph. Ful. p. 290.

^l Chrys. loc. sup. citat. Sozom. lib. c. 4. p. 599. Naz. ubi sup. p. 72.

^m Naz. ibid. p. 92.

notwithstanding the general Indulgence among the poor Provincials, especially in some Parts, where the Governours proceeded with all the cruelty which Men's Bodies or Estates were capable of, and with all manner of violence against their Churches, and the Rites of their Religion. A particular account whereof I could easily give, but that it would require a *Martyrology*, rather than an incidental mention in an Introduction. Some few of the most considerable *Theodorici* has brought together, where the Reader may find them. Nay, not content to abuse the Living, their Rage extended to the Dead. Among others, they dug up the Bones of the Prophet *Elisba*, and *John the Baptist*, (both buried at *Samarina*) which having mix'd with the Bones of Beasts, they burnt to Ashes, and then scatter'd the Ashes before the Wind.

X. FIFTHLY, he endeavour'd especially to discourage and weary out their Bishops and Clergy. This had been an old trick, and vigorously attempted in all Ages by the great Enemy of Mankind; 'twas but for the Wolf to persuade the Flock they had no need of a Shepherd, and his work was done. The Clergy have always been the great Eye-sore to Men of pernicious and atheistical Principles, whose desperate Designs they have strenuously oppos'd and countermin'd, and could never be brought to be content, that the World should be over-run with Atheism and Impiety, and the people moulded into any shape, and thereby betray the Souls committed to their charge. This, whatever may be pretended, is the true source and original of all that Spite and Malice they are encounter'd with by Men of bad Minds, and of all those hard Names and characters of Reproach to this day fix'd upon them by an ingrateful and degenerate World. *Julian* pretended, the reason of his hard usage of them, was, lest they should stir up the people to Sedition, but in truth it was to be rid of them, that by their absence the people might be destitute of all means of Instruction and Information, and the divine Efficacy and Obligation of the Sacraments, and be by degrees brought into ignorance of, or an unconcernedness for their own Religion, and then they were fit to receive any impression; take but away the Candle, and darkness will ensue; if the Shepherd be smitten, the Sheep will be scatter'd. To compass this more effectually, he first seiz'd their Incomes, and took away their allowances of Corn; next, he abrogated their Immunities; and whereas by the favour of former Princes they had been exempt from being of the *Curiales*, he repeal'd these Laws, and made them liable to the burdens and offices of the Civil Courts, especially where any of them had been ordain'd out of that Body: And when this would not do, he endeavour'd to remove and drive them away by fraud or force. At *Antioch* the Churches were shut up, the Plate and Treasures seiz'd into the Exchequer, and the Clergy forc'd to fly. So 'twas at *Cyzicum*, where there was not the least shadow of Sedition. At *Bosstra* he threaten'd *Titus* the Bishop, that if any Mutiny happen'd, he would lay all the blame upon him and his Clergy; and when the Bishop to clear himself sent his Apology to Court, to assure him, that tho the Christians were the far greater number, yet they liv'd peaceably under his Conduct, the Emperour wrote back to the City, making a spiteful and disingenuous representation of the Bishop's Letter, as if he had contain'd nothing but malicious and scurrilous reflections upon

upon them, exciting the Commonalty to expell him as a common Enemy and Calumniator out of the City. And in some places proceeded to that extremity, as to cast them into Prison, and expose them to great pains and tortures.

XI. SIXTHLY, he gave all manner of assistance and encouragement to the *Jews*, merely in spite and opposition to the Christians: And herein we have a notorious Instance how far Malice will stoop to serve its ends. *Julian* hated the *Jews* almost equally with the Christians, and yet when he found they were likely to be proper Instruments to his purpose, he spake tenderly of them, pittied their miserable and afflicted State, desired their Prayers in his *Persian* Wars, releas'd the Tribute put them upon, and press'd them to the rebuilding their Temple, re-edifying their Altar, and restoring their Sacrifices, and the Solemnities of their Worship. In order whereunto he sent them a Commission, allow'd the charges of the Work out of his own Exchequer, and appointed Officers to superintend it, and that the Governour of the Province should aid and assist them in it. Two things especially he propounded to himself in this: *First*, That by thus obliging the *Jews*, he should be the better able to bring them over to his own Religion; or however that went, should thrust an incurable Thorn into the sides of Christians. He was not to be told what an inveterate and implacable Enmity the *Jews* bore to Christians, and that being now back'd with the Royal Authority, they would not only reproach and belpatter, but oppress and trample upon them, and pursue them with the utmost violence of a fierce and ungovernable Zeal. *Secondly*, He hop'd by restoring the Temple and legal Worship, to evidence to the World, that our Saviour was an Impostor and false Prophet, who had so expressly foretold the final and irrevocable dissolution of that Church and State. So the work was carried on with all possible briskness and activity, and nothing was thought of but Feasts and Triumphs, when Heaven on a sudden baffled the whole Enterprize, and many illustrious and miraculous Appearances of the Divine Vengeance forc'd the Workmen to sit down, and give over in Despair; and what the Emperour design'd as a way to suppress, became a means to advance Christianity, no inconsiderable number being hereby brought over to the Christian Faith. Of all which particulars, an account is given at large in the Life of *S. Cyril of Jerusalem*.

XII. SEVENTHLY, he endeavour'd to suppress and extinguish all humane Learning amongst the Christians, well knowing how naturally Ignorance opens the way to Barbarism and Impiety. To bring this about, he publish'd a Law, that no Professor of any Art or Science should set up in any place, till by long exercise he was fitted for it, and after mature deliberation, had gain'd the approbation and decree of the Court of that City, with the consent of the *Optimates*, and that this Decree should be sent first to him for his allowance. Next he forbid Christian School-Masters to teach any Gentile-Learning, to instruct and educate Children in their Arts, or to read their Books to them; which his own Historian more than once censures as a churchly and cruel Edict, worthy to be cover'd with Eternal silence. By this means he design'd to let in Rudeness and Ignorance among the Christians, and thereby dispose them to any impressions he might make upon them, to prevent the Youth's being perverted by going to the

*a. L. 3. c. 7.
p. 129. 130.
vid. c. 16. 17,
18. 19.
• Polloft. l. 7.
c. 4. p. 503.
Niceph. l. 10.
c. 13. p. 32.
Ruffin. l. 2.
c. 28. p. 258.*

*p. Soc. l. 5.
c. 15. p. 616.
Jul. Ep. l. II.
p. 252.*

*Soc. ib. c. 5.
p. 600. Philoff.
l. 7. c. 4. vid.
C. Tb. lib. 12.
Tit. l. I. 50.
lib. 13. Tit. I.
l. 4.*

** Soc. ib. p. 616.
c. Jul. Ep. p.
cii.*

** C. Tb. lib. 13.
Tit. III. l. 5.
p. 30.*

** Naz. lib.
p. 51. Soc. ib.
p. 623. Theod.
l. 3. c. 3. p. 131.
• Am. Marcell.
l. 21. p. 1626.
l. 25. p. 1656.*

* *Ap. Theod.*
loc. cit. Socr.
 l. 3. c. 12.
 p. 184.
 † *Naz. ibid.* &
 p. 97.

Christian Schools, to render them of his own Party more able to dispute with and baffle Christians, at least that Christians might be less able to encounter them, and to discern their sophistical Reasonings, their false and fallacious Insinuations, *Left otherwise (said he*) we be shot through with our own Arrows, and they being furnish'd with our Armour, make War upon us with our own Weapons.* He challeng'd the Learning and Writings of the Gentiles as their own proper Goods, who alone embrac'd the Religion, and worship'd the Gods, which they treated of; that these were unnecessary to Christians, who were train'd up to an illiterate Clownishness, and the sum of whose Doctrine lay in *τὸ πιστεύειν, Believe, and 'tis enough*; and that by this Prohibition he did but retrieve stolen Goods, and restore them to their right owners. But besides the folly of the attempt it self, seeing 'tho he might hinder them from speaking elegantly and genteely, he could not hinder them from speaking truth, which was mighty, and would prevail and make its way, notwithstanding all their Plots and Devices to the contrary; besides this, it did but whet on *Nazianzen* and the two *Apollinaries*, who by their acute Poems, and elegant Orations, abundantly supply'd the defect of all Heathen Authors, as we have elsewhere observ'd.

* *Epiſt. I. X.*
 p. 122.

Phil. Socr. l. 3.
 c. 1. p. 163.

XIII. EIGHTHLY, above all Men he highly honour'd, embrac'd, and rewarded Philosophers, and those who were likely most vigorously to oppose and refute Christianity. It griev'd him to see the Christian Faith so largely spread, so firmly rooted, and so many excellent Books written, either in defence, or explication of it; and he sticks not to tell us, he heartily wish'd all Writings that concern'd the Doctrine of the wicked *Galileans*, were quite banish'd out of the World. But because there were no hopes of that, he encourag'd all the Sophists, Philosophers, and Orators, that he could meet with, to bend their Wits and Studies this way; whom he resettled in their own Countries and Possessions, allow'd them Pensions, and peculiar Privileges, and indeed whatever they could reasonably desire or expect from him. This fill'd all Schools and Colleges, all Courts and Corners with Lectures, Invectives, and Declamations against Christians. This made the philosophising Trade go on apace, every one desiring to comply with the Emperour's humour, though a great part of them had little more of the Philosopher in them, besides the Habit and the Cloak: This brought so many of them to Court, that the Palace seem'd a kind of Academy, where all places were crowded with Philosophers, *Aristotels*, and Magicians; *Jamblicus, Libanius, Maximus, Ecboilius, Oribasius*, and great numbers more; whom he took into his Bosom, and made privy to his greatest Intrigues, steer'd Affairs by their Councils, and in their company spent his leisure-hours, and indeed was impatient at any time when they were wanting. And these being the Men that were generally intrusted with the education of Youth, and who govern'd and directed the Minds and Consciences of the people, he was sure of so many sworn Enemies to Christianity, who would not fail to lay out all their Talents and Abilities that way. And the truth is, if Wit, or Learning, or Eloquence, could have done it, he had certainly driven it out of the World. But the *foolishness of God is wiser than Men, and his weakness stronger than Men*, who baffled all their tricks of Artifice and Subtlety, and made *foolish the Wisdom of this World.*

XIV. NINTH-

XIV. NINTHLY, he tried by several secret and subtle Artifices to ensnare unwary Christians into compliance with Pagan Superstitions, that having once drawn them in, he might either wholly bring them over, or, by the reflection upon what they had done, disquiet their Consciences, as the very report of it might undermine their Reputations. Of this, a few Instances shall suffice. He used to place the Images of the Heathen Gods next to, or behind his own Statues, that when the people came according to custom to do obedience to the one, they might do it also to the other: Those that did it, he persuaded to venture a little farther; those that discover'd the Cheat, and refus'd, he charg'd with Treason, and proceeded against them as Delinquents against the Laws and Customs of the Empire. When the Soldiers came at the solemn times to receive their Donative, the ancient usage was at the same time to throw a piece of Frankincense into the Fire in honour of the Gods, which tho the Christians generally detested, yet some few, surpriz'd therewith by an inveterate custom, did it. But being minded afterwards of what they had done, such an horror seiz'd upon their Consciences, that they run up and down like mad Men, went to the Emperour, and threw back their Donatives, publicly professing themselves Christians, and desiring they might dye to give testimony to their Religion. At other times he would defile the Springs and Fountains with Gentile-Sacrifices, and sprinkle all the Flesh-meat, or whatsoever sort of Food was brought to Market, with hallowed Water offer'd to their Gods, that so they could neither eat nor drink, but they must seem at least to enter into a Partnership with Idolatry. The Christians resented it with a just indignation, tho they knew withal, *S. Paul* had long since determin'd this case. Upon this occasion *Juvenius* and *Maximus*, two Officers in the Imperial Guards, express'd a vehement dislike of the Emperour's action, with a tart reflection upon his Apostacy. For which, being summon'd and examin'd, they plainly told him, *Sir, we have been educated in the true Religion, and having submitted to those excellent Laws establish'd by Constantine and his Children, cannot but now bewail the Abominations which we see you cast about in every place, while you pollute both Meat and Drink with impure filthy Sacrifices. These are the things we lament and complain of, both at home, and now again in your presence, and mourn under as the great blemish of your Reign.* *Julian*, notwithstanding all his Gravity and Philosophical Attainments, was so nettled at this Answer, that he could not pass it over, but commanded them to be first miserably tortured, and then put to death. Tho he would not have it thought that they suffer'd upon the account of Religion, but only for their bold and petulant carriage to himself.

XV. HAVING thus view'd the methods by which *Julian* sought to extirpate Christianity, we proceed to the Historical remainder of his Reign. Seven or eight (*Zosimus* by mistake makes it ten) Months he stay'd at *Constantinople*, when having settled Affairs there, he conceiv'd it high time to take care of the Eastern Borders of the Empire: In order whereunto he cross'd the *Helleſpont*, and passing through *Bythinia*, came to *Pessinus*, a City of *Galatia*, situate in the Confines of the Greater *Phrygia*, where stood a very ancient Temple dedicated to *Rhea* or *Ceres*, the Mother of all Heathen Deities, the Worship whereof he restor'd, and created *Callixenes* Priest, and having

* *Socr. ib. c. 17.*
 p. 621. *N. C.*
 ib. p. 74 & 53.

b Theod. l. 3.
 c. 15. p. 137.
Chryſost. Orat.
in Juven. &
Max. T. 1.
 p. 457. &c.

* *Liban. in Jul.*
 nov. p. 254.

^a Id. Epiph. in
Jul. nec p. 30.

^c Jul. Misopog.
p. 96, &c.

^d Socr. l. 3. c. 18.
p. 191. Socr.
l. 6. c. 19, 20.
p. 626. Amm.
Marc. l. 22.
p. 1629.

^e Philost. l. 7.
c. 12. p. 507.

paid his Devotions to the Goddes, publish'd ^d an elegant Oration (the work but of one night) in honour of the Mother of the Gods; as about the same time at another night he drew up a smart Invective against an illiterate Philosopher, who pretending himself a *Cynic*, and of *Diogenes* his Tribe, did yet condemn the strict and severe Principles of that Institution by a loose and vicious Life. Thence he pass'd the *Pyle*, and through *Cilicia*, and came to *Antioch*, where he arriv'd about the latter end of *July*, *Anno*. CCCLXII. He found the City almost wholly Christian, and the Pagan Rites generally neglected. He went into the famous Temple ^e of *Apollo* in the *Daphne*, on its great annual Festival, where instead of great Crowds and magnificent Oblations, which he expected, he found neither the one nor the other, whereat he wondred, thinking the People staid without, and waited his leave to come in: But the Priest told him, the City had provided no manner of Sacrifices, and that he had only there one poor Goose, which he had brought from home, to make an Offering to the God. The Emperour was highly offended, and expostulated sharply with the Senate, that in such a City there should be found so much Irreverence to the Gods, beyond what was to be met with in the most barbarous Corner of the Empire; and that being so rich, they should not afford one little Bird for sacrifice, when every Ward might have brought an Oxe, much more the whole City joyn'd together; that they spar'd no cost in their private Feasts and Entertainments, while they gave not a penny to any public or private Sacrifice, but suffered their Wives to enrich the *Galileans*, and throw away their Estates upon their Poor; there was none of them but would celebrate their own Birth-days with all imaginable pomp and plenty, when they would not bestow a little Oyl for the Lamps, not a piece of Frankincense, nor the smallest Oblation upon the Solemnities of the Gods. He intended ^f it seems to consult this Oracle about the Success of his Affairs, but by its own confession found it was tongue-tyed in those matters by *Babylas* his Grave that was near it, and who had sometimes been Bishop of that place. He caus'd the Christians therefore to remove his Bones, which they did in a triumphant manner, and soon after, *viz.* *October* xxij. that famous Temple was burnt to the ground. And though 'twas highly probable it was fired by Light'ning, yet must it be charg'd upon the Christians, many of whom were put to the Rack, and the great Church at *Antioch* commanded to be shut up. But the story hereof we have more fully related in another place. I shall here only add, ^g that St. *Babylas* his Bones being translated from the *Daphne*, the Oracle there, and in other places, recovered its speech, and gave forth its Answers; God permitting the *Gentiles* to be ensnared in their own errors, and what they accounted the honour of their Religion, through the fallcness and vanity of their Predictions, turn'd to their disgrace. A great Instance whereof hap'ned about this time. The Emperour's Uncle lay sick of a most miserable and incurable Distemper; all the Oracles were consulted about his Life, which all with one Mouth pronounc'd, that he should recover. The Answers were taken and brought in writing, and while they were reading them to him, that very minute he died.

XVI. BUT that which further rais'd *Julian's* spleen against the Men of *Antioch* was this: The mighty Train he had brought along with

with him was likely enough to cause a scarcity, and he out of a vain affectation of Popularity ^h cried down the price of all vendible Commodities below what they could be afforded at. Hereupon the Traders withdrew, and brought nothing to Market, and so a real Famine ensued. This put the people into a Mutiny, who charg'd the fault upon the Emperour, and according to the humour of that place pelted him with satyirical Reflections, especially playing upon his long rough and ill-shap'd Beard; for which they call'd him a *Goat*, and usually said, 'twas good for nothing but to be shav'd off, and to make Ropes of it. And whereas out of his immoderate vein of superstition, he did not only offer up daily sacrifices, but had caus'd a Bull standing before the Altar to be stamp upon the Reverse of his Coins, it signified (they said) how much he had tols'd and overturn'd the World. *Julian* was sufficiently sensible of the Affront, and at first vow'd Revenge, and that he would leave their City, and remove to *Tarsus*. But he soon alter'd his Resolution, and chose rather to repay them in their own coin, telling them, ⁱ he would by no means have his Beard made into Ropes, lest the roughness of it should offend their tender and delicate hands, reflecting upon their nice and effeminate manners. And indeed he abundantly reveng'd himself upon them by a tart Satyr, which he call'd *Misopogon*, or the *Beard-bater*, wherein besides some historical passages of note and value, he does very sarcastically, and in an ironical way, expose the Vices of that People, especially charging them with Luxury and Intemperance, Softness and Effeminacy, that they did little but spend their time in Sports, and the Entertainments of the Theater, with Apostacy from the Religion of their Ancestors, and an over-sond Reverence for *Chi* and *Kappa*, that is, *Christ* and *Constantine*, and with an ill-order'd Magistracy, that neglected the public Weal, and complied with the Rich and Covetous, to the oppression of the common people. Winter being over, he departed with his Army from *Antioch* the first of *March*, and at his going out, to let them understand how much he resented the Affronts they had put upon him, told them, by a fatal prognostication, that he would never see them more: And the ^k story is commonly known, that when *Julian* march'd out with a great pomp and train, and had spoken big words of what he would do to the Christians at his return, *Libanius*, to add the greater scorn and reproach to them, ask'd a Christian School-man of his acquaintance at *Antioch*, what the Carpenter's Son was now doing? meaning our ever blessed Saviour. The Man replied with tartness enough, *he's making a Coffin for your Master Julian*. But to proceed: The Emperour marching on pass'd by *Edeffa*, which he would not enter, because so populously inhabited by Christians, (though *Zozimus* says the People of that place came generally out to meet him, presented him with a Crown, and courteously invited him into the City, which he accepted of and went accordingly;) and on the xviiith of *April* came to *Carre* a City of *Mesopotamia*, where he entred ^l into a Pagan Temple, and performed many secret and execrable Rites, which being finish'd, he seal'd up the doors, and set a Guard upon them, giving order, that none should open them 'till his return. But being broken open, upon the News of his Death, there was found a Woman hanging by the Hair of her Head, her Hands extended, and her Belly ript up, that

^h Socr. ib. c. 17.
p. 190. Socr.
ib. p. 624.
Amm. Marc. l. 22.
p. 1630. Zosim.
l. 3. p. 713.
Phil. Liban. de
F. N. l. vi. p. 42.
Epiph. F. N.
p. 306.

ⁱ Zonar. Annot.
Tom. III. p. 27.

^k Theod. lib. 3.
c. 23. p. 147.

^l Theod. ib. c.
26, 27. p. 147.

a pre-

a preface of future success might be made by the inspection of her Liver. And the like it seems he had done at *Antioch*, where many Chests were found in the Pallace filled with dead Mens Skulls, and several dead Bodies hid in Wells, no doubt the unhappy Engins and Monuments of his diabolical Divinations, (if the Story be not made worse, than perhaps it was.)

XVII. IT was about the midst of Summer when they came within sight of the *Persian* Army, where after several Skirmishes he was within a hopeful prospect of a final Victory, (the *Persian* Affairs being brought to that low ebb, that Embassadors ^m were appointed, and Presents prepar'd, which were to be sent next day, to beg a Treaty in order to Peace,) when venturing too far ⁿ in the pursuit, he was on a sudden struck with a Horseman's Lance, which grazing upon his Arm, pass'd in at his side, and went to the very lower lap or fillet of the Liver, with which as being two-edg'd he cut his Fingers while he strove to pull it out, and fainting with loss of spirits sunk down upon his Horse's neck. There went a Report, ^o that finding himself mortally wounded, he took a handful of his Blood, and throwing it up into the Air, cried out, *Galilean, thou hast got the better!* Though others conceiv'd he did it in contempt of the Sun, for having assisted the *Persians* more than him, especially the Sun having been the predominant Planet that govern'd his Nativity. We are told by an Author ^p of good credit, that being laid down for a while upon the Bank of a River, he had perswaded some of his most inward Confidants secretly to convey him into, and drown him in the River, that so the suddenness of his disappearing might take off the ignominy of his Death, and give him (as it had done some others in the like cases) the Reputation of a Deity. And the Plot had been accomplish'd, had not some of the Imperial Eunuchs discovered and prevented it. But of this there are no intimations in any other Writer. However 'tis certain some Designs were laid that way, to create in the peoples minds a Belief of his Divinity. For *Libanius* ^q tells us, that the Messengers that brought the first News of his being slain, were almost ston'd to death, for bringing up a slanderous and lying Report concerning a Person who was supposed to be a God, and consequently immortal. His wounds being perceiv'd to be dangerous, he was laid upon a Target, and carried into his Tent, where he died at Midnight. Various were the Reports ^r that went about how he came by his death-wound: Some say, 'twas given by an Angel; *Callistus*, an Officer of his Guards, and who wrote his Acts in an Heroic Poem, that 'twas done by a *Demon*: Some say, 'twas a revolted *Persian* that did it; others, a *Saracen*; others, a Jester, that used to go freely up and down the Army; and some, that 'twas one of his own Soldiers, out of revenge, that he had unadvisedly brought the Army into so great distress and danger. *Libanius* does not only affirm, ^s that he was kill'd by fraud and treachery, but without any other warrant than his own presumption, confidently charges ^t it upon the Christians, who took this opportunity (he says) to be reveng'd of him, and to rid him out of the world; and supports his conjecture with no wiser and stronger a probability, than than none of the *Persians* would confess who did it, no not, though the King proclaimed a great Reward to the person who should appear to demand and challenge it. But *Ammianus* ^u *Marcellinus*,

^m *Liban. Epistaph. Jul. p. 303.*
ⁿ *Am. Marc. l. 25. p. 1691.*

^o *Theod. ibid. c. 25. p. 147.*
^p *Sozom. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 638.*

^q *Naz. Orat. II. in Jul. p. 117.*

^r *Ubi sup. p. 330.*

^s *Naz. ib. p. 115. Socr. l. 3. c. 21. p. 195.*
^t *Sozom. lib. c. 1. p. 636. Theod. ib. p. 146.*

^u *Or. de Temp. p. 24.*

^v *Orat. Epistaph. in nec. Jul. p. 324.*
^w *Phil. Soz. loc. cit.*

^x *Ubi supra.*

linus, a more grave and sober Writer, and present at the Fight, says, 'twas uncertain who did it; and *Eutropius*, ^y a Pagan too, and at that time upon the spot, that 'twas done *hostili manu*, by the hand of the Enemy. Among the various extraordinary passages relating to his Death, that reported by *Sozomen* ^z must not be omitted; who tells us, that a certain intimate Acquaintance of *Julian's* following after him in his *Persian* Expedition, came to a place, where finding no convenient Inn to entertain him, he lodg'd that night in the Church, and in his sleep he had a Vision, wherein he beheld several Apostles and Prophets, who assembling themselves into one company; began to complain of the extream Injuries the Emperour did to the Church, and to advise what was to be done in that case. The Consul was long, and when they could come to no conclusion, two of the company rose up, and had the rest be of good cheer, and as resolving to put a sudden period to *Julian's* Life and Reign, immediately departed the assembly. The Man hereupon was afraid, and resolv'd to go no farther, but there to await the Issue of things. The next night taking his rest in the same place, he beheld the very same Convention, whereinto the two persons, who the night before had gone out against *Julian*, suddenly return'd from their Expedition, and gave an account to the company of his being slain; as the very same day his Death was proclaim'd by Horsemen in the Air to *Didymus* at *Alexandria*. And when *Julian*, the Monk, whom the *Syrians* call'd *Sabba*, ^{aa} or *The Aged*, and who had his Cell on the *Eastern* Bank of the River *Euphrates*, in the Province of *Osroena*, had heard of the great severities wherewith the Emperour had threat'n'd the Christians, he applied himself with continual tears and prayers to Heaven, when on a sudden he started up, wip'd his Eyes, and put on a most pleas'd and cheerful look. Those that were near him were surpriz'd at it, and ask'd the reason of so sudden a change? He told them, that the Wild-Boar that had wasted the Lord's Vineyard had now paid for all the Injuries he had done to it, that he lay dead upon the ground, incapable of doing it any farther harm. Whereat they all rose up, and sang a gratulatory Hymn to God. And soon after they understood, that the very same day and hour *Julian* had been slain in the Battel. To all which let me add what *Zonaras* ^{ab} relates on this occasion, that a certain Judge at *Antioch*, and he too a *Gentile*, watching all night at the *Pratorium*, saw an unusual Constellation in the Heavens, the Stars forming themselves into these words, Σήμερον ἐν Περσίᾳ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀναστρέται, *This day is Julian slain in Persia*. Which accordingly prov'd true, and became the means of the Man's conversion to the Christian Faith. He died *June xxvi. Ann. CCCLXIII.* in the Thirty second Year of his Age, when he had reigned not full two Years. A Prince truly of great Virtues, prudent, considerative, impartial, strictly just, chaste, and temperate, patient of hardship, unwearied in his labours, valorous in his attempts, even to rashness and precipitancy. He had a quick Wit, but too much inclin'd to *Satyrism*, a nimble Apprehension, and Learning beyond most Princes; but with all, was a passionate affecter of praise and popularity, one that lov'd to talk much, and not seldom vain-gloriously enough in his own commendation. He was, even in the Character of his own Writers, superstitious rather than religious, an immoderate lover of the Rites, Cere-

^y *Lib. 10. p. 133.*

^z *Lib. 6. c. 2. p. 637.*

^{aa} *Theod. lib. 3. c. 24. p. 145.*

^{ab} *Annal. torn. III. p. 24.*

Ceremonies, and Usages of Paganism, which he reviv'd, and defended both with his Sword and Pen, and in the Exercise whereof he spent no inconsiderable portions of his time, and profess'd himself an hearty Enemy to all that oppos'd them. In short, to give him his due, had not his Memory been stain'd with an Apostacy from the best Religion that ever was, and so bitter and incurable a Spleen against the Christians, he might have pass'd for one of the best Princes that ever manag'd the Roman Empire.

XVIII. BUT his Death hap'n'd opportunely to the poor Christians, 'twas *πληγὴ καὶ ἰατρικὴ αἰσίων, καὶ πασι τοῖς ὑπομνηστέον*, a truly scabonable wound, says *Nazianzen*, that restored health and safety to the Christian World, who otherwise were sure to have felt (and 'twas but what he had threat'ned) the utmost effects of his severity and displeasure, had he return'd victorious from the *Persian Expedition*. And the truth is, had his Reign been extended to any great number of years, he would have mightily distress'd Christianity, and have reduc'd it perhaps to a lower ebb, than ever it had been at in the times of any of his most fierce and violent Predecessors. No body therefore can blame them, if they entertain'd the News of his Death with joy and triumph; the Churches were filled with Hymns and Thanksgivings, their Houses with Feasts and Merriments, and the very Theaters chanted out the Glories of the Cross, and derided the Vanity of the Heathen Oracles: And at *Antioch*, the People insulted over *Maximus*, the great Philosopher and Magician, that had blown up *Julian* into all this Folly and Cruelty, and unanimously cried out, *What's now become, O thou foolish Maximus! of all thy Oracles and Divinations? God and his Christ have overcome.* I conclude this short, but famous Period, with the Words of *Nazianzen* in his second Invektive against *Julian*, publish'd not long after his death, which when he had at large discours'd of, "These (*says he*) are the accounts that are given by us poor contemptible *Galileans*, who worship a crucified Saviour, and profess our selves the Disciples and Followers of Fishermen, and illiterate Tradesmen, as they are pleas'd to phrase it. These are the things which we sit down and sing in the company of our old Women; we that have half starv'd our selves with long fasting and abstinence; that watch it seems to little purpose, and play the fool in our Night-devotions; and yet have made shift to lay you flat upon your back. Where are now your Grammarians and Orators? where are your Privy-councillors, (that I may begin my *ἑνθουσιασμός*, in the words of one of our unlearned and despised Party?) what are become of your Sacrifices, your Rites and Mysteries? where are your public and your secret Victims? where are your Arts of Inspecting Entrails, so much talk'd of? your prognostic Divinations, and Spirits that gave Answers out of the Belly? what's become of the great *Babylon* you spake so much of, and the whole World, which by the promise of a few execrable sacrificial Divinations, you had devour'd and conquer'd? where are the *Persians*, and the *Medes*, which you had already in your hands? where are those Gods that led you on, and yet were forc'd to be carried before you, that fought both before, and together with you? where are the Oracles, that denounc'd such heavy things against the Christians, and fixt the time of our utter destruction, even to the

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**Loc. supra laudat.*

**Theod. ibid. c. 28. p. 147.*

**Ibid. p. 122.*

"rooting our very Name out of the World? They are all vanish'd; and are prov'd to be Lies and Fallhoods, and the Boasts and Vain-tings of the Ungodly are fled, and have disappear'd like the Shadow of a Dream.

SECT. IV.

In what Case *Gentilism* stood under the Reigns of JOVIAN, VALENTINIAN, and VALENS.

Pa. 49.



Jovian chosen Emperour, resolutely refuses it, 'till the Army professes it self Christian. He is traduc'd by the Pagans for his Zeal towards Christianity, which he owns to be the true Religion. His granting some kind of Indulgence to Men of any Religion. The great Commendations given him by Themistius the Philosopher upon that account. Moderation in Religion highly cried up and pleaded for by the Gentiles, when themselves stood in need of it. The sudden Death of Jovian. Valentinian elected by the Army. His Zeal against Pagan Idolatry, and Sufferings upon that account in the time of Julian. His Brother Valens taken into a Partnership in the Government. Indulgence granted to every one to use his own way of Worship. This Liberty abus'd by the Gentiles, and therefore retrench'd by several Laws. No Christians to be condemned to the Gladiatory

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diatory Sports, or to be forc'd to guard the Heathen Temples. The vanity of a Prediction of the Gentiles, that the Christian Religion should last but CCLXV. Years. All diviatory Consultations severely prohibited in the Eastern Parts. A magical Tripas made by the Gentiles for enquiring after Valens his Successor, and the manner of consulting it: Theodorus, a Gentile, intimated to be the Person. These Transactions discovered to Valens, who puts to death all Persons concern'd in the Conspiracy. A severe Process against all Philosophers and Magicians. Maximus, Tutor to Julian, beheaded upon this occasion. Great rigour us'd towards all whose Names began with THEOD, and yet Theodosius escap'd, and was his Successor. Books of Magic ordered to be burnt. St. Chrysostom in danger upon that account. Smart Proceedings against the Gentiles in the West, but moderated by the Intercession of the Senate. Privileges granted to the Provincial Priests. The Saracens, when and how converted to the Christian Faith. Ariannism, how it crept in among the Goths. Their Letters invented; and the Bible translated into that Language by Ulphilas their Bishop. Valens his Rage against the Catholics mitigated by an Oration which Themistius the Philosopher made to him to that purpose.

Socr. l. 3. c. 22.
p. 195. Soc.
l. 6. c. 3. p. 639.
Theod. l. 4. c. 1.
p. 151.



ON Julian's death, Jovian (or, as some call him, Jovinian) was by the Suffrage of the Army saluted Emperour. He was Primicerius of the Domestical Protectors, or Captain General of the Imperial Guards, a firm and resolv'd Christian, in so much that when Julian publish'd an Edi&ct, that the Army should either sacrifice or disband, he presently offered to lay down his Arms; but the Emperour knew

him to be too considerable a Person, to be easily parted with, and therefore continued him in his Command. Upon the shouts and acclamations of the Soldiers he bluntly told them, That he for his part was a Christian, and could not take upon him the Command of those Men, or the Conduct of that Army, that had been trained up in the impious Principles of the deceased Emperour; nor could he expect any Success from their Arms, who being destitute of the divine Blessing and Protection, must needs become a Prey and Derision to their Enemies. To this they almost unanimously replied, "Make no scruple, Sir, to venture upon the Empire, nor let the Impiety of our Principles be an Argument with you to decline it. For you will reign over Christians, Men instructed in the Laws of Piety: Those of us that are eldest, were brought up under the Institution and Discipline of Constantine; those that are next, under the Instructions of Constantius; and for the late Emperour, his Reign was so short, that it was not capable of making any deep Impression upon the Minds of Men. Upon this assurance, he took the Government upon him, and made Peace with the Persians upon the best Terms that those evil Circumstances they were under could admit. The trouble which the Gentiles conceiv'd for the Death of Julian was doubled upon them by the Election of Jovian, whose Zeal for Christianity they were too well assur'd of, and therefore in all places traduc'd

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duc'd and expos'd him by Lampoons and Pasquils, especially at Antioch, where they scattered Libels in the streets, and affixt them at every corner, and the very old Women broke scurrilous Jest upon him; and the rather perhaps to cry quits with the Christians; who had not long before dealt so by Julian. As indeed petulancy and a sarcastic Wit were the peculiar humour of that Place.

II. HE began his Reign, as became a wife and good Prince, with the Care of Religion. Warn'd with the unhappy Fate of his Predecessor, he wrote immediately to the Governours of Provinces to open the Churches, and diligently attend the Solemnities of Divine Worship, and let the Subjects know, that the Christian Religion was the only true way of Worship. He restor'd to the several Churches the Gifts and Revenues, and to the Clergy, and those who liv'd within the verge of it, the Privileges and Immunities which Julian had taken from them, particularly he restor'd the Corn-Canon, (as they call'd it) the yearly Allowance of Corn, which Constantine the Great had settled upon the Church, and which the late Emperour had abolish'd. But because a great Dearth rag'd at that time, he was forc'd for the present to cut off two thirds of that Tribute, promising to restore it intire as soon as the Famine was over, and would no doubt have made good his word, had God spar'd his Life. He also recall'd all those, both ecclesiastic and secular Persons, that in the late times had been banish'd for their Religion. The Pagan Temples he commanded to be shut up, and the public Sacrifices to be taken away; whereupon the Priests crept into Corners, and the very Philosophers were so frighted that they laid aside the Pallium, and habited themselves according to the common Garb. But this I conceive they did more out of fear of the Christians upon this great Turn of Affairs, than any positive Constitution of the Emperour to that purpose. For where-ever he came, he kindly receiv'd, and honourably entertain'd the Philosophers, and by an Edi&ct gave every man leave to serve God in his own way, which I understand not of the public but private Exercise of Religion. By this time he was entred upon his Consulship, and being arriv'd at Ancyra in Galatia, was met by Themistius the Philosopher, with some others of the Senatorian Order, where Themistius in an elegant Oration congratulated him for his new Honour and Dignity, and at large gives him his just commendation, especially for his compassion to the afflicted and banished, and his admirable care of Religion, his great Indulgence towards all, in leaving every one to the freedom of his own choice, and herein imitating God, who having planted in Mens Minds a natural Inclination to Religion, has left every Man free to chuse that way and means wherein he may best express it: Princes might compel to the outward Act, but the Mind was above all Warrants or Threatnings; Force may make Men Hypocrites, but not Religious; and to worship the Imperial Purple, not the Deity. Thence that unsteadiness and inconsistency that is in such Mens profession, for the force being taken off, they fluctuate to this or that, and change their Religion oftner than Euripus Ebbs and Flows. An Argument, which he there manages with all the advantages of a smooth, plausible, and rhetorical Infutation. And 'twas an Argument the Gentiles much insisted on in those days. They were under hatches, and now all the Cry is for Gentle

^aSuid. in P.
^bIsid. orig. ubi
plura exempla
dantur.

^cSoc. lib. Theod.
lib. c. 4. Philog.
l. 5. c. 5. p. 512.

^ePhil. Themi&st.
Orat. XII. pag.
278.

^gOrat. sup. cit.

^hPhil. etiam Li.
ban. Orat. de
Templ. p. 18.
Or. in Julian.
rec. p. 270.

Gentleness and Moderation, and leaving Men to the Dictates of their own Consciences, which might be perswaded, but could never be compell'd; that Force in this case was as unreasonable, as 'twas insignificant, the effect whereof might be *οιασραφια ης μεταβιλιης, & μεταστροφης δοξης*, (as *Libanius* argues) a painted and hypocritical Conversion, not a real change of Opinion and Principles. But whatever might be said for the thing it self, they forgot when this would not pass with themselves for current Doctrine, and how miserably in former times they had treated the poor Christians, whom they had not only tempted to Apostacy by promises and perswasions, but had endeavoured to force them to abandon their Religion by all the Methods of the most barbarous and merciless Severities. But this only by the by. Besides this, the Emperour put out a Law¹ to make it Capital for any to raviſh, or but to attempt to marry the consecrated Virgins, (which we now call *Nuns*) occasioned by the looseness and iniquity of the late times, wherein many had either been by flattery courted into Marriages, or by force had been compell'd to lewd Embraces. This Law is dated *February* xix. CCCLXIV. and himself survived not long after, dying at *Dadaſtana*, a Village in the Confines of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, of poisonous Mushrooms, whereof some say he had plentifully suppd; more probably he was choak'd with the smoke of Coals; or, as others, with the damp of a new plaister'd Chamber, and perhaps both concurred to give him his death. However 'twas, he was found dead in his Bed, after he had reign'd not full eight months. A valuable Prince, whose Reign 'tis like, had it been longer, would have render'd the Condition both of Church and State very happy and prosperous.

III. THE Army march'd to *Nice*, where a Council of Officers being call'd, in order to the Election of a new Emperour, they unanimously pitch'd upon *Valentinian*, Tribune of the 2^d *Schole* of the *Salarii*, whom they had left behind them at *Ancyra*. A Man he was of great spirit and courage, and had suffered deep for his Religion. Being under *Julian*, he was bound by virtue of his Place to attend¹ the Emperour when he went to offer Sacrifice in the Temple, where the Priests stood ready at the door, with Branches in their hands (as the custom was) to sprinkle Holy-water upon those that enter'd in, some few drops whereof fell upon *Valentinian*, who (vex'd to be defiled with their idolatrous Rites) struck the Priest a Box on the Ear in the Emperour's presence, and tearing off that part of his Garment whereon the water had fallen, threw it away with scorn and indignation. *Julian* was enrag'd to see his Religion affronted to his Face, but dissembled his passion, and not willing to give him the honour of Martyrdom, found fault with him for negligence in his Office, and turn'd him out, and banish'd him, some say, to *Melitina*, a desolate Town in *Armenia*; or, as others affirm, to *Thebais* in *Egypt*, whence he return'd in the beginning of *Jovian's* Reign. Messengers were immediately dispatch'd to *Ancyra*, to carry him the welcome News, and conduct him to *Nice*, where the Soldiers setting him upon a Shield, shew'd him openly, and proclaim'd him Emperour, but withall requir'd that he would take to him a Partner in the Empire, and the noise was loud and clamorous, whereupon beckoning with his hand to make silence, he replied, with a Resolution that became a Prince, 'Twas in your

power,

power, Gentlemen, to make me Emperour, but being so, 'tis not yours; but my part to command: Submission is your Duty as Subjects, mine as Emperour, to take care of the Commonwealth. An Answer, that struck them dumb; however within a month he assum'd his Brother *Valent* to be his Colleague in the Empire, to whom he allotted the *Eastern* Parts, having reserv'd the *Western* to himself.

IV. TO render their Government, at their first setting out, more grateful and acceptable to the People, they endeavour'd to oblige all Parties by a general Toleration, enacting^m; That every one might worship God according to the Rites of that Religion wherein he had been educated; that no Man should be compell'd to this or that way of Worship, nor Subjects be forc'd to profess the same Religion with their Prince, but all be left to a free and unconstrain'd choice. An Act, for which they are sufficiently cried up by Pagan-Writers. The Heathens were not to be taught what use to make of this Indulgence, which they wound up to the highest peg, so that not content^a with the private exercise of their Superstition, in many places they set it up publicly, solemniz'd their accustomed Festivals, celebrated their impious Mysteries, and made their wild and extravagant Processions through the open streets. This general Liberty the Emperours by degrees began to restrain; by a Law^o publish'd this first year of their Reign, they seiz'd the Farms and Revenues belonging to the Heathen Temples, taken away by *Constantine* and his Sons, and either given or sold to private persons, but resum'd and restor'd by *Julian*, which they now annex as an additional Revenue to their own private Patrimony. By another^r, they forbade all Night-sacrifices, Charms, and Magic-Divinations, these being accounted most malignant and dangerous, and the Night fittest to cover such black and hellish Rites. But upon a Representation made by *Prætextatus*, Proconsul of *Greece*, how intolerable this Constitution would be to that people, if it took away their sacred Mysteries, so universally entertain'd and reverenc'd by all Mankind, *Achaia* had the favour to be exempt from it, provided they acted nothing herein but what was agreeable to the ancient Usages of their own Country. They took care^q that no Christian, upon pretence of any Crime whatsoever, should be condemn'd to the gladiatory Sports, as being dishonourable to the Christian Name; and whereas the *Gentile* Temples were fair to be guarded by Soldiers, to defend them from the assaults of Christians, who could not well brook the Liberty lately indulg'd them; where-ever they had power and opportunity (as they now had at *Rome*, the elder *Symmachus*, a zealous Pagan, being Provost of that City) they forc'd Christians upon that Service: Which being complain'd of, *Valentinian* commanded^r, That no Judge or Officer should presume to do it, upon pain of the loss both of Estate and Life. Both these Laws are directed to *Symmachus*, and bear Date *Ann. CCCLXV*. By these proceedings the *Gentiles* perceiv'd the vanity of their own Predictions; for finding that Christianity^c had gain'd ground under the fiercest persecutions, and that their own Religion sunk and declin'd apace, to keep up the spirits of their Party, they produc'd a Prophecy, pretended to have been dictat'd by one of the Oracles of *Greece*, wherein they declar'd, that though Christ himself was no Magician, yet that St. *Peter* had procur'd by Art Magic,

¹C. Th. lib. 9.
²Th. XXV. l. 2.
³p. 197. 502.
⁴l. 6. c. 3. p. 640.

⁵Socr. l. 4. c. 1.
⁶p. 210. 502.
⁷l. 6. c. 6. p. 644.
⁸Theod. l. 4. c. 6.
⁹p. 156. Philop.
¹⁰lib. c. 8.

¹¹Socr. ubi sup.
¹²Theod. l. 3. c. 16.
¹³p. 138.

¹⁴C. Th. lib. 9.
¹⁵Th. XI. l. 1. 9.
¹⁶Anna. Marcel.
¹⁷l. 30. p. 1832.
¹⁸Symmach. l. 10.
¹⁹Ep. 54. p. 537.
²⁰539. 543.

²¹Theod. lib. 4.
²²c. 24. p. 157.

²³C. Th. lib. 15.
²⁴Th. l. 1. 8.
²⁵p. 384.

²⁶Th. lib. 9. Th.
²⁷XI. l. 7. 265.
²⁸l. 4. p. 735.

²⁹C. Th. lib. 9.
³⁰Th. XL. l. 8.

³¹Th. lib. 16. Th.
³²l. 1. 1.

³³Aug. de civit.
³⁴id. l. 18. c. 53.
³⁵col. 1130. Th.
³⁶c. 194.

Magic, that the Christian Religion should last CCCLXV. Years, and then immediately vanish out of the World. This Period was now run out, and St. *Augustin*, who wrote several years after, does sufficiently deride and expose their folly, the Event having so palpably confuted their Prediction.

V. BUT the insolent Carriage of the *Gentiles* was not easily taken down, they improv'd the public Toleration, and seeing *Valens* heartily espousing the *Arian* Cause, and spending the main of his severity upon the Catholics, began every day to grow more bold and impudent, 'till he was forc'd to make it Capital for any, either in public or private, either by night or day, to exercise any Art of Divination, or to consult them that did so. The occasion of this Law was this: Several of the most eminent Philosophers of that time were inwardly griev'd at the flourishing state of Christianity, they grew weary of *Valens* his Government, and long'd for another Emperour of their own Religion. And that this Design might have both greater encouragement and reputation, they secretly confederated with some Great Persons at Court, and Officers in the Army, and tried by all methods of Divination, to know who was likely to succeed *Valens* in the Empire. At last a *Tripes* made of Lawrel was artificially prepar'd, and consecrated with certain Magic Charms and Invocations, it was plac'd in the middle of a Room perfum'd with *Arabian* Spices, the Charger upon which 'twas set had upon its utmost brim the xxiv. Letters of the Alphabet neatly engrav'd, and set at due distances from each other. Then a Person clad in Linnen Vestments came in with Lawrel Branches in his hand, and after some Charms performed, shak'd a Magical Ring hanging at a Curtain about the edge of the Charger, 'till by jumping up and down it fell upon such or such Letters of the Alphabet, where it seem'd to stay, the Priest thereupon composing certain Heroic Verses in answer to the Interrogatories that had been put. The Letters which the Ring pointed out in this case were these four, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. which being put together compos'd these two syllables *THEOD*; whereupon one that stood by presently cried out, that the Oracle plainly intended *Theodorus*, who was indeed a Man of Birth and Quality, and famous for his Learning, Wisdom, Modesty, and Humanity, but a *Gentile*, and one who they all passionately desir'd might be promoted to the Empire. But it was not long before the whole Conspiracy was discovered to the Emperour, who divided between astonishment and anger commanded the business to be brought under a thorough scrutiny and examination. *Theodorus* was beheaded, the Maker of the *Tripes* burnt alive, and all the rest that were any ways concern'd in the fatal Consult exquisitely-tortur'd, and then put to death, whose arraignments, racks, and severe usages, may be read at large in *Ammianus Marcellinus*. All Philosophers that came to hand were sure to be executed, and the Emperour, who was always cruel, was in this case outrageous, not sparing any that did but go habited like Philosophers, though they addic'ted not themselves to those studies; a fring'd Cloke being then taken for a sufficient evidence of a Magician and a Conjuror. Among these Philosophers was *Maximus*, *Julian's* great Master, the most celebrated Philosopher of that Age: *Valens* ow'd him an old grudge, for an affront he had done him and his Brother in *Julian's* time, and there-

*Sozom. lib. 6.
c. 35. p. 693.
Socr. l. 4. c. 19.
p. 229. Philost.
l. 9. c. 15. p. 520.
Amm. Marcell.
l. 29. p. 1784.
Ec. Zosim. l. 4.
p. 743. videlicet
Zosiram, sed
hanc rem paulo
aliter narra-
tem. Annal.
tom. III. p. 28.

therefore in the beginning of his Reign had treated him with those exquisite severities, which *Eunapius* so tragically complains of; and being now charg'd with being privy to the Plot, though he only knew of it, and told the Conspirators they would all come to an untimely end, was carried to *Ephefus*, the place of his Nativity, and there beheaded. But above all others, the Emperour's fury rag'd against those, whose Names began with those four Letters, whether *Theodorus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodosius*, *Theodulus*, or the like, whom he put to death where-ever he found them, by the same bloody Policy where-with *Herod* once butchered the Infants at *Bethlehem*, hoping that in the number he should make away the new-born *Messiah*, and King of the *Jews*. And this profecuted with so much rigour, that many, to avoid the danger, chang'd their Names, as not being willing to lose their Lives for a malignant Name. And yet God, who delights many times to defeat Mens malicious curiosity, suffered the Great *Theodosius* to escape, and in despite of all his care and cruelty to succeed him in the *Eastern* Empire; and 'tis said, that his Parents were particularly warn'd in a Dream to give him that Name, as an *Omen* it seems of his after Greatness. Nor did *Valens* persecute Men only, but Books upon this occasion, commanding a search to be made for all Books of Magic, or any other curious or unlawful Art, which being piled upon heaps were publicly burnt. And at this time it was, that *Chrysostom*, then a Youth, was in some danger: For as he was going one day to Church, he took up a Book, which a suspected person had thrown into the River, and upon perusal found it a Book of Magic, and was espied by a Soldier that pass'd by, and saw him and his companion take it up. They knew not well what to do with it, it being almost equally dangerous to keep or part with it: But they threw it away, and escap'd the danger.

VI. IN the *West* things were carried towards the *Gentiles* with a more easie hand. Several of the Senatorian Order at *Rome* had been accus'd of practising in unlawful Divination, and the Judge, to whom the examination of the Cause was referr'd, had proceeded in it with an over-rigorous partiality, and had made a very ill representation of it to the Emperour, who had begun to prosecute smartly: But the Senate sent a Committee to *Valentinian*, to beseech him that persons might not be punish'd above the Merits of their Crimes, nor any Senator extrajudicially put upon the Rack. The Emperour replied, he had given no such order, and that these were Reports fram'd on purpose to throw ill Reflections upon him; and in his Rescript to the Senate declar'd, That he look'd upon Soothsaying as not a kin to Magic, and so long as innocently practis'd, he found no fault with it, but permitted both it and the other Parts of the Religion of their Ancestors to be us'd, as the Laws which he had made to that purpose in the beginning of his Reign could sufficiently witness. And for the Charge brought against the Senators, he had referr'd the debate of it to the Provost of the City, who if he could not determin it, then he commanded, that the persons concern'd, with an account of all Proceedings in the Case, should be sent to him. By another Law, about the same time, he granted to the Provincial Priests (they were those that superintended a whole Province, and were usually chose out of the Body of the *Curiales*, their business

Flom. xxxviii.
in Act. p. 340.

*Am. Marcell.
l. 28. p. 1761.

*C. Tb. loc. cit.
l. 9.

*Hid. l. 10.

*Hib. lib. 12. Tit.
l. 1. 75. p. 425.

was

was to take care of the Temples and sacred Rites, the Poms and Processions upon Festivals, and at their own charge to provide for, and manage the public Shews and Spectacles; to these he granted that they should be free from the burden of all civil Offices, and enjoy the same privilege with Persons of Honour and Quality, not to be rack'd and tortur'd, and have the *Comitative* Honour, or the same Place and Dignity which the *Comites* who had well discharg'd their trust, had conferr'd upon them as the reward of their pains and care. At this time also he took order about the Players² who acted at the public Sports and Theaters, (a Trade expressly forbidden by the Canons of the Church) that in case of imminent danger of Death, they might, upon their repentance and earnest desire, be admitted to the Sacraments, (that is, both Baptism and the Eucharist) provided it was done with the allowance of the Bishop, and the inspection of the Civil Magistrate: And that if such persons should recover, they should be no longer forc'd to attend the Service of the Theater.

^a *Ibid.* lib. 15.
^b *Tit. 2th lib. 1.*
p. 361.

^a *Socr. l. 4. c. 36.*
p. 253. *Sozom.*
l. 6. c. 38. p. 699.
Theod. l. 4. c. 23.
p. 186. *Rufin.*
l. 2. c. 6. p. 216.

^a *Socr. lib. c. 33.*
Soz. c. 37.

^c *Ibid. 2. cap. 5.*
p. 471.

VII. IT was now about the Year CCCLXXII. when *Mavia*^a, Queen of the *Saracens*, a People inhabiting the Parts of *Arabia* that lay next *Egypt*, sent *Moses* (who liv'd a Monastic Life in the neighbouring Wilderness, a Man no less famous for his Miracles than his Piety) to *Alexandria* to be ordain'd Bishop, who refusing to be consecrated by *Lucius*, whom the *Arians* had thrust up into that See, newly vacant by the death of *Athanasius*, betook himself to the Catholic Bishops that liv'd in exile, and having from their Hands receiv'd his Ordination, return'd back into his own Country, the greatest part whereof he converted to the Christian Faith. And the work was afterwards carried on to great perfection, when *Zozimus*, Head of one of the principal Tribes, upon the birth of a Son (which a religious Monk assur'd him he should have, if he would embrace Christianity) was baptiz'd, and brought over his People to the same Faith. Christianity likewise made a further progress among the Northern Nations, especially the *Goths*^b that dwelt upon the *Danow*: For *Phritigernus*, one of the Princes of that Nation, having by the assistance which *Valens* had lent him, gain'd a considerable Victory against *Athanasius*, another of those Princes, did in gratitude to the Emperor, and as a firm assurance of his Friendship, entertain the Christian Religion into his Country, and the *Arians* being at this time the only powerful Faction at Court, took this opportunity to introduce *Arianism* among the *Goths*, though it had taken root there some time before by means of *Ulphilus* their Bishop, who coming on an Embassy in the Reign of *Constantius*, (*Philostorgius*^c places it in the time of *Constantine*) had fall'n in with *Endoxius*, *Acacius*, and others of that Party, by whom he was perverted to their pernicious Principles, which he carried back with him, and strenuously propagated in his own Country. He was the first that found out the *Gothic* Letters, and having done so, translated the Bible into their native Language, which mightily conduc'd to the further speedy success of Christianity in those Parts. And one thing especially is memorable in this case, that in this Translation he omitted the Books of *Kings* (which took in also those of *Samuel* and the *Chronicles*) because these containing little but an Account of Wars, would be apt to inflame the Minds of that People, who being naturally a fierce warlike Nation, needed

needed rather a Bridle, than a Spur to quicken them to martial Undertakings. *Valens* in the mean while miserably haras'd the poor Catholics, whom he pursued with that rage and violence, that *Themistius*^d, the Philosopher, undertook their Cause, which he pleaded in a set Oration before the Emperor, shewing him, that 'twas no wonder if there was such difference of Opinions amongst them, which was yet but inconsiderable, if compar'd with those numerous and vastly distant Opinions that were among the *Greeks*, which must necessarily breed some disgust and disagreement; and that perhaps God was delighted with this variety of Sentiments, seeing it tended to beget in Mens Minds a profounder Reverence towards the Divine Majesty, when they found the Knowledge of him so deep, that no humane capacity could fathom or comprehend it. And thus while he pleaded for the Catholics, he cunningly insinuated the Cause of the *Gentiles*, which elsewhere he defends upon the same grounds. This Oration, translated by *Dudithius*, is still extant in *Latine*, which *Petavins*, to supply the defect, has turn'd into *Greek*, but denies (though upon very weak Reasons) that 'twas the same pronounc'd by that Orator upon this occasion; not to say, that the Passages cited out of it by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, are exactly to be found in it. And it seems an Argument he much delighted in, this being much what the same both for words and matter, with that *Consular* Oration, which he delivered before *Jovian* at his entrance upon the Consulship. Little else is memorable in the Time of these Emperours: *Valentinian* died the xviith of *November*, Anno CCCLXXV. whom *Valens* surviv'd scarce three Years, whose Reign in the general was more indulgent to Pagans, and more severe to Catholic Christians, than that of any Christian Emperour either before or since.

^d *Socr. lib. c. 32.*
p. 250. *Soz.*
c. 36. p. 695.

SECT. V.

The State of Pagan Religion under the Reigns of GRATIAN, THEODOSIUS the Great, and his Successors.



Theodosius advanc'd by Gratian to the Eastern Empire. His restraining the boldness and liberty of the Pagans, by severe Laws against Apostasy, Sacrifices, Divinations, &c. Gentilism hereby reduc'd to a low ebb. Particular provision about the Temple at Aedessa. Gratian refuses the Sacerdotal Stole, and the Title of Pontifex Maximus, hitherto worn by Christian Emperours. Proceedings against Paganism reviv'd, and more briskly carried on in the East. The famous Temple of Sarapis at Alexandria defac'd, and the ridiculous Follies of Gentile-Idolatry publicly expos'd. Sedition and Tumult hereupon rais'd by the Gentiles, and great mischief done to Christians. The Reformation carried on by Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria. The celebrated Image of Sarapis openly burnt. The Ruin of this Temple foretold by the Gentiles themselves. The rest of the Temples at Alexandria demolish'd. The lewdness and debaucheries usually committed in those places shewn by a particular instance. Christian Churches erected over those places. The River Nilus not flowing so plentifully as formerly. This charg'd by the Gentiles as a punishment from the Gods for the destruction of their Temples; but prov'd false by a contrary Event. The same Reformation carried on in the Eastern Parts. The miraculous demolishing a Temple at Apamea by Marcellus Bishop

Bishop of that place. Theodosius at Rome persuades the Gentile-part of the Senate to become Christians, but is obstinately rejected. Symmachus for his insolence and importunity banish'd Rome. The Gentile Cause undertaken, and ex professo pleaded by Libanius: The Sum of his Oration de Templis presented to the Emperour, but nothing gain'd from him. Attempts of the Gentiles against his Life. Several Edicts for the Suppression of Pagan Rites. Theodosius his last Law against the whole Body of their Religion, and the several Parts and Branches of it. The Death of that good Emperour. The same work pursued by Arcadius, his Son and Successor. The remaining Temples pull'd down, and the Materials dispos'd of to publick Buildings. The Council of Carthage petitions Honorius for the abolishing the Remainders of Idolatrous Rites in Afric, with the Emperour's Answer. Several Laws of Honorius, and the younger Theodosius, in pursuance of the same Design thorough all Parts of the Empire, briefly noted. Paganism afraid to show its head, and generally driven into Corners. The whole concluded with a short Recapitulation out of Theoderit.



I. HE Imperial Brothers dying, the Government rested in the hands of the two Sons of Valentinian; Gratian, who had already reign'd twelve, and Valentinian junior, who had reign'd three Years. Gratian found work enough on all hands, the Empire labouring under great Incumbrances, and having little assistance from his Brother, who was but young, was necessitated to take in a Partner for the

Eastern Empire, to defend those Parts, at this time miserably infected by the Goths. The Person he pitch'd on was beyond all exception, Theodosius, a Spaniard, who from the Renown of his Actions deservedly bears the Surname of Great. The Gentiles for the main had enjoyed the peaceable Exercise of their Religion for many years, having met with little or no interruption in it since the Times of Constantius. And for the two first Years of Theodosius, almost wholly taken up with Wars, their Temples were open'd, and they had the freedom of their old Rites and Ceremonies. So that many began to look kindly upon their former Superstitions, and others, meeting with such cruel usage in the Reign of Valens (when the Persecution was carried on by a joint-concurrence of Arians, Jews, and Gentiles,) took shelter in the old Religion. In so much, that the Emperour found it necessary to restrain it by a Law^e dated April xxvi. Ann. CCCLXXXI. That they who apostatized from Christianity to Paganism should lose all power of making a Will, (ever accounted the great Birth-right and Privilege of a Roman) so that none of his Friends or Kindred should be the better for any Estate which he left behind him. Which he and Valentinian explain'd and ratified by many subsequent Edicts, several Clauses being added respecting both Persons and Things. About the end of the same Year he forbade^e under pain of proscrition all divinatory Sacrifices, either by day or night, or that any should approach the Temples for any such purpose; adding, that God is to be worshipp'd with pure and chaste Prayers, not with execrable Charms and Con-

^e Vid. Zosim.
l. 4. p. 755.

^e C. Th. lib. 16.
Tit. VII. l. 1.
vid. l. 2. 3. 4.

^e Th. Th. X. l. 7.
p. 266.

jurations. And though it does not appear by this Law, that any more than Sacrifices used in order to Divination were taken away, yet Christians were willing to lay hold of it, and improve it farther than the Emperour at present intended it, the Temples both in City and Country (as *Zosimus*^h complains) being assaulted, and the Pagans not able to lift up their Eyes to Heaven, and pay their Devotions to the Planets, without danger of their Heads. Among the rest, there was a famous *Pantheon*, curiously adorn'd with abundance of exquisite Statues and Images of the Gods, in the Province of *Osrhoene*, (at *Edessa*, as *Gothofred* not improbably conjectures :) This was shut up, but upon the *Gentiles* complaint at Court, representing that the City was thereby greatly prejudic'd, who were wont here to hold their public Meetings, and to keep their common Festivals, especially thole wherein they offer'd up their Prayers for the life and safety of the Emperour, it was granted, that it should stand open for these uses, that the Images should remain by way of Ornament, but that no Sacrifices should be offer'd in it. In the *Western* Parts *Gratian* kept somewhat a severe hand upon the Pagans. He had given them a taste of what they might expect from him, when he refus'd^k the Sacerdotal Robe. The *Roman* Emperours had all along born the Office and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, or Chief Head of the Pontifical College: Nay, none of the Christian Emperours had hitherto scrupled to accept of it as an honorary Title. But when the Priests came to confer it upon *Gratian*, and offer'd him the Pontifical Robe, he plainly refus'd it, accounting it unlawful for him who was a Christian to wear that Habit. The Stole being deliver'd back to the Priests, the chief of their Company cried out, If the Emperour will not be styl'd *Pontifex Maximus*, it will not be long before *Maximus* be *Pontifex*, reflecting upon *Maximus*, who was then ready to invade the Empire, and who shortly after treacherously murder'd *Gratian*, and became a great Friend and Patron to the *Gentiles*. But saving the authority of *Zosimus* who reports it, plain it is both from some ancient Inscriptions, and from the testimony of *Ausonius*, *Gratian's* Tutor, that this Title was frequently conferr'd upon him, tho perhaps it might be only by Connivance, and not by the Allowance of the Emperour. But whatever intimations of dislike *Gratian* might make, the *Gentiles* were not discourag'd from attempting something in the Cause of their Religion; for finding the public Affairs embroil'd, they began to take heart, at *Rome* especially, where a small part of the Senate took upon themselves in the name of the whole, to send an Address to the Emperour *Valentinian*, to beg favour in behalf of their Religion, but were countermin'd and quash'd by Pope *Damasus* and *S. Ambrose*, as we have elsewhere observ'd. And when a great Famine soon after rag'd at *Rome*, 'twas said to proceed from the displeasure of the Gods for the neglect and suppression of their Religious Rites, and that the Punishment had a visible signature of the Sin upon it, it being but just, that they should want Bread themselves, who had taken away from the Priests and *Vestal* Virgins that little Maintenance which the munificence of former times had bestow'd upon them. The following year *Symmachus* was made *Provoost* of *Rome*, who immediately drew up a large Address to the Emperour, wherein with all the subtleties

^h *Ubi* *supr.* p. 758.

ⁱ *Ibid.* l. 8.

^k *Zosim.* l. 4. p. 761.

IMP. CÆS. GRATIANUS
PIUS. FELIX. — PONT.
MAX. reliqua vid. ap. Collectores
Inscript. Unus in ore omnium Gra-
tiani, pontifex imperator —
Pontifex religionis, Auson. Grat.
Action. ad Imp. Gratian. p. 716.

ties of Wit and Eloquence he pleaded the Cause of his Religion. But was happily encountered, answer'd, and baffled, by the great and learned Bishop of *Milan*. An account whereof we have given at large in the Life of *S. Ambrose*.

II. THE *Gentiles* in the *East*, notwithstanding the Provision that had been made against it four years since, could not be taken off from tampering with *Auspices*, *Augures*, *Magicians*, and the rest of that Tribe, which forc'd *Theodosius* to quicken the execution of those Laws, making it Capital for any, either upon any present Emergency, or for the knowing any future Event, to consult divinatory Sacrifices. This Rescript is directed to *Cynegius*, the *Prætorian Præfect* of the *East*, a person honourable both for his Greatness and his Piety, and employ'd by the Emperour upon the most important Services: To him he committed the care of reforming *Paganism* in the *Eastern* Parts, especially in *Egypt*, whither he sent him, *Ann.* CCCLXXXVII. empowering him to shut up or demolish the *Gentile*-Temples, and extirpate their Superstitions. Upon his arrival at *Alexandria*,^m Informers accus'd several of the Senate, and brought both their Persons and Estates in danger, upon pretence, 'tis like, that they were Church-Lands, Revenues belonging to the Pagan Temples. *Cynegius* upon examination punish'd the Informers, and freed their Estates, whose judgment herein upon their Petition at Court, the Emperour himself confirm'd. But, alas! *Cynegius* left the main Work imperfect, dying the next year, and was honourably buried at *Constantinople*. But the Work went on however, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* being zealous in it. The first attempt in it was thus: There was at *Alexandria* an ancient and famous Temple,ⁿ dedicated to *Sarapis*, described by *Rufinus*,^o and affirm'd by a Geographer of that Age to have been a piece of exquisite Artifice, and for the stateliness of the Building, contrivance of the Structure, and solemnity of the Worship, to have carried away the Glory from all other places, and to have been the almost only admirable Spectacle in the whole World. This place *Theophilus* had begg'd of the Emperour, designing to enlarge it into a Church. Workmen were set on to clear the Rubbish, who found many dark Vaults and Cellars, the secret Receptacles of the Pagans most hidden Rites and Mysteries, out of which they brought many detestable and obscene Images and Utensils, which they publicly expos'd to the scorn and derision of the People. This provok'd the *Gentiles* beyond measure, who immediately gather'd into a Body, and tho the far lesser number, yet being arm'd with Rage and Fury, broke in upon the Christians, wounded many of them, others they kill'd out right, and flying to the Temple, engarrison'd themselves in it. Some Christians they had taken Prisoners, and brought along with them, whom they forc'd to do Sacrifice, or upon their refusal, put to Death with the most exquisite and unheard-of Tortures. The Party was headed by one *Olympus* a Philosopher, who persuaded them not to desert the Religion of their Country, but if need was, valiantly to dye for it. And when he saw them dejected for the loss of their Images, he told them, They should not be troubled at this, they were indeed no other than what they saw, things material, and liable to violence and corruption, but were inhabited by certain Divine Powers, which upon their defacing were retir'd into Heaven.

Several

^l *Zosim.* l. 4. p. 762.

^m *C. Th. lib. 10. Tit. X. l. 19. p. 444.*

ⁿ *Descript. Orb. Gr. L. Gotskr. p. 18. o* *Rufin. l. 2. c. 22. p. 253. c. 23. p. 254. Socr. l. 5. c. 16. 17. p. 271. Sozom. l. 7. c. 15. p. 723.*

Several Effays were made by the Magistrates to bring them to reason, and make them give account of what they had done; but in vain: They despis'd all Arguments and Threatnings, whereupon the Magistrates were forc'd to send and acquaint the Emperour with what had happen'd, who, according to the sweetness of his Nature, reply'd, That for the Christians that had been slain, they were happy, having been honour'd with the Crown of Martyrdom; and for their Murderers, he resolv'd to pardon them, in hopes, that so much Grace and Clemency might become an effectual Argument for their Conversion: But however, that the Temples, that had been the cause of all this, should be pull'd down to the ground. The Letter was no sooner read, but the Christians entertain'd it with infinite Acclamations, and the Gentiles dispers'd and fled; which done, *Theophilus*, accompanied with the Monks, and assisted by *Evagrius* the *Augustal Prefect*, and *Romanus* Commander of the Army, again set upon the Work, the Temple it self they wholly demolish'd, in the Walls^p whereof they found Stones with *Hieroglyphics* engraven upon them, resembling a Cross, which the Christians interpreted of the honourable Ensign of their Religion, and were therein the more confirm'd, when one skill'd in those mystic Letters, and lately turn'd Christian, assur'd them, those Hieroglyphic Notes signified the Life to come, and that others of those Hieroglyphics did impart, that the Temple of *Serapis* should have an end, when those Notes were brought to light. Within the circumference of this great Building stood a Chappel, supported by rich Marble Pillars, the Walls overlaid with Gold, and that cover'd as a Shield with Silver, and that defended by a Cover of Brass; in this stood the Image of *Serapis*, so large, that with one hand he touch'd one side, and with the other the other side of the Temple, with many quaint Devices to abuse and delude the people. They had a Tradition, that if any Man did but touch this Image, the Earth would immediately open, the Heavens be dissolv'd, and all things run into a Chaos and Confusion. But a Christian Soldier that stood by, animated thereto by *Theophilus* the Bishop, was resolv'd to make the Experiment: For taking a Bill in his hand, he cleft him down the Jaws, and finding no other dreadful Effects ensue, but an Army of Mice, which fled out at the breach he had made, they cut him Limb from Limb; his Head, Feet, and the rest of his Parts, were fasten'd to Ropes, and having been dragg'd up and down the Streets, were burnt in several places of the City, the Trunk or Body of the Image being reserv'd for a more solemn Fire in the *Amphitheater*. The utter ruine of this Temple was, it seems, foretold by *Antoninus*^{*} the Philosopher, who assur'd his Scholars, it would happen soon after his death; nay, we are told, * that *Olympus* himself, while he kept his Garrison in it, the very night before the Emperour's Order did arrive, it being a very dark and tempestuous Night, heard a voice in the Temple, singing *Alleluia*. He was not a little surpriz'd, knowing the Doors were fast shut, and all the Company fast asleep, and seeing no body, and plainly and distinctly hearing the Voice, and the Musical Note, began to suspect what it portended, and departing privately out of the Temple, took Ship immediately, and went for *Italy*.

IV. THE Mother-Temple and Patron-Deity being thus rid out of the way, the rest follow'd with an easier hand, all the Pagan Temples

^p Socr. & Sozom. loc. cit. *Rufin. ib. c. 29. p. 258.*

^q *Rufin. ibid. c. 23. lib. 1. 5. c. 22. p. 229.*

^{*} *Euseb. in vit. Aides. p. 60. 63.*

^{*} *Sozom. l. 7. c. 15. p. 725.*

Temples and Images^r in that City being overturn'd, the Follies, Lewdnesses, and Impieties whereof, were laid open before the people. One Instance whereof must not be forgotten. *Tyrannus* a Priest of the Temple of *Saturn*, famous for giving Oracles, had his Temple frequented by persons of the best Quality about that City. When he had a mind to corrupt any of their Wives, he would tell the Nobleman, 'twas the Gods pleasure that his Wife should come and spend that nights Devotions in the Temple. The Lady was dress'd up with all advantages, and night being come, the Doors were lock'd fast upon her, and while she was intent upon her Devotions, the Priest by secret conveyances crept into the old Wormeaten Image of *Saturn*, through which he spake to her, as if it had been the God himself, and having thus prepar'd her, by unseen Cords suddenly put out the Lights, and then coming forth, and seizing upon the affrighted Lady, easily drew her into lewd Embraces. This Trade he had follow'd many years, 'till meeting with one that would not be for his turn, and who knew him by his voice, she complain'd of the affront to her Husband, who discover'd the Villany, brought *Tyrannus* to condign Punishment, and both Temple and Idol to a shameful end. These ruined Temples were generally turn'd into Churches; out of that of *Serapis* was built on the one side a *Martyrium*, (wherein were repos'd the remains of *John the Baptist*;) on the other, a Church called after the name of *Arcadius* the Emperour. It happen'd upon this Revolution, that the River *Nile* did not so plentifully overflow as it was wont to do. The people hereupon began to mutiny, and said, It was, because they were not suffer'd according to their ancient usage to do Sacrifice to the River. The Governour was troubled, and fearing an open Sedition, sent to acquaint the Emperour, who return'd this answer, That 'twas better to preserve our Duty to God, than to prefer the Streams of *Nile*, or the Plenty of the Country before Piety and Religion. Let the River (said he) never flow again, if it must be drawn out with Charms, appeas'd with Sacrifices, and its Waters desl'd with Blood. But the Controversy was soon ended, for the River return'd to its ancient course, and rising above the highest mark (which yet it seldom or never reach'd) put them into a quite contrary Passion, fearing it would inevitably drown the Country. And now the Pagans chang'd their Tune, and turn'd their Scene into Droll and *Ridicule*, crying out in their Theaters, That the old doting *Nile* had lost his retentive faculty, and could no longer hold his Water. While others made a more grave and serious use of it, being thereby convinc'd of the vanity of their native Superstition, and going over to Christianity. As indeed, throughout the whole progress of these Affairs, incredible numbers were gain'd over to the Christian Faith. These Proceedings alarm'd the Gentiles^s in other Parts, in *Arabia*, *Palestine*, *Phoenicia*, &c. where they stood upon their Guard, and hir'd Country-men to come in and defend their Temples. At *Apamea* stood a celebrated Temple dedicated to *Jupiter*, a vast and strongly-compacted Structure; this *Marcellus* Bishop of that place resolv'd to pull down, but could get no Man to undertake it, so difficult a thing was it look'd upon to demolish it. And indeed so strongly were the Pagan Temples generally built, and the Stones so fast cramp'd together with Irons, that *Libanius*^t tells us, it cost the Christians no less pains to take them down, than

^r *Rufin. ibid. c. 24.*

^s *Rufin. ibid. c. 27. & Socr. loc. cit.*

^t *Sozom. l. 7. c. 20. p. 736. Rufin. ib. c. 30. p. 259.*

^s *Sozom. ibid. c. 15. p. 725. Theod. l. 5. c. 21. p. 227.*

^t *Orat. de templ. p. 23.*

than it had done the *Gentiles* at first to build them up. At length comes a common Labourer who ventur'd upon it, and undermining the Foundation of the *Portico's* that upheld it, put Fire to them, but a *Demon* appearing in a black Dress, drove away the Fire. After several attempts to no purpose, *Marcellus* took a Pot of Water, which he carried into the Church, and falling down before the holy Table, heartily recommended the Cause to God; then he deliver'd the Pot to *Equitius* his Deacon, who went and threw it upon the Fire, which, like so much Oyl, immediately blew up the Flames, which spread without contrioll, so that within a few hours, to the admiration of all that saw it, that strong and stately Building lay level with the Ground. But the good Bishop sped not so well in all his attempts; for going to do the like Execution upon a great Temple at *Aulon*, a City in that Country, while his Company were busie about the work, certain *Pagans* came behind him, and catching him up, threw him into the Fire, and burnt him to death. And when afterwards upon the discovery of the Murder, his Sons would have prosecuted and revenged his Death, the Provincial Synod would not suffer it, affirming, that both he and they, and all his Friends, had cause rather to bless God, who had counted him worthy to dye in so good a Cause.

IV. THIS great and general waſt committed upon Paganism in the *Eastern* Parts, made the *Gentiles* look about them, in so much, that their great Advocate *Libanius*, one in so great favour with the Emperor, that he made him *Prætorian Praefect*, about this time publish'd an Oration *pro Templis*, presented to *Theodosius*, wherein he boldly pleads the cause of their Temples, which he shews originally sprang from that Encouragement which the Gods gave to the plain but early Piety and Devotion of Mankind, and were enlarg'd and beautified according as they gain'd footing in Towns and Cities. His main business was to encounter the popular Arguments which the Christians used for the taking down their Temples. As, that the *Gentiles* made use of them for the celebration of their Sacrifices expressly contrary to the Laws. This he flatly denies, and challenges any to make it good. And whereas 'twas pretended, that in their Festival Entertainments they slew Oxen, he answers, 'Twas no such matter. They met indeed upon their Festival Solemnities in the open Fields, where he confesses they kill'd, dress'd, and eat a Calf or a Sheep, and performed it with Incense, Hymns, and Invocation of their Gods, but this he says was not forbid by any Law, nor was this pulling down the Temples, as was plausibly given out, a rational means of bringing over Pagans to Christianity. He grants, it made some Hypocrites, none true Converts. Many through fear might go to the Christian Churches, and compose themselves after their Forms and Gestures, but when they did so, either worship'd their own Gods, or none at all. Besides, that Religion was to be planted in Men's minds by Reason and Persuasion, not by Force or Fear. And whereas 'twas commonly urg'd, that this destruction tended plainly to the advantage and benefit of the World, he endeavours to shew, that the favouring and protecting that Religion had in all Ages entail'd the greatest Blessings from Heaven upon the Civil State, and most immediately contributed to the Grandeur and Majesty of the *Roman* Empire. Nor had the Christians, he says, any reason to pretend, they did this in compliance

pliance with the Zeal of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, those two Emperours having been so signally punish'd for their attempts in this kind: *Constantius's* Posterity being soon cut off; Some of his Children came to untimely ends, and *Constantius* himself liv'd perpetually in a slavish fear of the *Persians*, and most of his Adherents (who reap'd the Spoils of the Temples) had met with some remarkable Vengeance that had overtaken them. Having urg'd this, he further back'd his Plea with two Arguments. First, that next to the Imperial Palaces, Temples were the great Glory and Ornaments of Cities, and therefore in all good reason and policy ought not to be destroy'd. Secondly, That however that might be, yet a considerable Interest and Advantage might be rais'd by them; for they might be let out, and converted to other uses, and the Rents of them be return'd into the Exchequer; which was better however than pulling of them down. And because the Monks had been of all others the most active and busie in demolishing the *Pagan* Temples, especially those that stood in the Fields, he falls very severely upon them, traducing them (and in the same spiteful representation concur most of the Gentile-Writers of that Age) as a Pack of idle Drones, and lewd Impostors, who under a grave and demure habit, and by a pretended mortification, colour'd over with a procur'd artificial paleness, and by all the little Arts of Flattery and Insinuation, cheated the World into a good opinion of them, while they were really guilty of Gluttony and Excess. And that their work might be done more effectually, they had Military Offices call'd *Sophronistæ* or *Correctors* to attend them, whose business it was to seize the Temples and Possessions, and who were no sooner shew'd by the Monks where to Quarry, but like *Harpy's* immediately flew upon it, to the utter discouragement of the Husband-men and Country-people, who plac'd all their hopes and expectations of the success and prosperity of their Labours in these opportunities of Devotion, and pledges of the favour of their Gods. And tho they had oft complain'd to the Bishops of these Irregularities, yet could they find no redress, the Bishops always taking part with the Monks. This is the sum of his Discourse, and, but that *Theodosius* was a Prince renown'd for his Clemency, it had been prodigious impudence to have talk'd at that rate to a Christian Emperor. However it did them little good, the Process against them went on still, and the total ruine both of their Temples and Worship follow'd not long after: Which so far enrag'd that Party, that they made several attempts against the Life of that great Prince; particularly *Lucius* Commander of the Forces at *Constantinople* came into the presence, and thrice endeavour'd to draw out his Sword, with an intent to dispatch the Emperor, but espying on a sudden (as he thought) a Woman of a mighty stature, and a terrible aspect standing behind and guarding the Emperor, he departed in a great fright. The next that undertook it was the General of the Forces in the *East*, who riding upon this errand, fell from his Horse and broke his Thigh, and died. Succeeded in the like Conspiracy by *Severian*, *Marfus*, *Illus*, and many more. All which is confess'd by *Damascius* the Philosopher, a bitter Enemy to Christians.

* De Temp.
p. 10, 11. &c.
& p. 29. *Zo-*
ph. l. 5. p. 800.
Euseb. in vit.
Adelph. p. 64.
65.

* In vit. *Philos.*
ap. Phot. Cod.
CCKLII. col.
1072.

V. WHILE these things were transacted in the *East*, Zeal against Paganism did not freeze in the *Western* Parts, where (if we may take measures of what was done in other places, from what we find done by S. Martin^b Bishop of *Tours*) the Gentile-Temples, with all their Pomp and Retinue, went down the wind apace, and Christianity reap'd a very plentiful Harvest. *Theodosius* was now in these Parts, and having routed *Maximus*, came with his Son *Honorius* to *Rome*, where he summon'd^c the Senate, whom in a set Oration he persuaded to renounce their ancient Errors, and to embrace the Christian Faith, as the only Religion that held forth the true method of Pardon and Expiation of Sin, of purity and holiness of Life. But the Gentile part of them were stiff and intractable, affirming, they would not prefer a senseless and unreasonable Belief before an old warranted way of Worship, and that under the influences of this Religion their City had prosper'd for near 1200 years together, and if they should now change it for any other, they knew not what Fate might ensue upon it. *Theodosius* reply'd, That if they were thus obstinate, he knew no reason why he should be at the charge to maintain them in it, and would therefore withdraw the public allowances made out of the Exchequer, nay, would abolish the things themselves which he utterly disliked, and the charges whereof he thought it much more reasonable should be translated to encrease the Pay and Salary of the Army. The Senators reply'd, Their Sacrifices could not be duly celebrated, unless Charges were allow'd out of the public Stock, and that for want hereof, and for the neglect and restraint of their ancient and paternal Rites and Ceremonies, it was, that the *Roman* Empire died by piece-meal, and was Limb after Limb pull'd in pieces, and become a prey and a possession to the barbarous Nations, and indeed its Inhabitants so generally wasted, that it was reduc'd to a meer Skeleton, and the very Ruines of its Cities were scarce to be seen. In this Contest, the cause of *Gentilism* was manag'd, I doubt not, by *Symmachus*, a Man of greatest Note and Ability at that time, who partly upon the account of a flattering discourse^d which he had written in praise of *Maximus*, partly for the insolence and importunity of his Addresses in behalf of Paganism, fell so deep under the Emperours displeasure, that he was forc'd to take sanctuary in a Christian Church, and soon after in some disgrace banish'd out of *Rome*, and the *Suburbicary* Countries. But upon his submission, he was retaken into favour, and publish'd an *Apologie* to the Emperour, who advanc'd him to the honour of being *Consul*, *Ann.* CCCXCI. But withall, to render him incapable of doing any great service to his Cause, he publish'd a Law^e before his departure out of *Italy*, expressly prohibiting all manner of Sacrifices, going into Temples, or worshipping Images, inflicting several Fines upon delinquent persons according to their respective Places and Qualities. Some Months after being at *Aquileia*, he directed a Rescript^f to *Evagrius Augustal Prefect* of *Egypt*, and to *Romanus* Commander of the Horse, commanding, that none under penalty of his Head should sacrifice, frequent the Temples, or celebrate any Pagan Rites, Idolatry, it seems, notwithstanding all the late care still sprouting up in those Parts, unless we will say, it was not 'till this time that *Theodosius* sent

^b Sulp. Sever. de vit. Martin. c. 10. Ge. p. 196. Gf. 47.

^c Zosim. l. 4. p. 779.

^d Sacr. l. 4. c. 14. p. 273.

^e C. Th. lib. 16. Tit. X. l. 10.

^f Nil. l. 11.

sent Orders to these two great Officers to be assisnt to *Theophilus* in that memorable Reformation. The next year the Senate at *Rome* again petition'd the Emperour *Valentinian* for the liberty of their Religion, but were denied. *Valentinian* was then in *Gaul*, where he was murder'd by the treachery of *Arbogastes* General of the Army, who thereupon advanc'd *Engenius*, a mean Schoolmaster, to be Emperour, who was courted by the *Gentiles* on all hands, and flatter'd by their Auguries and Divinations into a confidence of Success and Stability in his Usurpation. Upon which account he was prevail'd with to grant them the famous *Altar of Victory*, so much, and so often contended for, and public allowances out of the Exchequer to defray the charges of its Solemnities. *Theodosius* was at this time at *Constantinople*, and resented the murder of *Valentinian* with that indignation that became a generous Prince, and to let the *Gentiles* feel the effects of his displeasure, he forbade the whole Exercise of their Religion, Temples, Sacrifices, and all the particular train of their Rites and Ceremonies. Which being the last Law he made, that is extant, of this nature, we shall here insert^g it.

^g C. Th. lib. 16. Tit. X. l. 12. p. 273.

Emperours, *THEODOSIUS*, *ARCADIUS*, and *HONORIUS*, the August, to *Rufinus* the *Prætorian Prefect*.

LET no Man, of what Order, Rank, or Quality soever, whether he be honourable by Birth, or eminent for Dignity, or of mean Birth, Breeding, and Fortune, let no Man presume in any Place, or in any City, either to offer, tho but an harmless Sacrifice to senseless Images, or in any more secret way of expiation to worship his Chimney-Deity with Fire, or his Genius with Wine, or his paternal Household-Gods with Fumes and Smoke, or pay Adoration by setting up Lights, burning Frankincense, or hanging up Garlands to them. And if any Man shall dare to offer Sacrifice, or to consult the reeking Entrails, let it be lawful for any one to accuse him, and being found guilty, let him receive Sentence accordingly, as in cases of High-Treason, altho it should appear, that he did not herein consult any thing against the Life of his Prince, or ask any question at all about it: For 'tis enough to aggravate the greatness of his Crime, that he would rescind the very Laws of Nature, search into things unlawful, disclose what is hidden and secret, attempt what is prohibited, enquire into anothers fate, and give hopes of his Death or Ruine. But if any Man shall burn Incense to a corruptible Image, a piece of humane Artifice, and by a ridiculous example honour that which himself but just now fram'd, and shall by crowning the Stock with Garlands, or by erecting an Altar of Curses, do what he can, tho but in a mean way, yet a way highly injurious to Religion,

ligion, to pay Worship and Reverence to a fond Statue, let him, as a person guilty of the violation of Religion, be punish'd with the loss of that House or Field wherein he is mixtred to such Pagan Superstition. For 'tis our judgment, that all places wherein it shall appear that Incense has been burnt, (provided they be legally prov'd to belong to the persons that did so) ought to be confiscated to our Exchequer. But if it shall so happen, that the place where such a person shall offer any Sacrifice, be a public Temple, or a consecrated Chapel, or another Man's House or Ground, if it appear that he

* The ordinary proportion of Gold to Silver being that of One to Twelve, a Pound of Gold amounts to 36 l. of our English Money. And much at the same rate it was at this time, for the elder *Valentinian* by a Law dated *Ann. 367. (vid. lib. 12. C. Th. Tit. 6. l. 13.)* appointed, that every Pound of Gold should be in value 72 *Solidi*; every *Solidus Aureus* of that, as generally of all succeeding Emperours, weighing four *Scuples*, or 10 s. According to which account, 25 Pounds of Gold amounts to the sum of 900*l.*

did it without the knowledge of the Owner, let him be fin'd in the sum of xxv. Pounds of * Gold, and let him that connives at, or conceals the fact, be fin'd the same sum with him, who sacrifices. This, our pleasure is, shall be so observed by the Judges, Defensors, and Curiales of every City, that the Officers having discover'd any such matter, shall immediately bring it before the Judges, and they forthwith to see to the execution of the Penalty. But if the Defensors and Curiales shall conceal any thing, either for favour, or through carelessness, they shall be punish'd by the Judges; and if the Judges, upon information of these Officers, shall take no notice of it, but defer Punishment, they themselves shall be fin'd xxx. Pound of Gold, and their Officers be

liable to the same Penalty. Given at *Constantinople* November the viiith. *Arcadius* the second time, and *Rufinus* being *Consuls*: That is, *Ann. CCCXCII.*

This Law struck down Paganism Root and Branch, so that it never recover'd it self into any tolerable degree of Life and Power, they being now restrain'd not only from the grosser kinds of Sacrifice, but from what had hitherto been permitted, as *Libanius* ^b tells us, the very burning Incense, and perfuming their Temples and Altars. *Theodosius* liv'd about two years after this, and having routed and kill'd the Tyrant *Eugenius* near *Aquileia*, died at *Milan* February the xxivth. *Ann. CCCXCV.* leaving the Empire to his two Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the former at seventeen years of Age succeeding in the *East*, the other at eleven in the *West*.

VII. TOGETHER with the Death of this great Prince I might have shut up this *Saculum*, and indeed put a period to the whole Discourse, but that upon his Death the *Gentiles* seem to have resum'd new hopes, whom therefore *Arcadius* about six Months after ^c debarr'd all use of Temples or Sacrifices, in any place, or at any time whatsoever, reviving all former Penalties made against them, and making it Capital for the Officers to neglect their Duties in this matter: As the next year he cancell'd ^d all Privileges anciently granted to Pagan Priests, of any Order, or under any Name or Title whatsoever; adding, 'twas not reasonable they should enjoy the Privilege, whose

^a C. Th. lib. 1. 13.

^b Ibid. l. 14.

very Profession was condemn'd by Law. And now Temples, the Nests of Idolatry and Superstition, went down apiece in all places of the *East*, the Materials whereof *Arcadius* the year following gave ^e towards repairing the Highways, Bridges, Aqueducts, and public Walls and Buildings. And whereas in some places Temples were left standing in the Fields for the encouragement and conveniency of the Country-people, he commanded ^f even these to be quietly taken down, that so all Foundation of Superstition might be abolish'd. A Law particularly procur'd by *S. Chrysostom*, with respect to the Temples and Idolatry of the Heathens in *Phanicia*, as we have noted in his Life. In the *West* things went not altogether to that height. *Honorius* forbad ^g all Sacrifices, but commanded all Ornaments of public Buildings, such as Statues and Images to be preserv'd, and this, all Laws made, or pretended to be made, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. About this time the Council of *Carthage* petitioned ^h *Honorius*, that all remainders of Idolatry in *Afric* might be utterly abolish'd, and that the Temples that stood in the Fields, and in obscure private Corners, where they could not be pretended to be for any public Ornament, might be pull'd down, that the Gentile-Fests and Entertainments, attended with prophane and scandalous Dancings, and whereat they sometimes constrain'd Christians to be present, and that upon the Solemnities of the Martyrs, might be prohibited, that their Sports and Shews exhibited in their Theaters, might not be on the Lords day, or on any Christian Solemnity, and that no Christian might be compell'd to be there. In answer hereunto, the Emperour enacted, by Orders sent to *Apolodorus* *Proconsul* of *Afric*, that as for Temples, ⁱ if not used to any unlawful purposes, they should stand entire, but if any Man should do Sacrifice in them, he should be punish'd according to Law; and all Idols that were abus'd to vain and foolish Superstition, should by public Officers be taken down: That as for their public Feasts and Meetings, ^j the Law had already forbidden all prophane Rites, but that their common Meetings, their shews and entertainments of the people, should, according to ancient Custom, be still suffer'd, provided it was done without Sacrifices, or any damnable Superstition, as the words of the Law are.

VII. AND here the fourth Century expires, beyond which as there is no great occasion, so I shall not search far. *Ann. CCCCI.* *Honorius* granted ^k the Ground, and Buildings heretofore belonging to Temples, and which serv'd to no more public Use or Ornament of the City, to the *Curiales* and Corporations, under several Clauses and Conditions. Seven years after he order'd, ^l that the Corn usually paid to Temples, should be taken away, and be bestow'd upon the Soldiery; that if any Images were left in Temples, Groves, or any other places, they should be removed; the Temples themselves, whither in Cities, Villages, or in the open Fields, be converted to public Uses; those that stood within the Emperour's patrimony, should be put to some convenient use; those within the possessions of private persons, to be destroy'd; Altars to be every where demolish'd; all Pagan Feasts, Sports, and Solemnities, to be put down: That the

Bishops

¹ Ibid. lib. 15. Tit. 1. l. 36.

² Ibid. lib. 16. Tit. X. l. 16.

³ Ibid. l. 15.

⁴ Cod. Canon. Eccl. Afric. Can. LVIII. LX. LXI. Conc. T. II. col. 1055.

⁵ Ibid. sup. l. 18.

⁶ Ibid. l. 17.

⁷ Ibid. lib. 15. Tit. l. l. 41.

⁸ Ibid. lib. 16. Tit. X. l. 19.

Bishops of the several places should have power to see this done, and a severe Fine is set upon the Head of all Judges and Officers that neglected the execution of it. That none that were Enemies to the Catholic Church, should bear Arms in any of the *Palatine* Offices, nor be nearly employ'd under the Prince, who refus'd to be of the same Faith and Religion with him; a Law that equally struck at Heathens and Heretics. The next year he banish'd the *Mathematici*, that is, all *Haruspices*, Magicians, &c. out of *Rome*, and all other Cities, unless they would bring the Books of their curious Arts, and burn them in the presence of the Bishop of that place, and engage never to return to their old Errors again. *Theodosius* the younger, who had some years since succeeded his Father in the *Eastern* Empire, *Ann. CCCCXVI.* made *Gentiles* incapable of bearing Arms, or being admitted to places of Honour and Authority. And seven years after he speaks of *Pagans*, as if there were none left, *Pagani qui supersunt, quoniam jam nullos esse credamus, &c.* and that if there were, the former Laws should be reviv'd against them; and if any of them should be caught at their accursed Sacrifices, tho the Law made it Capital, it should be punish'd however with Banishment and Confiscation. *Ann. CCCCXVI.* he once more forbid all *Pagan* Oblations, Sacrifices, with all their Rites and Mysteries, and if any of their Temples, Chappels, or consecrated Places were yet standing, the Magistrate should take care to strip them of their superstitious use, and expiate them by placing a Cross, the venerable Ensign of the Christian Religion in them; and that if any were prov'd guilty of having thus sacrific'd before a competent Judge, he should forfeit his Life. This it seems was a parting blow, nor do we meet with any thing farther concerning these matters in the Imperial Laws of these times, nor indeed is any thing considerable to be found in History: For partly by the clear light and conviction of the Christian Doctrine, every where plainly and constantly preach'd, partly by the force and severity of the Laws of the Empire, Heathenism dwindled into nothing, and that little that was left, crept into holes and corners to hide its Head, according to the prediction long since of the Prophet *Isaiah*, that the *Idols* should utterly be abolish'd, and should go into the Holes of the Rocks, and into the Caves of the Earth, and that Men should cast their *Idols* of Silver and of Gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the Moles, and to the Bats; fit company for such blind Idolaters. And thus we have seen how Paganism cbb'd and flow'd in the Reigns of the several Princes, after Christianity became the Religion of the Empire, till it was quite beaten out of Doors. The effects of which whole account, I shall sum up in the words of *Theodorit.* "Constantine the Great (says he) a Prince worthy of all honourable Commendation, and who first adorn'd the Imperial Throne with Piety, when he saw the World running mad after Idolatry, expressly forbid that any should sacrifice to Demons; their Temples indeed he did not pull down, but only commanded them to be shut up. His Sons came after, and trod in their Father's steps; but Julian reviv'd Paganism, and added new Fuel to old Errors and Impieties. To him succeeded Jovian, who again prohibited the wor-

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"ship of Idols. The elder *Valentinian* govern'd the *West*, according to the same Rules and Measures; while *Valens* in the *East* permitted indeed all others to worship and adore what they had a mind to, but constantly persecuted those (and those only) who held to the Catholic and Apostolic Doctrine. All his time the Altars smok'd with Incense, and the *Gentiles* undisturbedly brought their Sacrifices and Drink-Offerings to their Images, and kept their public Feasts in the open Market-place. The Priests and Votaries of *Bacchus*, clad in Goats Skins, ran up and down, tearing Dogs in pieces, howling and making dreadful noises, and behaving themselves in the most wild and frantic manner, with the rest of those mad Ceremonies, wherewith they were wont to celebrate the Festival of their Deity. All which, the most religious Prince *Theodosius*, when he came to the Empire, did utterly extirpate and abolish, and drave them into an Eternal Silence.

The End of the INTRODUCTION.

* *Ibid.* Tit. V. l. 32. vid. Zosim. l. 5. p. 820.

* *Ibid.* lib. 9. Tit. XVI. l. 12.

* *Ibid.* lib. 16. Tit. X. l. 21.

* *Ibid.* l. 22, § 23.

* *Ibid.* l. 25.

* *lib.* 5. c. 21. p. 226.

THE LIFE OF
EUSEBIUS
 BISHOP OF
 CÆSAREA in PALÆSTINE.



EUSEBIUS CÆSARIENSIS.

Th: time and place of his Birth. His Kindred unknown. His first Studies. His intimacy with Pamphilus and others. The Diocletian Persecution when begun. Its fierceness in Palæstine. Pamphilus cast into Prison. His and Eusebius's joynt Studies there. Their Apology
 B
 for

many of them in favour at Court, and some admitted to great offices in the Empire, the Bishops and Ministers of Religion highly honoured by all, even by them that were strangers to the Faith, Christianity daily increas'd by numerous Converts, old Churches were repair'd, and new ones erected more large and stately in every place. Thus stood the case with them, till their sins awakened the divine Justice, and provok'd it to let loose the Storm upon them.

III. ABOUT the entrance of the following Century, *Diocletian* having routed and killed *Achilleus* governour of *Egypt* (who had usurp'd the Empire, drawn those parts into Rebellion, and fortified himself in *Alexandria*) return'd for *Syria*, and pass'd through *Palestine* with young Prince *Constantin* in his company, at what time *Eusebius* tells^m us, he saw that young Prince, when the eyes and admirations of men were fix'd upon him, his tall and comely personage, the strength and firmness of his body, but especially the virtues and endowments of his mind giving an early *omen* of the happiness of his future reign. Nor long after *Diocletian* together with his Colleague *Maximian*, entered *Rome* in a solemn triumph for the several victories which had of late been gain'd over the Barbarous Countries; which done, he return'd to *Nicomedia*, where he usually kept his Court. And now he began to think it an affront and disparagement to his other triumphs, to see the ancient religion of the Empire baffled and born down by Christianity, and therefore resolv'd to attempt the Suppression, if not Extirpation of it. To this purpose Imperial Edictsⁿ are issued out; by the first commanding their Churches to be demolish'd, their Bibles to be burnt, persons of Honour to be disgracefully turn'd out of their offices, and meaner persons to lose their liberty; by a second, that the Governours of the Church should be Imprison'd, and by all methods of cruelty and torment, be compell'd to sacrifice; which were shortly after followed by fresh orders more fierce and bloody than the other. This persecution began a little before *Easter*, *Ann.* CCCIII. and with what fury it rag'd through all the Provinces of the *Easter* Empire, *Eusebius*ⁿ has declar'd at large. We shall only remarque a few of those that suffer'd in *Palestin*, and especially at *Cesarea*, where *Eusebius* resided, and was a sad Spectator of their sufferings. The first that came to tryal was *Procopius*,^p who obstinately refusing to doe sacrifice to the Gods, was immediately beheaded at *Cesarea*; followed herein not long after by *Alphius* and *Zacchens* in the same way of Martyrdom, and at the same place; as on the same day with them, *Romanus* Deacon and Exorcist of the Church of *Cesarea*, suffered at *Antioch*. The next year was memorable for the Martyrdom of *Timotheus*^q at *Gaza*; of *Timolais*, *Dionysius*, *Romulus*, *Agapius*, and several others beheaded at *Cesarea*. And now it was that *Diocletian*, either weary of the pompous Cares of Greatness, or vex'd to see himself baffled by the constancy of Christians, laid down his Purple, and betook himself to the retirements of a private life. But alas the Scene hereby did not lose, but only shift its Actor. For *Maximinus*, who succeeded in that part of the Empire, carried on the same design with a fresh but more violent rage and cruelty, issuing out orders the following year to quicken the Governours of Provinces, in putting the Laws in strict execution against those, that refus'd to comply with the publick Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion. To which purpose

^m *Deut. Cont.*
ⁿ *l. 1. c. 19.*
^p *l. 17.*

ⁿ *Euseb. Eccl.*
^{l. 6. c. 2 p. 254.}

ⁿ *De. Severus*
^{tot. lib.}

^p *De Mart. Pa.*
<sup>lib. 1. p. 318.
^{c. 6.}</sup>

^q *Id. lib. c. 3.*
^{p. 321.}

pose while the Officers were making Proclamation at *Cesarea*,^r and summoning men by Name out of a publick roll, *Apphianus* a young Gentleman of *Lycia*, and at that time Scholar to *Eusebius*, stole out of doors, (unknown to us, says *Eusebius*, who liv'd in the same house with him) and pressing through the crowds and guards, caught hold on the hand of *Urbanus* the President, then ready to offer Sacrifice, which he grasp'd so hard as forc'd him to let it fall, gravely reproving him for those Impieties. Whereupon (as we may imagine) the severest torments became his portion, after all which he was thrown half dead into the Sea, his Brother *Eusebius* for the same fact suffering the same kind of Martyrdom, and almost at the same time at *Alexandria*, not to mention what hapned in other places.

IV. IT was now the fourth year of the Persecution, when *Maximinus*^s the Emperor came in Person to *Cesarea*, there to solemnize his Birth-day, which was accordingly celebrated with infinite variety of Poms and Shews. But all had been nothing, if some Christian had not born part in the Triumphs of that day. Accordingly *Agapius*, who had been sometime since sentenc'd to wild Beasts, was brought forth into the *Amphitheater*, and nothing prevail'd with by the Emperor's promises, was delivered over to the mercy of a She-Bear, who only left him so much life, as to be able survive till the next day, when great stones being tied to his feet, he was thrown into the Sea. Not long after *Eusebius* his dear friend *Pamphilus* was apprehend'd,^t and brought before *Urbanus* the President, who endeavoured by all the arts both of insinuation and terror to bring him over. But all in vain, the Martyr remain'd immovable, and generously despis'd his threatenings, which so enrag'd the Governour, that he commanded him to be rack'd with the acutest tortures; and when they had more than once rak'd his sides, and torn off his flesh with Iron-pincers, and yet that all this did not shake the firmness of his mind, he was sent to keep company with the other Confessors in Prison, the President himself being immediately after disgracefully turn'd out of his office, and with shame enough condemn'd by the Emperor to dye. But it was not at all the disgrace and torment *Pamphilus* endur'd, could fright *Eusebius* from his friend; he visited him in Prison, and diligently ministr'd to his occasions, and there they mutually employ'd their time and pains to excellent and useful purposes. And as heretofore^u they had publish'd the Greek Translation of the *Septuagint*, taken out of *Origen's Hexapla*, for the use of the *Palestin Churches*; so now they compos'd an Elaborate *Apology* in defence of *Origen*, to vindicate him from those rude Censures and Reflexions, which the hasty and indiscreet zeal of some had made upon his memory. 'Tis true *S. Jerom* (forgetting what he had elsewhere said^v concerning this matter) more than once peremptorily denies^x that *Pamphilus* either wrote this or any other Book. But *Eusebius* himself, who knew best, expressly tells^y us, that it was the result of their joyn't-endavours; and *Photius*^z more particularly, that the whole Work consisted of six Books, the five first whereof were finish'd by *Pamphilus* in Prison with *Eusebius* his assistance, the sixth added by *Eusebius* after the other's Martyrdom, and that it was design'd for the consolation of the Martyrs who laboured in the Mines, the chief of whom was *Patermuthius*, who shortly after was burnt at the Stake.

^r *Id. sup. c. 4.*
^{p. 323, 324.}

^s *Id. c. 2 p. 325.*

^t *Id. c. 7.*
^{p. 329.}

^u *Histor. pref.*
<sup>in Paralip.
^{Tom. 3. p. 19.}</sup>

^v *de Script.*
<sup>Eccl. in Pamph.
<sup>* ad Pam. p.
<sup>193. T. 2. Apol.
<sup>adv. Russ. lib.
<sup>p. 199. Apol. 2.
<sup>p. 223.
<sup>† H. Eccl. l. 6.
<sup>c. 23. p. 232.
<sup>‡ col. c. 28. m.
^{col. 296, 297.}</sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup></sup>

^a de Mart. Pal.
c. 11. p. 336.

^b S. Metaphr.
in Mart. Pamp.
ap. Sur. ad 1.
Jun. N. II. & V.
ex Euseb.

^c Hieron. de
Script. in Matt.
et in Pampbil.
et ad Princip.
in Psal. 126.
Tom. 3. p. 113.
vid. Euseb. E.
1.6. c. 22. p. 231.
^d Euseb. de vit.
Pampbil. 3. ap.
Ithir. apol. Adv.
Euseb. fin. Tom. 2.
p. 159.

V. TWO full years *Pamphilus* continued in Prison, when *Firmilian* ^a *Urbans* Successor brought him to his fatal Trial. It hapned that five Christians of *Egypt* out of a great reverence to the Martyrs, had accompanied some Confessors that were condemn'd to the Mines in *Cilicia*; and being now upon their return, took *Cæsarea* in their way, where they were apprehended by the Watch that stood Sentinel at the Gates, to whom freely confessing what they were, they were immediately carried before the Governor, and by his command laid in Irons. The next day they were again brought before him, and *Pamphilus* also with his companions commanded to attend the Tribunal. What became of the *Egyptian* Martyrs, we are not now concerned to enquire: It came at last to *Pamphilus* his turn, whom the Judge knowing to be of an invincible Constancy and Resolution, only ask'd of him, whether he would yet comply. And having receiv'd both from him and his fellows nothing but a flat denial, the last doom was pass'd upon them. But between Sentence and Execution in steps *Porphyrus*, *Pamphilus* his servant, a young man of good parts and learning, not above eighteen years of age, and boldly requests that the bodies of the dead might receive decent Sepulture. But he paid dear for his forward zeal, the Tormentors being commanded to exercise all their faculties upon him, who rak'd off his flesh, till they had laid bare the most inward recesses of his body, all which he endur'd with a most incomparable patience; after which being ordered to be burnt, he suck'd in the flames at a distance, entertaining his friends during the whole Scene of his Tragedy, with a most serene undisturb'd mind, till his Soul mounted up, leading his Master the way to Heaven, who shortly followed after him. But the rage of their enemies died not with them, the President commanding their dead bodies to be kept by a Military Guard four days and nights together, that none daring to fetch them off, they might remain a Prey to wild Beasts. But when beyond all expectation neither Bird nor Beast of Prey came near to touch them, (the providence of God defeating the malice of men) they were permitted to be decently interr'd. Thus have we brought *Pamphilus* to his Grave, a man of great Learning, but far greater Piety. He was a *Phenician* ^b, of no inconsiderable birth and fortunes, born at *Berytus*, a City famous for the study of the *Roman* Laws, where he bore some secular offices in his younger years, and where being educated under all the advantages of humane Arts, he next applied himself to the study of divine things, and was then made Presbyter of *Cæsarea*. He was indefatigable in the pursuit of all parts of Learning, especially the knowledge of the Scriptures, for which end he erected a Library ^c at *Cæsarea*, and replenish'd it with Books from all parts, yea, in a great measure of his own writing, transcribing the far greatest part of *Origen's* Works with his own hand, which he there laid up, and which were extant in *S. Jerom's* time, which he tells us he valued as a most inestimable treasure. His life was truly strict and Philosophical, ^d his Soul humble and mortified, eminent his contempt of the World, and his charity to the Poor, whom he reliev'd where ever he met, and by the truest sort of Charity provided for their Souls, that they might not be destitute of the bread of life. And for this purpose he caus'd great numbers of Bibles to be copied out, which he always kept by him, and freely bestow'd upon any, whose piety made

made them as willing to read them, as their Purfes made them unable to procure them.

VI. *EUSEBIUS* thus depriv'd of his dear Companion, either to mitigate the sense of so great a loss, or to withdraw from the present heat of the Persecution, or it may be dispatch'd upon some affairs of the Church, left *Cæsarea*, and about this time, (for I cannot well place it sooner) retir'd into *Egypt* ^e, where he found the Persecution so far from abating, that it encreased together with the heats of the Climat, especially in the parts about *Thebais*, where he tells us he daily beheld the most sad and dismal spectacles; many were rak'd to death with sharp Shells instead of Pincers to tear off the flesh, women naked tied by one of their Legs and hoisted up on high by Engines prepared for that purpose; others tied by the feet to great boughs of Trees, violently wrested and forc'd together, which being let go, in a moment rent the bodies of the Martyrs all in pieces. Nor were the numbers less considerable, than the cruelties of their execution, twenty, thirty, sixty, sometimes a hundred in a day, some beheaded, others burnt, till the very edges of their Swords were dull'd, and the Tormentors themselves, though relieving one another, tir'd out. All which time they discovered not only the highest constancy, but the most impatient desire of Martyrdom, Sentence being no sooner pass'd upon the first, but others immediately crowded up to the Tribunal, confessing they were Christians. During his residence in these parts, *Eusebius* was seized and thrown into Prison: But how long he remained there, or by what means he was delivered thence, we no where find. Which has created a suspicion with many, improv'd by others into a confident assertion, that he offered Sacrifice, and basely complied with his Persecutors to procure his escape. This indeed was charg'd upon him by the *Egyptian* Confessors, and particularly by *Potamo* Bishop of *Heraclea*, his fellow-prisoner. But then it is to be considered, that they who suggested this were his avowed enemies, who looking upon him as a Champion of the *Arian* party, were willing to improve all rumours and jealousies, though never so slight and groundless, to his disadvantage; and that there seems to have been no other foundation for this suspicion (as *Potamo* plainly confesses) than merely his being releas'd out of Prison without those badges of ignominy and cruelty upon his body, which some other of the Confessors underwent. Not to say, that had it been as they suggested, it would have been an insuperable bar to his after-preferment in the Church, it being the severe discipline of those days not to admit any of the lapsed to places of dignity and authority in the Church, and where any such had done Sacrifice, they were immediately stripp'd of their Ecclesiastical capacities, and though penitent were receiv'd to no more than a meer Lay-communion; and *Athanasius* himself tells us of *Asterius* the *Cappadocian* Sophist, that having sacrificed to Idols under this very Persecution, he could not for that reason be admitted into the order of the Clergy. Whence I cannot but note the disingenuous and uncharitable censure of *Baronius* ^h, who as he falls upon *Eusebius* at every turn, so in this positively affirms not only that he did actually Sacrifice, and was interdicted the communion of the faithful, but that its highly probable that he procur'd the Presidency of so noble a Church as *Cæsarea*, by sinister and evil arts,

^e H. Eccl. 1.8.
c. 9. p. 300.
3. 1.

^f Epist. Synod.
Alex. ap. A-
than. Apol. II.
p. 567. ap. E-
useb. Hist. Eccl.
LXI. III. p. 309.
Edit. Græc. Wæ-
ssl.

^g de Synod.
Arim. & Si-
lence. p. 684.
vid. Socr. l. 2.
c. 36. p. 72.
^h ad An. 308.
N. XXII.

ⁱ ad Ann. 318.
N. LXXIX.
as

as to which he could not be regularly admitted by the constitutions of the Church. In which malicious insinuation had there been any truth, we should not have fail'd to have heard of it in the Writers of those times, when the zealous contentions of the several Parties ripp'd up whatever might make to the disgrace of either.

7. The persecution in the mean time was carried on in *Aegypt*, with all imaginable vigor and fierceness, by the care of two zealous Governors, *Culcianus* of *Thebais*, and *Hierocles* of *Alexandria*. This *Hierocles* had been sometime since Judge at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, where *Diocletian* kept his Court, and where *Lactantius* at that time taught *Rhetoric*, and for his activity, especially against the Christians was, it's like, prefer'd to be Governor of *Alexandria*, for so *Epiphanius* expressly styles him; where he carried it with so high a hand against the Christians, and prosecuted the Martyrs with such intollerable severities, that *Aidesius* ^b in a fit of indiscreet and immoderate zeal not only reprovd, but stroke him on the Face. A man he was of wit and parts above the ordinary standard, but poisoned with inveterate prejudices against the Christians, whom he persecuted both with his Sword and Pen. For he wrote two Books ^c which in imitation of *Celsus* his λόγος ἀληθής he intitled λόγος φιλαλήθειας πρὸς χριστιάνους, as if nor so much written against, as address'd to the Christians, that by a sly insinuation he might the easier recommend himself to them; where- in he attempted to prove the Scriptures to be guilty of falshood and contradiction, so particularly examining every minute punctilio, that *Lactantius* was ready to suspect him to have been an Apostate Christi- an; the Apostles he endeavour'd to shew to have been Cheats and Imposters, rude and illiterate Persons, and our Saviour himself a public Robber, that his Miracles were the Effects of Magic, not com- parable with those of *Apollonius* *Tyaneus*, whom he equal'd with, and prefer'd before him. This Book *Eusebius* took to task, and waving all other parts of it, as himself tells ^m us, partly because being transcrib'd to a title of other mens writings (I suppose he means *Celsus* or *Porphyry*) they had been already answered by *Origen*, partly because he himself design'd to examine them elsewhere, as he did in his Books against *Porphyry* afterwards,) he now only attack'd that part of the φιλαλήθειας wherein *Hierocles* had compar'd *Apollonius* with our Savi- our, which he refuted by no other method, than by making some strict reflections upon the Life of *Apollonius*, describ'd by *Philostratus* in VIII Books, all which he runs through with short remarques, shew- ing *Apollonius* to be so unfit to be compar'd with our blessed Saviour, that he scarce deserv'd the name of a true Philosopher, or an honest man. I confess I find ⁿ one (a man otherways Learned and Judici- ous) standing alone in this matter, peremptorily denying, that it was our *Eusebius* that wrote this Confutation of *Hierocles*, but rather one of a later date, as seems evident from *Hierocles* his Books concerning *Fate*, which were not written till near a whole age after. But this objection would have easily vanish'd, had he considered, what to me is most plain and evident, that our *Hierocles* could not be the Author of those seven Books concerning *Fate and Providence*, as wherein men- tion is made of *Plutarch* ^o the *Athenian*, who flourish'd about the be- ginning of the fifth Century, and was contemporary with *Olympiodo- rus*, to whose judgment and censure ^p he submitted those Books, and who

^b *Id. m. c.*
Oric. τὸ β. 78
A. 7. c. 10.

^c *Lactant. lib.*
5. c. 2. p. 460.
452. c. 3.
p. 454. p. 459.

^m *Contr. Hie-*
rocl. non larg.
et init. p. 511.

ⁿ *J. Jons. de*
scrip. lib.
Philos. l. 2.
c. 18. p. 304.

^o *Phot. cod.*
CCXIV. col.
553.
^p *Id. ib. col.*
549.

who dedicated his *Roman History* (for that it was the same *Olym- piodorus* I make no Question) to the younger *Theodosius*, who began not his Reign till the year CCCCVIII. Those Books therefore be- long to a younger *Hierocles* mention'd by *Suidas* ^r and others, to whom he ascribes them, as also the most excellent Commen- tary upon the *golden Verses* of *Pythagoras*. That which betray'd the man into the mistake, was plainly this: He suppos'd ^s *Eusebius* his dissertation against *Hierocles* concerning *Fate*, to have been in an- swer to those VII upon that Subject, mention'd by *Photius*. When as *Eusebius* in that discourse has not the least relation to those Books, but only makes some brief animadversions upon *Apollonius* his princi- ples concerning *Fate*, which he annexes as a suitable Appendix to the preceding Confutation, as is evident at first sight beyond all ex- ception to any one that casts his eye upon that Discourse. After all which it were easie to justify our *Eusebius* his title to this Book from the express Testimony of *Photius*, ^t and the Faith of all ancient Copies, which bear his name in the Front of them. But of this enough.

VIII. IT'S now high time to return with *Eusebius* into *Palestin*, where the persecution ceas'd, *Anno Chr. CCX.* eight years after it began, as within two years after the weather clear'd ^u up in all the Provinces of the *East*, *Constantine the Great*, after his memorable Victory over *Maxentius* at the *Milvian Bridge*, declaring himself in favour of the Christians, and writing in their behalf to *Maximinus*, who not daring to control the request of so potent a Colleague, Issued out his Let- ters to the Governors of Provinces, forbidding all rigorous prosecu- tion of them. About this time dyed *Acapius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, in whose room none was thought so fit to succeed as *Eusebius*, whose admirable learning, eminent services, and peculiar relation to that Church recom- mended him to the Government of so famous and renown'd a See. *Cæsarea*, so called by *Herod the Great*, who beautified and enlarg'd it, in honour of *Augustus Caesar*, had ever since been one of the greatest Cities in those parts, and from the fall of *Jerusalem*, it had been the seat of the *Proconsul*, and the Metropolis of the Province; a place not more celebrated ^x for its abundance and plenty, than for the neatness and elegance of its buildings. And as the fortunes of the Church in such Cases usually arise with the Splendor and greatness of the civil state, it had been the *Metropolitan* ^y See of *Palestin*, to which even *Jerusalem* it self was subject. And though the Fathers of the *Nicene* Synod thought fit to decree, ^z that according to ancient Custom and Tradition, honour should be paid to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, yet still it was with a reservation, saving the Rights, the Power and Jurisdic- tion of its own Metropolis; by which they undoubtedly mean *Cæ- sarea*, as the *Scholias* upon that Canon universally acknowledge, and is, I think, granted by all. And thus stood the Case for some ages, till the Ambition of some Bishops, and the great reverence which af- ter-times bore to the place of our Saviour's sufferings and burial, turn'd the Tables, and *Cæsarea* became subject to the Patriarchate of *Jeru- salem*.

IX. *EUSEBIUS* plac'd in so conspicuous a Throne, quickly be- came considerable among the Bishops of the *East*, but with none more intimate than *Pantinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, formerly Presbyter of *Antioch*, at whose invitation he perform'd a very solemn Service upon this oc- casion.

^r *Id. Cod.*
LXXX. col.
177.

^s *Suid. in*
verb. hierocli.

^t *Id. sup.*
p. 302.

^u *Cod. XXXIX*
col. 24.

^v *Euseb. Hist.*
l. 9. c. 9. p. 36.

^x *vid. descrip.*
orb. Gothofr.
p. 12.

^y *Nicem. in*
Can. VI. Con-
cil. Nic. Zonar.
& Ariq. in
Can. VII.
Math. Bys.
sub tit. E. c. 11.
p. 116.
^z *Can. VII.*

calion. Among the happy influences of *Constantin's* favour and kindness to the Christians, it was not the least, that the Houses of God, which the impiety of the late times had demolish'd, began to rise up out of their dust and ruins, and to grow up into fairer and more magnificent Fabricks than before; and this not only by the Emperors' lieve, but by their particular encouragement and assistance. Nor were Churches more cheerfully built by the bounty of Christians, then with an equal piety they were solemnly dedicated to God's honour and service, the Consecrations being usually celebrated with Prayers and Sermons, Hymns and Sacraments, and all possible expression of mutual Love and Charity, the presence of the Governors of the Church, and resort of strangers from all parts. In which number *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, partly by his own, partly by the contribution of his Friends, had erected a beautiful and stately Church, the fairest in all those parts, at the dedication whereof, there being a general confluence of the neighbour Bishops, *Eusebius* had the honour to make that large and elegant Oration, yet extant ^a in the body of his History; wherein after a grateful commemoration of the care and goodness of the divine Providence, that had so strangely turn'd their Tears and Sorrows, into Musick and Triumphs, and especially that the solemnities of their Religion, and the places of divine Worship had been with advantage restored to them; and had therein recommended the piety and diligence of the Bishop of that place; he particularly describes the several parts and ornaments of that magnificent structure, together with their mystical aspects and significations, concluding, as he began, with a passionate address to all, to joyn unanimously in a hearty love and admiration of the divine Goodness; an Honour and Veneration suitable to those mighty blessings that had been heap'd upon them. This was done *Ann. CCCXIV.* Or at most the following year. But alas, this pleasant serenity of affairs lasted not long. *Licinius* the Eastern Emperor laying aside^b the Mask of his dissimul'd kindness to the Christians, by which he had hitherto impos'd upon *Constantine*, fell now with great severity upon them, not only banishing them from Court, and all Offices of Trust and Power, but pursuing them with cruel Edicts, proceeding against their Estates and Persons, by Oppression and Violence, by Rapine and Confiscation, by Exile and Imprisonment, and by the most bloody and barbarous kinds of Death and Torment. The Gentile-religion he industriously reviv'd, and endeavoured to restore it not only to Life, but to its ancient Power and Splendor. This opportunity *Valerius* supposes ^c *Eusebius* took to write his Books, *de Preparatione & Demonstratione Evangelica*; as indeed the Occasion was very fit and proper. But that they could not be written till several years after this, we shall shew afterwards.

X. BUT though the *Licinian* Tempest was fierce and boisterous, yet arose there at this time a storm of another nature, that in some respects was more troublesome to the Church, than all the *Pagan* persecutions. I mean the *Arian* controversy, whereof we shall speak more particularly in the Life of *Athanasius*, the proper seat of that story, considering it here no farther, than as *Eusebius* was concern'd in it. *Arius* like a subtle and designing man, had by couching his mind in ambiguous terms, and denying at one time, what he affirm'd at another, so conceal'd the venom of his Propositions, that he so far impos'd

pos'd upon several Bishops of the East, and particularly upon our *Eusebius*, as to write to *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Arius* his Diocesan, by whom he had been excommunicated, to readmit him to Communion. What use the crafty Heretick made of these Letters is easie to imagine, inasmuch that *Alexander* look't upon himself, as under a necessity by publick Letters to represent the true state of the Case, and in one to *Alexander* of *Byzantium*, he charges the three Syrian Bishops (meaning, no question, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, *Theodotus* of *Laodicea*, and *Paulinus* of *Tyre*) as giving too much countenance and encouragement to the *Arian* party, declaring that *Arius* and all his followers were expell'd the Church, and that no man ought to receive or entertain them. This, *Arius* in his Epistle ^e to the *Nicomedian* *Eusebius* interprets, as particularly putting our *Eusebius* and several others under an *Anathema*, as whom he suppos'd of the same Opinion with himself. *Eusebius* netled hereat, writes ^f to *Alexander*, telling him, "that his Letters had wrong'd *Arius* and his followers, "when they charg'd them with affirming, that the Sun like other "things was made out of things that were not; when as they produced their own Letters written to himself, containing an account "of their Faith, wherein they expressly declare, that the God of the "Old and New Testament, had from eternal ages begotten his only "begotten Son; by whom he made the World and all things therein; and that he begot him not seemingly, but truly and really, unchangeable, immutable, the perfect production of God (for so I presume to render *ὁμοιου ᾤοντος*) but not as one of the Creatures. More he has there to the same purpose, to shew how much *Alexander* had misrepresented them, and possibly the case had been much clearer, had the Epistle been intire; though by what of it is now extant, one would think, either that the *Arian* principles were not so thick and gross as their Enemies represented them, or that they render'd them more specious and plausible at first sight, in which some men of moderate and unprejudic'd minds were willing to understand them. This I should be ready enough to believe, but that in the close of that Epistle, (here mentioned by *Eusebius*, but extant intire both in *Athanasius* and *Epiphanius*) they seem plainly to retract what before they had granted: Which it may be *Eusebius* never saw; if he did, he had kinder thoughts of them than they did deserve. *Alexander* nothing mollified, ^g kept firm to his resolutions, whereupon *Arius* dispatch'd away Messengers to our *Eusebius*, *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, and *Patroclus* Bishop of *Seythopolis*, begging, that by their Countenance and Assistance, he, and those of his party, might as they had been wont assemble their People, and exercise their Ministries in their several Parish-Churches. The matter being canvass'd in a meeting of the *Palestine* Bishops, they agreed to the request, affirming, that they might do so, but that withal they should yield submission to their Bishop, and unweariedly sollicit and importune him, that they might be received to Peace and Communion with him.

XI. THE Controversie being grown beyond all private Methods of compofure, *Constantine*, *Ann. Chr. CCCXXV.* summon'd a General Council of Bishops from most parts of the Christian World for the decision of it, which accordingly met at *Nice*, where our *Eusebius* had the first seat ^h on the right Wing of the Benches near the Emperor,

^a H. E. l. i. c. 32.
^b Ibid. l. i. c. 32.

^b Ibid. c. 2.
^c l. 394.

^c *Proc. de vit. & script. Euseb.*

^d *Ap. Theod. H. Eccl. l. i. c. 4 p. 15.*

^e *Ibid. c. 5. p. 21.*

^f *Ext. fragm. literar. Ath. VI. Concil. Nicen. II Conc. Tom. VII. col. 497.*

^g *Sozom. II. Eccl. l. i. c. 15. p. 428.*

^h *De vit. Const. l. 3. c. 11. p. 489. Sozom. H. Eccl. l. i. c. 19. p. 433.*

¹ *Eccl. Hist. Const.*
l. 1. c. 1. p. 405.

² *Eccl. Hist. Const. Nic. l. 2.*
c. 18. col. 188.

³ *Contr. Marc.*
lib. 3. c. 2.
p. 150. 151,
152, 153.

and the honour to entertain him with an Oration in the name of the Synod at his coming thither. This was that Oration that he made at *Constantine's Vicennalia*, when, as he tells us, he beheld that great Conqueror compass'd round with the servants of God, and display'd the goodness of Heaven, and the greatness of the Emperor, with just Praises and Commendations. A piece of service not more acceptable to that Prince, than honourable to himself. Indeed how considerable a part he bore in that great Assembly, may appear by what the Historian * of that Council reports (though I confess not mention'd by any other) that when one of the Philosophers whom *Arius* had brought along with him to dispute on his side, press'd that place, *Κύριε. ἐξάρξα με* The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, as plainly destructive of our Lord's Divinity, *Eusebius* was commanded by the Synod to undertake him upon that argument, who waving the usual explications of that place, he insists upon this, that this is not spoken in the person of the Son of God, but of that *ἀρχαῖος* *κόσμος*, that humane and rational wisdom, which God at first planted in man, when he created him after his own Image. And because he foresaw it would be objected, that the wisdom here spoken of was before the rest of the Creation, he affirms, that the material World was indeed actually made before it, but that this wisdom and man as the Subject of it were first in the purpose and design of God. The particulars of the dispute are too tedious to be here inserted, he concludes with an address to the Philosopher, not to suffer himself to be led aside out of the common road of the Apostolick Faith, to apply his mind to truth, without respect to hatred or parties, by which means he would quickly understand that the Son of God was not a Creature, but the very maker and founder of the whole Creation. Among many things that induce me to disbelieve the account of these disputations, and particularly of this passage of *Eusebius*, this is not the least, the odd interpretation which *Eusebius* here gives of this so much controverted place. For though the Greek Fathers, who generally understood no *Hebrew*, were frequently at a loss about it, as it lies in the Version of the *Septuagint*, the only Translation they made use of, yet *Eusebius*, who was somewhat skill'd in the original Text, was capable of giving a more easie and natural solution of it. And accordingly elsewhere ¹ we find him expounding it of the Son of God, and expressly asserting, that if it were meant of creating, it could not be understood, as if he had proceeded from not being into being, seeing he did subsist and live, was preexistent and preexistent to the whole Creation, but rather that it might denote, that God had appointed and constituted him to be Prince and Head of all things; that the *Hebrew* Text had nothing concerning God's creating him, the Word *Canis* signifying to possess, and so he observes both *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion* render it, *the Lord possessed me the beginning of his ways*, that is, he whom the Father begot as his only begotten Son, was the Head of all things that were made, both visible and invisible, both as to their Creation and Salvation; that there was a wide difference between *ἐκ τοῦ* *Κόσμου* *Created*, and *ἐκ τοῦ* *Κόσμου* *Possessed*, the one noting after the ordinary manner of creation, a proceeding from non-existence into a state of being, the other a possessing something preexistent, and a most peculiarly distinguishing propriety towards him that possesses it: So that the

Son

Son of God in that place at once represents both his own preexistence and peculiar propriety to his Father, and also that benefit and advantage, which his Fathers Works would receive by his Providence and Administration. Which is the Sum, and as near as may be the very words, of what he more largely discourses upon this Subject.

XII. GREAT were the pains which the Fathers of the Council took to convince *Arius* and his Party, and to satisfy the doubtful and the scrupulous, the moderate endeavouring to find out some expedient to heal the breach. To which end *Eusebius* brought in a Confession of Faith, wherein he hop'd both parties might agree, which though well approv'd of, yet not being thought explicate enough in the main Article, was with some little alteration and addition, especially of the *ὁ ἀρχαῖος* or word *Consubstantial*, drawn up into a standing Creed. This form *Eusebius* at first dislike'd, and very minutely canvass'd and debated the matter, but considering how much the Peace of the Church ought to over-rule all private sentiments, and niceties about words, he the next day subscrib'd ^m the common Creed. Of all which he gave an account in a Letter to the People of his Charge, (though, as *Theodoret* thinks, it was more particularly design'd, to give satisfaction to some Persons in that City, deeply leaven'd with *Arian* principles, and who seem'd to challenge him as having betray'd and given up their cause. The Letter is somewhat larger than ordinary, and consists of expressions not very capable of being properly rendred into our Language; yet because it contains the Transactions of that Synod, so far as they relate to him, we shall here insert it. ⁿ

^m *Athanas. de decret. syn. Nic.*
p. 402. Epist.
ad Affric. p. 721.
ⁿ *Ext. ap. Socr.*
H. Eccl. l. 1.
c. 8. p. 23.
Theod. l. 1.
c. 12. p. 36.
Græc. H. Con.
Nic. l. 2. c. 34.
Col. 252. *Nic.*
eph. H. E. l. 8.
c. 22. p. 576.
Athanas. Tom. 2.
p. 48.

Eusebius his Letter to the People of *Cæsarea*.

THOUGH I doubt not, dear Brethren, but that before this you have heard by some other hand, what things have been debated concerning the Faith of the Church in the great Council of Nice, since report is wont to out-run the true account of things; yet to the end that such reports may not represent things otherwise to you than indeed they are, we have thought it necessary to send you, first, the Confession of Faith, which we propounded, and next the other, which with some addition to ours the Synod establish'd. The form propos'd by us, and which was read in the presence of the most sacred Emperor, and seem'd to be lik'd and approv'd by all, was in this manner. The exposition of our Faith. As we have receiv'd it from the Bishops, who were our predecessors, both when we were first instructed in the rudiments of the Faith, and when afterwards baptized into it; as we have learn'd from the holy Scriptures, and both believed and taught, not only when we sustain'd the Office of Presbyter, but since we came to the Episcopal Station, so do we still believe, and produce this as the account of our Faith.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, the first born of every Creature, begotten of God the Father before all *Mœgos*; by whom all things were made, who for our Salvation was incarnate, and dwelt amongst men, he suffered, and rose again the third day;

day, and ascended to the Father, and shall come again with Glory to judge both the quick and the dead. We believe also in one holy Ghost. Each of these [Persons] We believe to be and to subsist, the Father truly the Father, the Son truly the Son, and the holy Ghost truly the holy Ghost: As our Lord himself when he sent forth his Disciples to preach, said to them, Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. Concerning which we also declare the same to be our sense, that we hold this now, that we have ever hitherto held the same, and that we shall hold it to the death, firmly persevering in this Faith, and Anathematizing every impious Heretic. All which we profess before Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we have sincerely, and from our very hearts maintain'd ever since we were capable to understand our selves, that we still do really think and speak the same things, being ready to give you all assurance and demonstration, that heretofore we have constantly so believ'd and preach'd.

Having thus declared our Faith, it met with no contradiction, yea the most holy Emperor himself first pronounc'd it to be sound and right, affirming that himself was of the same mind, and exhorting all others unanimously to assent and subscribe to this Doctrine, adding only the word Consubstantial to it, which also he expounded, affirming, that the Son was not said to be Consubstantial according to corporeal affections, or that he did subsist of his Father by any kind of Section or Division; it being impossible that an immaterial, intellectual and incorporeal Nature should admit any corporeal passion; but that these things were to be understood in a divine and secret way. And so did the most wise and religious Emperor discourse about these matters. The Bishops taking advantage of the Emperor's proposal concerning the word *ὁμοούσιος*, drew up the following Creed.

The Faith agreed on in the Synod.

WE believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made, of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, which are in Heaven and in Earth: Who for us men and for our Salvation came down, and was incarnate, and was made man, and suffered; and the third day he rose again, ascended into Heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the holy Ghost. But for those that say, there was a time when he was not, or that he was not before he was, or that he was made of things that had no existence; or that affirm the Son of God to be of any other substance or essence, or that he was created, or is obnoxious to change or alteration; all such the Catholick and Apostolick Church of God doe anathematize and reject.

No sooner was the matter digested into this form, but we were especially careful to examine those Phrases, of the substance of the Father, and consubstantial with the Father. This begat various Questions and Answers, and an accurate weighing the true importance of them. They acknowledge

knowledge, that these words (of the Substance) did imply, that the Son was of the Father, but not as a part of him. Which notion it seem'd very reasonable to us to embrace, seeing the true Doctrine teaches, that the Son is of the Father, but yet no part of his Substance. Wherefore we also gave our assent to it, not rejecting the very word Consubstantial for peace sake; and that we might not decline from the right sense of things. Upon the same account we approv'd those terms, begotten, not made; where they told us that (made) was a word common to all other Creatures that were made by the Son, with which the Son himself had no resemblance; that therefore he was no Creature, like to any thing made by him, but of a Substance far more excellent than any created Being; which the divine Oracles teach to be of the Father, by an ineffable manner of Generation, which can neither be express'd, nor comprehended by any created Understanding. So likewise for this, that the Son is Consubstantial, or of the same essence with the Father, upon debate it was agreed, that this was not to be understood after any corporeal Mode, or the manner of mortal Creatures, it not being capable of so being either by division of the Substance, or by abscission, or by change of the essence and power of the Father, his unbegotten nature being utterly inconsistent with any one of these: But that this, that he is Consubstantial with the Father, signified no more, than that the Son of God had no kind of similitude with any Creatures, but was only, and in all things like unto this Father that begat him, not of any other substance or essence, but of the Father. Which being so explain'd, it seem'd very just and reasonable we should assent to it. Forasmuch as we know that some of the learned and famous Bishops and Writers of ancient times, in explaining the divinity of the Father and the Son, have us'd this word, Consubstantial. And so much for the Faith here established, to which we all consented, not rashly and inconsiderately, but in the senses alledged, discuss'd before the most religious Emperor, and for the reasons above mention'd approv'd by all. And for the Anathema affix'd by them at the end of the Creed, we readily own it, as what prohibits men to use unscriptural terms, from whence has arisen all the confusion and disturbance in the Church. For seeing the Divinely inspired Scripture nowhere makes use of these expressions, *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων* of things not existent, and, there was a time, when he was not, and the rest there mention'd, it seems irrational and absurd, that they should be us'd or taught. To which wisely contriv'd sentence we readily gave our suffrage, having never heretofore accus'd our selves to such expressions. [Nor do we think it unfit to reject this, that, he was not before he was begotten, it being confess'd by all, that the Son of God was preexistent to his Incarnation: Yea, our most Religious Emperor has shewn, that as to his divine Generation, he was before all Worlds. For before he was in Act, he was potentially in the Father by a certain unbegotten way, the Father being always a Father, as always a King and a Saviour, being all things in respect of Power, always and as to all things the same.] These things, beloved, we thought necessary to acquaint you with, that you might know with how much caution we first stood off, and then yielded our assent, and how not without reason, we resisted till the last minute, so long as there was any thing otherwise written that might give offence; but afterwards quietly embrac'd what was inoffensive, after that, having candidly examin'd the meaning of what was said, it appear'd that they were consonant to that confession of Faith which we had first propos'd. We salute you, with the Brother-hood together with you, wishing you, honour'd Brethren, to farewell in the Lord.

Such

Such was the Letter which *Ensebins* sent to his *Cæsareans*, to let them know how affairs went in the Council, to prevent mis-reports concerning himself, and to assure them he had subscrib'd no other Doctrine, than what he had always delivered to them. I shall make no other reflections upon the Epistle it self, than that hence 'tis evident, that whatever the *Arians* pretended concerning the novelty of the terms in the *Nicene Creed*, the word *ὁμοιού*, whereat they most boggled was of a more ancient date, us'd by the Fathers in the precedent ages of the Church: And that when ever *Ensebins* speaks of Christ as in any sense created, he always means it of a divine production, to wit, his eternal Generation; that he never denies him to be of the same substance with the Father in any other sense, than as the divine nature is incapable of division or separation after the manner of corporeal Beings. The Reader may farther remark, that that passage in the close of the Epistle concerning Christ's being *actually and potentially in the Father*, is confus'd and obscure, and indeed the whole Period, which we have included within Breaks, is not extant in this Epistle as 'tis in *Socrates*, nor in that translated by the ancient compiler of the *Tripertite History*. Whence one of these two things plainly follows, either that they left it out as a dangerous and unaccountable passage, or (which to me seems more probable) that not being in the Original Copy of this Epistle, it was thrust in by some other hand. For I cannot think *Socrates* would have been guilty of so much both imprudence and unfaithfulness, as when he pretends to give the whole, to cut off, and conceal part of so considerable a Letter, and which being almost in every hand, must needs soon discover the Fraud.

XIII. This great Assembly being ended, *Constantine* went on in his designs for the Establishment and Propagation of the Christian Religion. He had not long before the Synod upon his Victory over *Licinius*, written to the Bishops in every Province to take care for the repairing and re-edifying of Churches, and the erecting others more large and beautiful, commanding Charges to that end to be allowed out of his own Exchequer. His Letter to *Ensebins* is still extant; wherein he tells him, he could not but suppose that the Impiety and Tyranny of the late times had made strange havock and devastation of Churches, and that the divine Providence by his Ministry having overcome the *Dragons*, and restor'd liberty and safety, it could not but have a mighty force upon the most prejudic'd and incredulous, to bring them into the way of truth: That therefore he should take care of what Churches were within his jurisdiction, and give the same notice to all Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons of his acquaintance, to use peculiar diligence in this matter, that what Churches were yet standing might be repaired, or enlarged, and where need was, new ones erected; and that what was necessary to this purpose, he, and others by his means, should require of the Governors of Provinces, and the Prætorian Præfect, to whom he had given Orders to be assitant to him in any thing he should demand of them. Nor was he more careful to advance the true Religion, than to depress the false, especially to destroy the Monuments of *Pagan Idolatry* and Superstition. There stood in *Palestine* an aged Oak call'd *Mamre*, which constant Tradition avow'd to have remain'd since the time of *Abraham*, who dwelt there, and

• De vit. Const. l. 2. c. 45. p. 464.

• Loc. cit. c. 46. & ap. Soer. l. 1. c. 9. p. 35. *Trop. l. 1. c. 15. p. 44.*

• E. F. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 51. p. 508. Soer. l. 1. c. 18. p. 48. *Socr. l. 2. c. 4. p. 447.*

under it entertain'd the Angels that appear'd to him. Here was annually holden a famous Mart, frequented by a numerous concourse of Christians, *Jews* and *Gentiles* from all the neighbouring Nations, partly to vend their several Commodities, partly to exercise the several Rites of their Religions. For which purpose there were Statues and Altars, and Sacrifices continually made upon them. Notice whereof being given to *Constantine*, by the pious Prince's his Mother *Helen*, he immediately sent dispatches to *Acacius* the Governour about it, and wrote to *Ensebins*, *Marcarius*, and the rest of the *Palestine* Bishops, letting them know how much he resented the Profanation of so venerable a Place; that a Place that had been honoured with so many divine Apparitions and Testimonies from Heaven, should be prostituted to such lewd Idolatry; a thing unfit in it self, and unbecoming the Piety of his Reign: That therefore he had ordered the Images to be burnt, the Altar to be demolished, the Sacrifices to be abolished, and a Church to be built in the Place; where nothing but the pure Worship of God might be performed. Which if any should dare to oppose, upon their Intimation to him, he should be punished according to the just Demerit of his Impiety and Folly. About this time I suppose it was (though I cannot certainly adjust the particular year) that *Constantia*, *Constantine's* Sister, and relict of the late Emperour *Licinius*, wrote to *Ensebins* as Metropolitan of *Palestine*, desiring him to send her the Image or Picture of our Saviour. To which, checking her vicious Curiosity, he returns this smart Answer. "Be-
"cause (says he) you desire me to send you the Image of Christ, tell
"me which, or what kind of Image of Christ it is you mean. Is it
"that real and unchangeable Form, that naturally bears the Cha-
"racters of himself? Or that which he took upon him for our Sakes,
"when he cloathed himself with the Form of a Servant? As to the
"Form of God, I suppose you enquire not after it, being instructed
"by himself, that no man knows the Father but the Son, neither
"does any man sufficiently know the Son, but only the Father that
"begat him. You therefore unquestionably desire the Image of the
"Form of a Servant, that bodily shape which he undertook for us.
"But even this we know, to be taken into Partnership with the
"Glory of the Deity, and what was Mortal to be swallowed
"up of Life. What Painter then, with a few dead and inanimate
"Colours, a few Lifeless lines and strokes, could be able to take
"the resplendent lustre of so much Majesty and Glory; when the
"divine Disciples themselves were not able to look upon him in the
"Mount, but fell upon their Faces, confessing they were unable to
"bear such a sight? If therefore his bodily shape was so much altered,
"and deriv'd so much Power from the Divinity that dwelt in it;
"what may we say it is, now that he has put off Mortality, and be-
"ing wash'd from all shadow of Corruption, has exalted the shape of
"his servile Form, into the Glory of a Lord and God? as now it is,
"since his Victory over Death, his Ascension into Heaven, being
"seated upon a Throne of Majesty, at his Fathers right hand, and his
"resting in the unconceivable and ineffable Bosom of his Father, into
"which, while he was ascending to retake Possession, the holy An-
"gels followed him with Hymns and Praises, saying, *Lift up your
"Gates, O ye Princes, and be ye lift up ye everlasting Doors, and the
"King*

• E. F. Epistola ap. E. F. loc. cit. c. 52, 53, p. 509.

• Ext. in Conc. Nic. II. A. H. VI. Col. 493.

"King of glory shall come in. Such was his Answer to the Empreſſes Meſſage. For which free and impartial Cenſure the Fathers of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, the great Patrons of Image Worſhip, fall upon him with hard words, and Characters of reproach; as upon the ſame account *Baronius* and they of the Church of *Rome*, their Succeſſors in that Doctrine and Practice, ſtill do at this day.

XIV. THE Church at this time was in a very calm and quiet State, freed from foreign Perſecutions by the late Victory over *Licinius*, and rendred more peaceable within it ſelf by the Synodical Determination lately made of the *Arian* Controverſie. And about this time *Eufebius*, probably, ſet himſelf to compoſe his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, as ſome few years ſince he had drawn up his *Chronicon*, a Work of infinite and incredible Labour and Induſtry, and which he took as much care to tranſmit intire to Poſterity, as he had taken pains to compoſe it, obliging all Tranſcribers by this ſolemn Obligation, 'the Form whereof he borrowed ^a from *Irenæus*: *Whoever thou art that ſhall tranſcribe this Book, I adjure thee by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by his glorious Coming, wherein he ſhall judge the quick and the dead, that thou compare what thou tranſcribeſt, and diligently correct it by the Copy from whence thou tranſcribeſt it, and that thou likewiſe tranſcribe this Adjuration, and annex it to thy Copy.* A moſt prudent and Religious care, and no where more neceſſary than in Matters of *Chronology*, where the Miſtake is as eaſie, as the Error is dangerous. And had but Poſterity been as careful to obſerve this Charge, as he was to give it, we had not had ſuch lame and broken accounts of thoſe early Ages, as we are now forc'd to take up with, nor much of the work it ſelf, and leſs of the Original *Greek* arriving to us, and moſt of what remains ſo altered and interpolated by *St. Jerom*, that 'tis hard to ſay which is his, and which *Eufebius*'s. The whole Work conſiſted of two Parts. The firſt called *αὐτοπόδαμι ἱστορία*, contain'd a kind of univerſal Hiſtory, repreſenting the Originals and Antiquities of all Nations, the Foundations of Cities, Tranſmigrations of People, Riſe of Dynaſties, Duration of Empires, Succeſſions of Kings, and ſuch like, from the Creation of the World, to the *Vicennalia*, or Twentieth year of the Reign of *Conſtantine*; traſverſing to this end all the Records and Monuments both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, both of the *Eastern* and *Western* World, being eſpecially beholden to *Africanus* his *Chronography*, which he almoſt intirely tranſcribed into this Work. But of this Part, only ſome Fragments are extant at this day. The other part is called *χρονικὴς ἡρώων*, wherein he drew what was in the former into a *Compendium*, reducing things to particular years, beginning from the year of *Abraham*'s Birth, which he makes the ſtanding *Epoch*, deriving it by *Decads* throughout all Ages, comparing with, and adjuſting to it, the Affairs of all Nations and Countries, with ſuch memorable Paſſages as hapned in all Ages of the World. After the Birth of our Lord, he regulates things by a treble *Era*, the year of our Lord, the Reigns of the *Roman* Emperours, and the Series of the *Conſuls*, and herein he repreſents the State of the Church, the Names and Succeſſions of eminent Biſhops and famous Writers, the ſeveral Heresies and Perſecutions, and the like Affairs, all reſerr'd to their proper Periods; thereby laying the Scheme of a future Deſign, which in his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* he enlarged afterwards, as himſelf tells

^a us.

^a Ext. in init.
Chron.
^b Vid. Euf. H.
Eccleſ. 1. 5. c. 20.
p. 187.

^a us. This Hiſtory he divided into ten Books, wherein he accurately and orderly digeſted the Affairs of the whole Chriſtian World for ſomewhat above CCC. years. A work noble and uſeful, and highly meriting of Poſterity, upon the account whereof he is ſtyled ^a *ὁ ἀεσπύριος καλλιεύς τῆ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς γαστρονομίας*, the moſt excellent Cultivator of *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, as firſt breaking up the Ground, being as himſelf tells ^a us, the firſt that beat out the Path, where he had no tract before him. He dedicated it to his old Friend *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, by whole Inſtigatation and Encouragement he firſt ſet upon it, and who liv'd not long after the Council of *Nice*. To the ſame *Paulinus* he dedicated ^a alſo two Books, *περὶ τοῦ πόλεως ἱεροῦ*, the firſt containing a Chorography of *Judea*, the Division of the Twelve Tribes, the Deſcription of *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, and this is loſt: The Second, an Alphabetical account of the Cities, Towns, Villages, Mountains and Rivers mentioned in Scripture, either under their ancient, or more modern Names, and this has eſcap'd the Ruins of Time. In the interval between his *Chronicon*, and his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, he ſeems to have penn'd his Books, *de Preparatione, & Demonſtratione Evangelica*, wherein with incomparable Learning and Induſtry, he has, out of their own Writings, ſo baſſed the main Principles of the *Pagan* Cauſe; and ſo ſtrongly aſſerted the Truth of Chriſtianity againſt the pretences both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that the Chriſtian World can never think it ſelf ſufficiently indebted to his Memory. The former Work conſiſts of fifteen Books, which he dedicated to *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Laudicea*, the latter of Twenty, extant intire in *Photius*'s his Time, now reduc'd to half the number. In both which he has ſhew'd himſelf a man of diſtate and infinite Reading, and though there were nothing elſe in them, the World is greatly obliged to him for many Fragments of ancient Learning, which had otherwiſe never arriv'd to us. That they could not be written before this time (notwithſtanding what *Paleſtus* ſuppoſes, that they were written about ten years ſooner) is plain; becauſe in them he cites, ^b and appeals to his *Canones Chronici*, as a Work already extant: Now theſe being brought down to the Twentieth year of *Conſtantine*, Anno CCCXXV. the other muſt be written at leaſt ſome time after. Though I no way doubt, but the *Licinian* Perſecution wherein the *Gentiles* carried themſelves high, which ended not wholly, but with the death of that Prince (which hapned towards the latter end of the foregoing year) gave birth and occaſion to his undertaking of that Subject. And that they were written before his Church-Hiſtory is evident, becauſe in it ^c he cites his *οἰκία κοινωνήματα*, his peculiar Commentaries, wherein he had collected all the Prophetical Paſſages and Predictions that concern'd our bleſſed Saviour, and had thence demonſtratively enforced the truth of all thoſe things that related to him. Which can properly be applied to nothing but his Books of *Evangelical Demonſtration*, which are little elſe but a Collection of the Paſſages of the ancient Prophets, and an Application of them to our Saviour.

XV. THE *Nicene* Decrees, though they had a little allay'd the preſent heats, yet the Spirit of the *Arian* Faction did ſtill ferment, and broke out more openly in the Contentions between *Eufebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and *Eustathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who mutually

recriminated

^a H. Eccl. 1. 1.
c. 1. p. 4.

^a Gelaſ. Cyr. H.
Conv. Nic. 1. 2.
c. 1. col. 140.
y Ubi ſupr.

^a 1st Ed. Pref. ad
Paulin. in lib.
de locis Heb.

^a Cod. IX. col. 12

^b Prep. Eufeg.
1. 1. c. 5. p. 484

^c H. Eccl. 1. 1.
c. 2. p. 100.

recriminated each other; though *Sozomen*^d says, that instead of him of *Nicomedia*, it was our *Eusebius*; but withall adds, that the Dispute between them lay only in words, they both agreeing that the Son had his Personal *Hypostasis* or Subsistence. but that mistaking each others fence, they scuffled in the dark. But with the other *Eusebius*, *Eusebius* had a fiercer Contelt. For *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* being lately return'd from Banishment, ^e and having regain'd some Interest at Court, under a pretence of visiting the holy Places at *Jerusalem*, and especially the magnificent Structures which the Emperour was building there, was furnished by him with all Accommodations for his Journey; where taking *Antioch* in his way, he laid the Foundation of that Design which he carried on at his return thither. For having procur'd a Synod to be holden there, *Eusebius* was accus'd^f by *Cyrus* Bishop of *Berea* of *Sabellianism*, and to make the Indictment more heavy, some Immoralities were laid to his charge, a Woman of lewd fame being brought into the Synod with an Infant sucking in her Arms, which he impudently affirm'd to be his, and when put to it, ratified it with her Oath. Whereupon the good man was depos'd by the Council, and an account of it being transmitt'd to the Emperour, he was by his Order immediately banish'd into *Illyricum*. This kindled a mighty flame at *Antioch*, the City hereupon running into great Faction and Disorder, both Magistrates and People, Souldiers and Tradesmen, betaking themselves to Arms, and things had come to downright Blows and Blood, had not great care been us'd to prevent it. For besides the Emperours frequent dispatches from Court, by Persons of Honour and Authority to compose the Tumults, moderate men thought no expedient better to allay the Disorders, than to choose some Person of Learning and Eminency to succeed in that Chair, in whom both Parties might meet and Center. Hereupon the Synod pitcht upon our *Eusebius*, then present in the Council, a man of unquestionable Learning, and one whom they knew to be highly in favour with the Emperour, to whom they sent an account of their Election. But the fierce Animosities and Divisions still continued in the City, a great part both of the Clergy and People passionately contending for *Eusebius* his Translation thither, as others were importunate for *Eustathius* his Restitution to that Place. But *Eusebius* not caring to fish in troubled Waters, nor liking the See ever the better, out of which a Famous man had been so indirectly thrown, but especially beholding it as against the Rules and Constitutions of the Church, which ordinarily allow'd not a Bishop to be translated from one See to another, and this ratified by a Canon^h of the late *Nicene* Synod, obstinately declin'd the Election, whereof by Letter he certified the Emperour, who was infinitely pleas'd with his Prudence and Piety in that Affair. Upon his refusal, his dear Friend *Paulinus* of *Tyre* was translated thither. But he had not held it above six Months, when the See became again vacant by his Death. The Emperour upon the receipt of *Eusebius* his Letter, wroteⁱ back to the People of *Antioch* to this effect, That he very well knew the Person whom they had chosen, and recommended to him with such honourable Characters, and that he was one whom he had a long time had in great Veneration for his Learning and Modesty, and that in this Competition not many might

^d L. 2. c. 18. p. 458.

^e *Thad. H. re. l. 1. c. 21. p. 51.*

^f *Socr. l. 1. c. 24. p. 55. Trid. id.*

^g *Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 50. p. 515. Socr. c. 24. p. 55. Trid. id.*

^h *Conc. Nic. can. XV.*

ⁱ *Euseb. Epist. ap. Euseb. loc. cit. c. 60. p. 515.*

might be found equal to him: But yet that it was not fit that one Church should be provided for to the prejudice of another, that every one should be content with his own Bounds, and rest satisfied with their peculiar Allotments, that the Souls of men in a smaller as well as in a greater Church were equally dear to Heaven, and therefore should not have their Guide and Pastor raviſh'd from them, an Act of greater Violence than Justice: That they should do well to unite in Love and Concord, and laying aside all seditious and immodest Clamours, prudently make choice of such a Person as might be most proper and convenient for them. To the same purpose he wrote^k to the Bishops in the Synod, letting them know how much he approv'd *Eusebius* his prudent Resolution to wave the Election, as a thing highly consonant to the Laws of the Church; that he understood that *Euphronius* Presbyter of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, and *George* the *Arethusean* Presbyter of *Alexandria* were men of approv'd Integrity in the Faith, whom together with such others as they should think fit for that Episcopal Station, they should set before them, and proceed in the Election as the rules of the Church, and Apostolical Tradition did require. Together with these, he wrote particularly to *Eusebius* himself, this following Letter.^l

^k *Extat. ibid. c. 62. p. 519.*

^l *Ext. ubi sup. c. 61.*

CONSTANTINE the Great, the August, the Conquerour to EUSEBIUS.

I Have often read your Letter, and perceive how exactly you observe the Rule of Ecclesiastick Discipline. For to persevere in those things that are both acceptable to God, and agreeable to Apostolical Tradition, is highly Pious; herein may you account your self happy, that by the Testimony almost of all the World, you have been thought worthy to be Bishop of the whole Church. For since all have been ambitious to enjoy you, it unquestionably makes a great Addition to your Happiness. But your wisdom, whereby you have been taught to keep the Commands of God, and the Apostolical Canon of the Church, has done very well in refusing the charge of the Church of *Antioch*, and in desiring to continue in that Episcopal Station, wherein, by the Will of God, you were plac'd from the very first. But concerning this Affair I have written to the People, as also to your Collegues, who had written to me about this Matter. Which Letters, when your Holiness shall peruse, you will easily understand, that it being but just that I should deny their request, what I wrote to them about it, was by immediate guidance and direction from God. It will become your Wisdom to joyn in Consultation with them, that so this Affair of the Church of *Antioch* may be settled. God have you in his keeping, dear Brother.

The Issue of the business was, that *Eusebius* remain'd where he was, and *Euphronius* was chosen to the See of *Antioch*, being one of the two whom the Emperour had nominated in his Letter to them.

Gallicano &
Symmacho.
His coss. dedi-
cata est Con-
stantinopolis
die V. Idus
Maiar. Hist.
Eus. consil.
An. 4. v. Hist.
CCCLXVIII.

^m Ext. ap. Eus.
de vit. Const.
l. 4. c. 36. p. 543
Socr. l. 1. c. 9.
p. 36. Theod. l. 1.
c. 16. p. 45.

XVI. THUS ended the Troubles of *Antioch*, and the Synod there held *Anno CCCXXX*. A year memorable for the Dedication of *Constantinople*, whither *Constantine* having translated the Seat of the Empire, and enriched it with all the Ornaments of State and Grandeur, which the Power of so great a Prince was capable to confer upon it, solemnly dedicated it *May* the *XIth*. impressing his own name upon it, an Honour which of all the Fortunes of that mighty Empire, is the only surviving Monument of his Greatness at this day. Nor was he unmindful of Acts of Piety, Erecting several fair Churches and Oratories for the Assemblies of Divine Worship, and that they might not be unfurnish'd of Bibles for their holy Offices, he wrote to *Eusebius* (whom he knew most capable of this Affair, both for his Learning, and the incomparable Library at *Cæsarea*) to provide him fifty Copies transcrib'd for that use. The Copy of the Letter ^m we here insert.

CONSTANTINE the Great, the *August*, the Conqueror to EUSEBIUS Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

IN the City that bears our name, by the Blessing and Providence of God our Saviour, there are great numbers of men gathered to the holy Church. Since then all things there are mightily improv'd, it seems above all things convenient, that several Churches should be erected there. Understand therefore what I am most readily resolv'd to do. It seem'd good to me to intimate to your Wisdom, that you cause fifty Copies of the holy Scriptures, the use whereof you know to be absolutely necessary to the Church, to be fairly transcribed in Parchment by Antiquaries accurately dext'rous in that Art, such as may be easily read, and carry'd up and down upon any occasion. To this end we have graciously written to the Treasurer of the Diocess, to take care that all necessary charges be allowed for the providing these Books. Your part it is, diligently to see that they be prepar'd with all speed that may be; for the transmitting whereof, you shall by vertue of these Letters, receive the command of two publick Carriers, that so the Copies fairly transcribed, may be the more conveniently brought to our presence, attended by one of the Deacons of your Church, who at his arrival, shall not fail to taste of our Grace and Kindness. God preserve you, dear Brother.

ⁿ Eus. lib. 37.
p. 544.

No sooner had *Eusebius* receiv'd the Commands, but he immediately caus'd ⁿ the Books to be copied out, which in Parcels richly and elegantly Bound, he transmitted to the Emperor; who in his answer signified his Approbation of them; as also, how well he was pleas'd with what he had been told, that *Gaza* a Town in *Palestine* had renounc'd Idolatry, and embrac'd the true Religion: For which he endow'd it with great Priviledges, advancing it to the Honour of a City, and gracing it with the Title of *Constantia*, the name of his own Sister. Together with this Letter concerning the Bibles, he sent also an answer to *Eusebius*, about his Book concerning the Paschal Solemnity, which he had lately dedicated to him, wherein he had explain'd

explain'd the Original, and all the Mysteries of the Festival: In which answer ^o he tells him, how diligently he read his Book, how greatly he admir'd his excellent Learning, and indefatigable Studies, and how desirous he was, frequently to receive such Discourses from him, that he was resolv'd by publishing his Book, to make it universally useful, and that in order thereunto, he had caus'd it to be elegantly translated into the *Latin* Tongue.

XVII. THE *Arian* Party by subtle Artifices and Insinuations at Court, dayly gain ground of the Orthodox, whom they laboured by all wayes possible to suppress. The main Strickler in defence of the *Nicene* Creed was *Athanasius*, whom not being able to rout by force of Argument, they loaded with all the black and infamous Calumnies, which Wit or Malice could invent, and these represented with all Advantages to the Emperor. Who incens'd hereat, commanded ^a a Synod to be conven'd at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, *Eusebius* his Episcopal See, where after a tedious Expectation nothing was done, the party accused refusing to appear. Which the Emperor so far resent'd, that some time after, *Anno CCCXXXV*. he commanded another Synod to be held at *Tyre*, empowering our *Eusebius* and some others to enquire into the Merits of the Cause, charging *Athanasius* under severel Penalties to appear. Who came ^a accordingly, attended with severel *Egyptian* Bishops, his Suffragans, who appeared in his behalf. Amongst which was *Potamo* Bishop of *Heraclea*, who had been *Eusebius* his Fellow-prisoner under the *Diocletian* Persecution: A man of a blunt and rugged Temper, who beholding *Eusebius* upon the Bench, transported with an ungovernable Zeal, rudely accosted him in this manner. And must you, *Eusebius*, sit upon the Bench, whilest innocent *Athanasius* stands to be judged by you at the Bar? Who can endure such Proceedings? Tell me, were not you in Prison with me in the time of the Persecution? I for my part lost an Eye in defence of the Truth; you have neither Wounds to shew in any part of your Body, neither suffered any kind of Martyrdom, but are alive and whole. How got you out of Prison, unless you either engag'd to the Persecutors to offer Sacrifice, or it may be actually did it. The improbability of which uncharitable Suggestion we shew'd before. *Eusebius* offend'd with so insolent a Reflection, and thinking such carriages ill befitting Persons accus'd towards the Emperor's Commissioners, rose up and dissolved the Meeting for that time, saying, If when you are come hither, you take the Liberty to talk at this rate against us, the things may be true which your Accusers lay to your Charge: For if you exercise so much Tyranny here, what will you do in your own Country?

XVIII. WHILE things were thus debating at *Tyre*, the Bishops were summoned by the Emperor's Letters, to go forthwith to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the Dedication of that famous Church which he had erected there. For *Constantine* had some time since, by a Letter ^a directed to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, given order for the building a most stately Church, over the Place of our Lord's Resurrection, or as others, the Place of his Passion; or as some, one in each, commanding that it should be done with all the Advantages of Splendor and Greatness, and that neither Cost nor Pains should be spar'd about it. And the Work was done accordingly, the Porch before it large and open, pav'd with shining Stone, and encompassed on

^o Ext. Epist. ap.
Eus. ubi sup. ca.
35 p. 543.

^a Socr. l. 2.
c. 25. p. 479.
Theod. l. 1. c. 29
p. 61.

^a Epiph. Hist.
LXIII. p. 309.

^a Ext. Epist. ap.
Eus. de vit.
Const. l. 3. c. 32.
p. 499.

on three sides with large Portico's, the Church it self large and high, the Walls on the out-side of polish'd Stone, on the in-side set with variegated Marble, the Roof adorn'd with the choicest carv'd Work, all overlay'd with Gold, at the upper end a Semicircle, surrounded with twelve Columns, after the number of the Twelve Apostles, the tops whereof were crown'd with Chapters of Silver. But I shall not undertake to describe Particulars, it may suffice, that it wanted nothing of Ornament or Magnificence. which Art or Cost could confer upon it; not to mention the Princely Gifts, especially the rich Carpet and Hangings for the Altar, curiously wrought with Gold and Jewels, and suchlike noble Presents, which he bestow'd upon it. Hither came the Bishops from Tyre, where they were met by multitudes from other Provinces, who flock'd to this Solemnity, and were receiv'd with great State by Persons of Honour and Quality sent from Court to entertain them at the Emperor's cost; the chief of whom was *Marianus* the Emperor's Secretary, a Pious and Religious man, who having been a Confessor in the late Times, was the fittest to be employ'd upon this Errand. The Solemnity was manag'd with all imaginable Expressions of Festivity and Rejoycing, magnificent Feasts and Entertainments, mighty Charity to the Poor, but especially Acts of great Piety towards God, the Bishops employing themselves in the Offices of Religion, in Prayers and Sermons, some celebrating the Emperor's Piety towards our Saviour, and the magnificence of the Structure; others discoursing upon some divine Subject, accommodated to the present Occasion. Some expounding the Portion appointed to be read out of the holy Scriptures, explaining the mystical and hidden sense; others not so well qualified for that, being taken up in the Celebration of the Eucharist, and in Prayers and Praises, interceding with God for the common Peace, for the good of the Church, for the Emperor and his happy Issue. But herein none bore a greater Part than our *Eusebius*, honouring the Solemnity with several publick Discourses, sometimes by writing, setting forth the greatness of the royal Edifice; other whiles representing the Prophetick Scriptures, and adapting them to the present State of things; and after all, drawing up a particular Description of this famous Church, the fashion of our Saviour's Sepulchre, the beauty and elegance of the Building, the several Gifts wrought with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones; in a Book on purpose of this Subject, which he dedicated to the Emperor, and annexed to his Books, *De vita Constantiniana*; but 'tis long since lost.

XIX. DURING the Celebration of this great Solemnity, *Athenasius* had made his Address at Court, complaining of the unjust Proceedings against him in the late Council of Tyre; whereupon the Emperor summon'd some of those Bishops to Court, to give an account of the Transactions of that Synod. Who came accordingly to *Constantinople*, and our *Eusebius* amongst the rest; and it being now near the Thirtieth year of *Constantine's* reign, he solemniz'd his *Tricennalia*; at that time *Eusebius* made that famous Encomiastick in praise of *Constantine* yet extant, which the Emperor honour'd with his Presence; and how well he lik'd it, he shew'd by the cheerfulness of his looks, and those peculiar Honours and Entertainments wherewith he treated the Bishops at the end of it. This being, as

¹ *Euseb. lib. 1. c. 43. p. 548. Syn. l. 2. c. 26. p. 483. Ibid. l. 1. c. 31. p. 65.*

² *Totod. loc. cit.*

³ *Euseb. c. 46. p. 550.*

he tells us, the second Oration, which he had made before the Emperor in his Palace; the former ¹ having been a Panegyric upon our Saviour's Sepulchre, which the pious Emperor, though in his own House, heard standing, although *Eusebius* importun'd him to take his Chair. And when fearing to tire him with the length of his Discourse, he offer'd in civility to break off, the Emperor bad him to proceed unto the End, at which he again press'd him to sit down, but the Emperor refus'd, saying, 'twas not fit at any time, much less at this, to hear Discourses concerning God in postures of ease and softness, and that it was very Pious to stand while we were hearing Discourses about Divine things. Amongst others that absented themselves both from the Synod at Tyre, and the dedicatory Solemnity at *Jerusalem*, was *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ankyra* the Metropolis of *Galatia*, who became the Author of some disturbance in the Church upon this occasion. *Asterius* a Sophister of *Cappadocia* had lately publish'd some Books in *Syria*, in defence of the *Arian* Tenets; which *Marcellus* reading, undertook to answer, wherein either designedly, or by surprize, he fell into another extrem, running into the Opinion of *Paulus Samosatenus*, that our blessed Saviour was but a meer man, that he took his ² existence from the time of his Incarnation, before which he had no proper *Hypostasi*, but lay quiescent in the Mind and Will of the Father, as a Word does in man, till actual speaking brings it forth, and that at last his Kingdom should cease, and his humane Nature being put off, he should be again resolv'd into the existence of the Father; together with suchlike gross and impious Assertions, stuffing his Book with tart Reflections, ³ bitter and severe Invectives against those that differed from him, sparing neither living nor dead, heaping loads of Calumnies and Reproaches upon them. This Book he had presented, with a great many flattering Addresses and Insinuations to the Emperor, hoping he would espouse and undertake his Cause, but the Emperor refer'd the Examination and Determination of the Matter to the Bishops now assembled in Synod ⁴ at *Constantinople*, the Process was begun against him in the Council at *Jerusalem*, during which he had engag'd he would burn his Book. But that Assembly being suddenly broke up by the hasty Message they received from the Emperor, the business for that time was laid aside. But being now at better leisure, they resum'd the Process, and finding the man would not comply with his former promise, they proceeded to his censure, and depos'd him from his Bishoprick, substituting one *Basil* a learned and eloquent Person in his room, and wrote to the Churches in those Parts to hunt out his Book, and burn it where-ever they found it, and to recover those who had been infected with it; annexing to their Epistle some Extracts out of it, containing those Pestilent *Dogmata* that were in it. Which done, they commanded ⁵ our *Eusebius* to undertake the Confutation of it, which he accordingly performed in five Books; the two first expressly written against *Marcellus*, wherein he exposes his Opinions out of his own Writings, with some brief Reflections upon them: In the other three intitled, *de Ecclesiastica Theologia*, dedicated to *Flaccillus* Bishop of *Antioch*, he sets himself to a more strict and accurate Refutation of them, and in both plainly evinces him to have been guilty of *Sabellianism* and the *Samosatenian* Errors. As for *Marcellus* himself he made a Shift a long time to bear up his Reputation by his adhering to the Orthodox, sheltering himself

¹ *Ibid. c. 32. p. 542.*

² *Vid. Euseb. l. 1. cont. Marcell. c. 1. p. 61. 2. c. 1. p. 32. & alib. passim.*

³ *Euseb. contr. Marcell. l. 1. p. 2.*

⁴ *Socrum. l. 2. c. 33. p. 494. Euseb. ib. l. 2. p. 55. Nicoph. H. Eccl. l. 8. c. 53. p. 662. Syn. l. 1. c. 36. p. 71.*

⁵ *Euseb. loc. citat.*

especially under the wing of *Athanasius*, who pleaded strongly for him at every turn, and recommended his Cause at *Rome*, whither he fled, and was entertain'd by Pope *Julius*, where he published an *Apology* for himself, and finally was acquitted, and restor'd to his See by the Synod at *Sardica*, who declar'd^b that what he had written had been propounded only by way of Question, not delivered as positive and dogmatical Assertions; that he did not maintain (what was charged upon him) that God the Word, took his beginning from his Incarnation, nor that his Kingdom should have an end; but on the contrary he affirm'd, that his Kingdom neither had a beginning, nor should ever have an end. And yet after all he prov'd a subtle Heretick, and was condemn'd and rejected not only by *S. Basil*^c, but by *Arbuzius* himself. ^d And *Epiphanius* tells^e us, that when himself once ask'd *Athanasius*, what he thought of him, as he did not passionately exclaim against him, so neither would he acquit him, only smiling at the mention of him. And evident it is, that *Epiphanius* himself thought him guilty of very Heretical Notions and Propositions, and that the very Apologies which he was forc'd to make for himself, shew'd that there lay something at the bottom.

XX. IT was now the year CCCXXXVII. when the Great *Constantine* left the World: His Dis temper at first, was only a light Indisposition, ^f which soon grew up into an incurable Sickness, for which cause he was first carried to the Baths, thence remov'd to *Helenople*, and so to *Achyrona*, a place within the Suburbs of *Nicomedia*, where he immediately caus'd himself to be baptiz'd; and being, as the custom in such Cases was, cloath'd in White, he would thenceforth suffer no Purple to come near him. Having made his Will, and dispos'd the Affairs of the Empire, with a mind infinitely satisfied in what he had done, and impatiently desirous of that State whither he was going; he expir'd in his Palace at *Nicomedia* May the XXII. about Noon, being the last day of the *Pentecost* Solemnity, after he had reign'd thirty years and ten months. His Death was usher'd^g in by a blazing Star, and exceedingly lamented by the Souldiers and Officers of the Army, by all the Ministers of State, and universally by all the Subjects of the Empire, the Senate and People of *Rome* shutting up their Baths, and the *Fora*, prohibiting all publick Spectacles and delightful Entertainments, and dedicating Statues to him; and all the while his Body lay in State at *Nicomedia*, all the great Officers at Court, the Senators and Magistrates of the City dayly came and paid the same Reverence and Obedience to him, which they were wont to do while he was alive. *Constantine* being arriv'd, the Corps was with all the Pomp and Solemnity that was befitting the Funerals of so great a Prince, translated from *Nicomedia* to *Constantinople*, and there with universal Sorrow, inter'd in the *Vestibulum* of the great Church, which he himself had erected and dedicated to the holy Apostles. A Prince of a generous Mind, and undaunted Courage, and an indefatigable Industry, where-to he was greatly animated by an unsatisfied desire of Praise, especially military Glory. Admirable Laws he fram'd for the common Good, which he impartially executed. The Embassies and Complaints from the Provinces he heard patiently, and did them Justice. He was powerful and prosperous, a great Patron of Learning in others, and himself very learned and studious; and which is above all,

devout

devout and pious, having from his first Conversion to Christianity, express'd a mighty Zeal and Passion for the Honour of God, and the Interests of Religion. *Zosimus* a Pagan Writer asperges his Memory, with a very odious, but withall unjust Representation of the Reason of his turning Christian. He tells us, ^h that being haunted with the Conscience of his notorious Crimes in the Death of his Son *Crispus*, and his Lady *Fausa*, and his perfidious dealing with *Licinius*, he applied himself to the *Gentile* Priests for Purgation and Absolution, who told him, their Religion allow'd no methods of Expiation for such great Offences; that hereupon he was brought into acquaintance with an *Egyptian* newly arriv'd from *Spain*, who assur'd him that the Christian Religion was able to do away any Crimes whatsoever, and that no sooner did the most profligate Wretch close with it, but he should be immediately deliver'd from the Guilt of all his Sins; upon which assurance he renounc'd the Religion of his Ancestors, and went over to the Christians. This is the Tale as told by my Author. But besides the known Spite and Malice of the man in Matters relating to Christianity, there needs no more to confute the Story, than that the account is inconsistent with it self, it being plain beyond all denial, that *Constantine* had embrac'd the Christian Religion no less than ten or eleven years before those unhappy accidents of the Death of *Crispus* and *Fausa* fell out, which this Author makes the immediate occasion of his Conversion to it. Another *Gentile* Historian ⁱ is more favourable to his Memory, he commends him for his Learning, Eloquence, and Courteousness, and the rest of those Vertues, for which he was celebrated and cry'd up to the Skyes; and affirms, that had he but put some bounds to his Bounty and Ambition, and those Arts wherewith great Minds are usually carried away in an over eager pursuit of Glory, he had come nearer to a God than a man. He was modest and humble, and notwithstanding some acts of Severity and perhaps Cruelty, which the reasons and necessities of State might put him upon, and whereof we at this distance can make no true Judgment, tender and compassionate, of a courteous and obliging Temper, kind to all, and charitable to the Poor, large and even profuse in his Gifts, magnificent in his Expences, which made him sometimes grate hard upon the Subject in Taxes and Tributes, but especially bountiful to Admiration to the Bishops and Guides of Religion, to whom he thought he could never enough express an honourable Regard, tender of the State of the Empire, but most incomparably solicitous of the Peace of the Church. But it is not for me to attempt his Character, the thing is done by a much better Hand, one who knew him best, and was most familiarly conversant with him, I mean our *Eusebius*, who not long after his Death drew up an account of his Life and Actions, not in the way of a strict History, but more like an Orator and Encomiast, not designing (as himself assures^k us) to fill up all the Particularities of his Life, but to draw the more considerable Lineaments and Proportions, in some of the greater lines and strokes of his Piety and Vertue, which was all he propounded to himself in that Work. Which may serve as an Answer to the great Exception which *Photinus*^l makes against it, that in it he gives no larger an account concerning the Affairs of *Arins*, and the Transactions of the Council of *Nice*, his design being more immediately

E 2.

^b 17d. Epist.
S. ad Sard. ap.
Trend. l. 2. c. 7.
p. 78.

^c Epist. LII.
p. 80.
^d S. C. Sulp. 2.
p. 145. 160.
^e de vit. LXXII.
p. 357.

^f Euseb. de vit.
const. l. 4. c. 61.
p. 557. etc.

^g A. Vit. idit.
Schott. 6. 41.
p. 318.

^h Hist. lib. 2.
p. 685.

ⁱ Aur. Vit.
Schott. 6. 40.
p. 312.

^k De vit. Const.
l. 1. c. 11. p. 418
412.

^l Cod. CXXVII.
col. 308.

expres himself in such sublime and intricate Questions, in a way somewhat different from others of that Age, especially while as yet the Church had made no explicate Determination in those Points, considering withall, how loosely and incautiously many other *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, as well as he, expres themselves in these Matters? But not to rest in a general Apology, let us consider a little, what Materials he himself can furnish out to one that would undertake his Plea. And whoever impartially considers the Case, will find enough, I doubt not, in his own Writings, those especially of his latter time, to vindicate him from the Charge of downright *Arianism*, to be sure extremely to mitigate the severity of the Censures that are pass'd upon him. Amongst many, a few Instances shall suffice; can we suppose him an *Arian*, that confesses ^a the Dignity, the Nature and Essence of the Son of God to be ineffable, that he was a Light before the World was; the intellectual and essential Wisdom that was before all Ages; the living Word that was with the Father in the beginning, and was God? That not only Styles ^c him τὸ θεῶν Θεὸν παῖδα γνήσιον the natural Son of that God that is over all, but αὐτοθεόν God of himself (then which nothing could be said more expressly to assert his self-subsisting independent Deity, it being a Word, which I am sure no *Arian* in the World can use;) and a little after, ^f ὁ παμβασιλεύς καὶ πανταγώγων αὐτὸν θεὸν λόγον, the Word that is universal King and Governour, and of himself God. And elsewhere, ^g the perfect Word, the only begotten of the Father, not consisting like other Words in the Power of Prolation, not compounded of Names, Words and Syllables, nor expres'd by articulate Sounds, but the living and operative Word of the great God, ἡγὼ ὁ λόγος τε ὑπερῶς, personally subsisting, which as being the Power and Wisdom of God, proceeds out of his Father's Godhead and Dominion. He tells ^h us it is the Doctrine of the Church, to acknowledge but one God, the Father of the only begotten Son, and Jesus Christ that only Son, not according to carnal Generation, but according to that (incomprehensible to us) which he had of the Father before all Worlds, by which he receives the fullness of the Father's Godhead; that the true Catholick Church owns ⁱ but one God, and one only begotten Son, and him God of God, begotten of his Father ^k before all Worlds; being indeed not the same with the Father καὶ ἑνὸν ὃ ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸν ἐγένετο, but subsisting and living of himself, and truly co-existing with the Father, God of God, Light of Light, and Life of Life, begotten of the Father in a manner ineffable, and altogether unconceivable by humane understanding, that he is αὐτοζών καὶ αὐτοσοφία καὶ αὐτολόγος, Life, Wisdom, and Reason it self, all which he immediately communicates to created Beings: That ^l the Son is of one and the same Substance, as proceeding from one and the same Father; that the divine Nature is simple, indivisible, and uncompounded, without Parts, not otherwise capable of being God. Therefore he makes ^m it great Blasphemy in *Marcellus*, to make God the Word differ in Power and Essence from the Father; and expressly affirms, ⁿ that the only begotten Word of God does τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα συνεκπελάσσειν ἐξ ἀνάρχου αἰώνων εἰς ἀπείρητον καὶ ἀπρόσδοκον αἰῶνα, Reign together with the Father from Ages, without beginning unto infinite and eternal

^a H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 2. p. 5.

^c Ib. l. 10. c. 4. p. 375.

^f Ib. p. 376.

^g De Laud. Const. c. 12. p. 639. vid. de Eccl. Theol. l. 1. c. 10. p. 69.

^h De Eccl. Theol. l. 1. c. 2. p. 61.

ⁱ Id. ib. l. 3. p. 62.

^k Ib. c. 8. p. 66.

^l De Laud. Const. c. 12. p. 640, 641.

^m Contr. Marcell. l. 1. p. 29.
ⁿ De Laud. Const. c. 2. p. 607.

eternal Ages. If he at any time affirm the Father to be the only true God, he never does it to exclude the Son, but as the word God does primarily refer to the Father as the Fountain and *Principium* of the Deity, never understanding it (as he tells ^a *Marcellus*, who objected this very thing) in any other Sense, than wherein our Saviour meant it, when he said, *thou, the only true God*. If he style ^b him (as sometimes he does) δευτέρου αἰῶνος a secondary Cause, 'tis plain he means it of the οὐκρομία of the Son, either as he co-operates with and serves his Father's Will in the Work of Creation, or of his procuring great Blessings to Mankind, as Mediator, and the Saviour of the World, in which respects the ancient Fathers made no scruple of styling him δευτέρου καὶ ἀντιθέτου a Servant and Minister, before the *Arian* Controversies disturb'd the Church: Nay in that very place where he calls him a second Cause; he yet adds, that he is the natural and only begotten Son of God; the Lord, God, and King of all created Beings, who together with the Godhead, the Power and Honour, receiv'd Empire and Dominion from the Father. When he asserts ^c that he is not ἐν ἐξ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάρχον τὸν θεόν, one and the same with God, he means, that he has not the same *Hypostasis* with the Father, in opposition to *Marcellus*, who maintain'd that impious Error; otherwise, that he did subsist and had ζωὴν ἰδίαν, his proper and peculiar Life; that ^d there is μία ἀρχὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ, one Head and Principle of the Deity, which is God the Father, who has a proper, unbegotten, imprincipiate Deity, and Fountain of Monarchical Power, which he imparts and communicates to the Son, καὶ αὐτὸν δεόμενος πρὸς τὸν ζωὴν μεταδίδει, making him to partake of his Divinity and Life, and this still as he is the *Principium* and Fountain of the Godhead: In which Sense he afterwards declares ^e the Son to be ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνάρχον, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴν ἔχων, neither without beginning, nor unbegotten, lest the Church should make two several *Principiums*, and two Gods. He tells us, ^f that the Son was always present, and intimately Conversant with the Father, and that when he came into the World to prosecute the Salvation of Mankind, he came forth of the most inward and unapproachable recesses of the paternal Divinity and Power; and that the same was true concerning the holy Spirit, which yet was ἕτερον ἀνάρχον καὶ ὁ ὅν, another subsistence from the Son. His design in that place, being to shew that there are three *Hypostases* in the Trinity, against the Doctrine of *Marcellus*, who taught that Father Son and holy Ghost, were but three Names of one and the same *Hypostasis*. It must be confess'd, that a little after he dangerously affirms ^g the Spirit to be ἐν πρὸς τὸν θεόν ὡς ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν, one of the things that were made by the Son; unless we understand him concerning the temporal Mission of the holy Ghost, whom Christ promis'd to bestow upon the World. How oft does he expressly deny those Propositions, that *the Son was made of things not existent*, and that *there was a time when he was not*, therein subverting some of the chief *Arian Dogmata*, condemn'd in *terminis* in the *Nicene Creed*, and by which *Athanasius* ^h himself confesses, though he purg'd himself, he condemn'd them. Add to all which, his Subscribing the *Nicene Creed*, wherein the *Arian* Doctrines were condemn'd with all imaginable care and accuracy. And though it be uncharitably suggested by

^a Ubi sup. p. 27.

^b H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 2. p. 5. l. 10. c. 4. p. 373.

^c H. Eccl. Theol. l. 1. c. 20. p. 90.

^d Ib. c. 11. p. 70.

^e Ibid. l. 2. c. 6. p. 108.

^f Ibid. l. 3. c. 4. p. 169.

^g Οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν συνῶν καὶ συνεκπελάσσειν τὸν πατέρα—διὰ τὸ συνῶναι αὐτὸν πάντως.—

^h Ib. c. 6. p. 175.

ⁱ De decret. Syn. Nic. 402. de Syn. Arim. c. 5. l. 10. c. 4. p. 373.

Cardinals choler, for this he pelts him with hard Names, calls him *Arian*, Cheat, and Impostor, affirming, that he feign'd this in favor of *Constantine* the *Arian* Emperor. But let us see what Foundation there is for all this Out-cry. *Eusebius* liv'd at that time, no man of his Order greater at Court, and was near enough to know the Truth of what was done nay probably was himself upon the spot amongst those Bishops he speaks of, that were call'd to Court, and thereby enabled to give so ready an account of the Discourses, and all the particular Circumstances of that dying Emperor. And suppose him to have had a design to forge such a Report, it was not consistent with a man of ordinary either Piety or Prudence to have publish'd it when the thing was fresh, and so many Persons of Quality and Credit capable to disprove him. Besides he has all Antiquity herein on his side; not to mention particular Writers, the Catholick Bishops met in the Synod at *Ariminum* not much above twenty years after, attest the same thing in their Letterⁱ to *Constantine*, that *Constantine* of happy Memory being baptiz'd, went to that state of Rest and Peace that was reserv'd for him. *Baronius* found himself exceedingly grieved with this Testimony, and instead of untying, downright cuts the Knot, crying out of Falshood and Forgery, confidently affirming, and promising to give up the Cause, if he make it not out, that the Epistle, (though he confesses it to be as we have represented it both in *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*) in that part of it is corrupted, and *Constantine* foisted instead of *Constans*. For that so it should be, he proves (and after so much confidence, his evidence had need be weighty and powerful) from the Copy of that Synodical Epistle, as 'tis extant in *Athanasius*. And so indeed it is in the *Latin* Translation of it, but had he lookt into the *Greek*,^k he would have found small cause to rejoyce so much in his Invention, it being not *Constans*, but *Constantine* there, as well as in all other Copies of that Epistle, and even in the original Draught extant in *S. Hilary*: Nor to say that the fence of the Place necessarily determines it to *Constantine* the Great. To contend so zealously for a Matter (as they account it,) of so much importance to their Church, one would imagine, that besides endeavouring to disable the Authorities that are against it, they should have some very strong positive Testimonies to confirm it. And yet after all, the whole Story is built upon no better Foundation than the fabulous Acts of *S. Silvester*, which have no just Ground or Pillar of Truth or Probability to support them. I might add, that the Story of *Constantine's* being baptiz'd at *Rome*, is plainly given up by some of greatest Note and Learning in that Church, especially *Hallorix*^l the *Jesuit*, and *Morinus*^m the *Oratorian*, though the free declaring his mind in this Matter, cost *Morin* no little displeasure in the Court of *Rome*. But I return to *Eusebius*. Whatever obnoxious passages may be in his Writings, would but men bring the same Candor and Ingenuity that ought to be us'd towards all controversial Writers, were but abatements made for Discourses about such abstruse and incomprehensible Speculations, were but his Expressions allow'd the favour of those Rules and Distinctions, which all wise and learned men have agreed on for the explaining the Doctrine of the Trinity, and hypostastick Union, and such-like unfathomable Mysteries; were but his obscure or dangerous Expressions, expounded by those that

ⁱ Ap. Socr. l. 2. c. 37. p. 136. Sozom. l. 4. c. 18 p. 566. Theod. l. 2. c. 18. p. 58.

^k *Id.* Athan. Epist. de Synod. Arim. & Ste. l. 1. c. 67.

^l Epist. ad Morin. inter Morin. Epist. XXXIII. p. 171. ^m *Id.* vit. J. Morin. p. 12, 13

are

are found and warrantable, I doubt not but a tolerable account might be given of any passages of this Nature, even those that are most doubtful and exceptionable, and which it must be confest, will not otherwise bear a rigorous Examination.

The End of Eusebius Casariensis's Life.

His WORKS.

Extant.

De Preparatione Evangelica, Lib. XV.
De Demonstratione Evangelica, Lib. XX.
Extant non nisi X.
Contra Hieroclem Liber.
Contra Marcelum, Lib. II.
De Ecclesiastica Theologia, Lib. III.
Chronicon.
Historie Ecclesiasticae, Lib. X.
De Martyribus Palestine liber singularis.
De vita Constantini, Lib. IV.
Oratio de laudibus Constantini.
De locis Hebraicis.
Epistola ad Casarienses de fide Nicæna.

Not Extant.

De Preparatione Ecclesiastica, Lib. —
De Demonstratione Ecclesiastica, Lib. —
Contra Porphyrium, Lib. XXX.
Ad Stephanum de Evangeliorum dissonantia.
Περί Θεοφυσίας, Lib. V.
In Psalmos C. I. Commentarii.
In Isaiam Commentariorum Lib. XV.
Περί Τομωψ' Ονομαστων, Lib. I.
Apologie pro Origine, Lib. VI.
De vita Pamphili, Lib. III.

Antiquorum Martyriorum Collect. Lib. XI.
Descriptio Basilice Hierosolymitane.
De Festo Paschali liber.
Ἀρχαῖα ἱστορία (scilicet ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἱστορία)
Cujus fragmenta duo extant apud Anastasium Sinaitam.
Libri ejus ad Marinum sæpius citantur ab eodem Anastasio.

Doubtful or rather Supposititious.

De fide adv. Sabellium, Lib. II.
De Resurrectione liber Unus.
De Resurrectione & Ascensione Domini.
De Incorporali & invisibili Deo.
De Incorporali.
De Incorporali Anima.
De Spirituali cogitatu hominis.
Quod Deus Pater incorporalis est.
De eodem.
De eo quod dicit Dominus, non veni pacem, &c.
De Mandato Domini, quod dico vobis in aere, &c.
De operibus bonis & malis.
De operibus bonis ex Epist. II. ad Corinth.

Hæc omnia Latine tantum edidit, J. Sirmondus Par. 1643.

THE LIFE OF
S. ATHANASIUS
 BISHOP OF
 ALEXANDRIA.




S. ATHANASIUS.

SECT. I.

*His Acts from his Birth till the first Condemnation of Arius by the
 Synod at Alexandria.*

Alexandria

Alexandria his Birth-place. The greatness of that City. His personating a Bishop, and administering Baptism when a Child. The care taken of his Education, and being plac'd under Peter Bishop of that See. The breach between Peter and Meletius under the Dioclesian Persecution. The rise and occasion of the Meletian schism. Arius who; his taking part with Meletius. Achilles how long Bishop of Alexandria, prov'd not to be the Arian Achilles against Sandius. Alexander's succeeding him in that See, and his advancement stomach'd by Arius. The various accounts concerning the first occasion of Arius his venting his impious Principles enquir'd into. What his Principles were, represented from the Fragments of his own Writings. His Notions (probably) borrowed from the Schools of the degenerate Platonists. His industrious propagating of his Doctrine, especially by means of the weaker Sex. Condemn'd by a Synod at Alexandria.

I.  HE City of Alexandria pleasantly situated in a clear and a wholsom Air, not far from the Delta, or Western Canal of the Nile, having the Pharus on a Promontory on the one side, and the Mareotick Lake on the other; had during the Line of the Ptolomies been the Regal Seat of the Kings of Egypt, as afterwards the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Residence of the *Præfectus Augustalis*, when brought under the Roman Power. A City not more ennobled by the greatness of its Founder, than proud in the Riches of its Traffick, the confluence of all Nations resorting thither, the Fame of its Schools, and the Learning and Eminency of its Professors, in which respect it out-vied Rome, and rival'd the Glory of Athens it self. Nor was it the least Addition to its Honour, that amongst many other Fathers of the Church, illustrious for Learning and Piety, it gave Birth to Athanasius, a Person so renown'd in the Histories of the Church. For here was he born about the close of the third Century, as is evident from some other Periods and Passages of his Life. His Parents (though the silence of Antiquity has conceal'd their Names) are said ^a to have been peculiarly eminent for Piety and Vertue, who left no other Child but him, as if Heaven design'd him on purpose to be the sole Heir both of their Estate and Vertue. While he was yet but a Youth, and had not out-grown the cares and tutorage of domestick Education, he hapned (if the Story which we are told, be sufficiently Authentick) to be recommended to publick notice upon a very remarkable Occasion.

II. THE Church of Alexandria kept ^b an Anniversary Commemoration of the Martyrdom of S. Peter, their late Bishop, who a little before had suffered under the Diocletian Persecution. This Festival Alexander newly advanced to that See, now celebrated; when the publick Solemnities of the day being over, he was return'd to his House, which stood by the Sea-side, whither he had invited his Clergy to Dine with him. Of whose coming while he was in Expectation, looking out at a Window, he found himself entertain'd with no unpleasing Diversiſion. A company of Youths playing together on the Shore, were fall'n upon a Humour of fancying themselves an Ecclesiastick

astick College. Athanasius, the ripeſt probably both in Parts and Years, personated the Bishop, some were Presbyters, others Deacons, others represented Catechumens and *Competentes*, who fled to be initiated with the holy Rites. Hitherto Alexander was well enough contented with the Childrens sport, but when he saw them take upon them to administer what he thought resembled the sacred and solemn Rites of the Church, and the most hidden and concealed Mysteries of Religion, he sent some of the Clergy (who by this time were come) to enquire into the meaning of the Action. The Children affrighted at first, began to deny what they had done, affirming that there was no more in it than common Sport, but being severely press'd, confess'd the Mystery of the whole childish Scene, that Athanasius had sustain'd the place of a Bishop, and had baptiz'd some Children whom they presented to him, who had not been baptiz'd before. This put him upon enquiring farther into the Manner and Circumstances of that Affair, and whether it had been manag'd by the usual way of Interrogations and Answers, and finding that every thing had been exactly done according to the Custom and Constitutions of the Church, upon advice with his Clergy it was concluded, that the Children so initiated should not be re-baptiz'd, but only consummated by Confirmation. And having sent for Athanasius his Parents, and those of the rest, who had wantonly usurp'd the Place of the Clergy, he deliver'd them to them with a solemn Charge to give them such Education, as might fit them for the Ministry of the Church, and the discharge of that Office, which in sport they had taken upon them. Athanasius hereupon was consign'd to Masters and Tutors, and being sufficiently perfected in humane Arts and Studies, his Parents return'd him to the Bishop, who took him into his Family, us'd him as his Secretary and *Amanuensis* to read to him, and write for him; and when maturity of Age had qualified him for it, ordain'd him Deacon; and finding his Parts brisk and pregnant, and his Zeal vigorous and sincere, took ^c him into his most private Councils, us'd his assistance in his most important Controversies and Affairs, carried him along with him to the Council of Nice, where in all his Contests with Arius, and his constant Conflicts with that Party afterwards, he shew'd himself a stout and able Champion of the Catholick Cause. For the clearer understanding of which Affair, it being the great Transaction of his whole Life, we must step back a while, that we may derive the notices of things from the Fountain-head.

III. PETER Bishop of Alexandria succeeded Theonas in that See, Ann. Chr. CCC. or at most but the year before. And scarce had he sitten three years quietly in the Chair, when the Diocletian Persecution overtook the Church, wherein he with many more of Note and Quality were apprehended and cast into Prison, in which number was Meletius Bishop of Lycus in Thebais, a Person, next Peter, of greatest Authority and Power, and under him Director general of all the Affairs of the Church. The severity of the Persecution (so Epiphanius ^d relates the Story, though no where more confus'd and careleſs than in the Meletian and Arian Relations, and in this case reporting things not very consistently with other Writers of those Times,) tempted many of all Orders of men, to renounce the

Faith,

^a Vit. Athan. gr. l. Operum. Tom. 2. p. 518.

^b Rufin. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 14. p. 230. So. 1. l. 1. c. 15. p. 44. Sozom. l. 2. c. 17. p. 466. Vit. Ath. ap. Phot. Cod. CCLVIII. col. 1329. Vit. Ath. ad. sup.

^c Vid. Athan. Apolog. II. p. 554. D. Gr. Gildas. c. 7. H. Conc. Nic. l. 2. c. 11. col. 172. C.

^d Adv. Adv. Harf. LXXVIII. p. 306.

Faith. and comply with the *Gentile Rites*, who repenting afterwards of what they had done, apply'd themselves to the Martyrs and Confessors in Prison for Abolution, that they might be restor'd to Peace and Communion with the Church. This, *Meletius* and others would by no means yield to, affirming it would let open the door to Apostacy from the Christian Faith, if when men had laps'd into Idolatry, they might at their return find so ready entertainment. *Peter* acted with the repentments and compassion of a common Father, was for the more mild and moderate Opinion, that a time of Penance being assign'd, they might be re-admitted into the Church, left Affliction be added to the afflicted, and men being put upon a desperate Issue, might be tempted to a total and final Apostacy from Christianity. But not being able to prevail either by Arguments or Intreaties, he hung up his Mantle cross the Prison, crying out, they that are of my side, let them come hither; they that are for *Meletius*, let them go to him. Whereupon a few Bishops and others came over to him, the greatest part remaining with *Meletius*. Which widened the difference into such a Breach, that ever after they parted Companies, and in all Acts of divine Worship, kept their separate Assemblies. But it was not long before *Meletius* himself stood in need of that Mercy, which he had so rigidly denied to others, being through the infirmity of his Faith, betray'd to offer Sacrifice to Idols. Which though not mention'd by *Epiphanius*, (who doubtless transcrib'd his Reports out of the Acts of the *Meletians*, which may justly be presum'd partial in their own Cause) is yet by a much better Author, I mean *Athanasius* himself, who adds, that for this, and some other Crimes, whereof he stood convict, (meaning, I suppose, his schismatical Proceedings) *Peter* in a common meeting of Bishops, depos'd him from his Order. The Issue was, *Peter* receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom, *Meletius* being got out of Prison, still bore up himself with the Power and Reputation of a Bishop, ordaining Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons wherever he came, erecting Churches for his own Party, and refusing to communicate with the other; each Party distinguishing their Assemblies by an Inscription over their Church doors; those who belong'd to *Peter*, and possess'd the Churches of the old Foundations, entitling themselves, the *Catholic Church*; those of *Meletius*, the *Church of the Martyrs*. This Schism commenc'd Ann. CCCVI. *Meletius* vomiting up nothing but railings and reproaches against *Peter* and his Successors, complaining how much he had been injur'd by them. How far he and his Party were censur'd in the *Nicene Synod*, and what were their Conspiracies and Combinations against *Athanasius*, we may hear more afterwards.

IV. AMONGST others that went along with the *Meletian* Schism, was *Arius*, the Son of *Amonius*, a *Libyan* by Birth, (a Country fruitful in monstrous and unnatural Productions) though *Photius* and some others expressly make him an *Alexandrian*. A man of a subtle and versatil Wit, of a turbulent and unquiet Head, but which he veil'd with a specious Mask of Sanctity. Upon his deserting * the *Meletian* Party, he was made Deacon by *Peter*; but disliking afterwards the Bishop's severe Proceedings against *Meletius*, was rejected and expell'd the Church. A little before *Peter's* Suffering, he mightily solicited to be again restor'd to his Place. But *Peter* knew the

* Apolog. II. p. 603. Socr. l. i. c. 5. p. 14.

* Epist. 1. ad Mich. Bulg. p. 4

* Socr. l. i. c. 15. p. 426.

the temper of the man too well to hearken to it; and if the Acts of his Martyrdom, of no inconsiderable Antiquity, be of any Credit, he was expressly forbidden it by a Vision from Heaven; our Lord appearing to him in the form of a beautiful Youth, with a bright shining Countenance, clad in a Linnen Coat, torn all in pieces from top to bottom. And when the good Bishop askt who had thus rent his Garment, he answered, 'twas *Arius* had done it; and withall, charg'd him not to admit him to Communion. Great and powerful Intercession would be made for him to that end, but he should not do it, but should give the like charge to *Achillas* and *Alexander* his Presbyters, who were to be his Successors. The next day ^b came a great crowd of Presbyters and Deacons to the Prison (whom *Arius* had engag'd to speak for him,) earnestly importuning the Bishop for his Abolution. No sooner had they mention'd his name, but he interrupted them; *Arius* (said he) shall be separated from the glory of God, both in this World, and in that which is to come, even as he himself separated the Son of God from the Glory and Co-essentiality of the Father. (Though he did not actually do this till afterwards.) And taking *Achillas* and *Alexander* aside, he acquainted them with his Vision, and imparted to them the same Charge that had been delivered to him. *Peter* being consummated by Martyrdom, *Achillas* one of the Presbyters of that Church succeeded him; a man Grave and Pious, but of a more calm and easie Disposition than his Predecessor. An advantage which *Arius* knew how to improve, and accordingly upon the Profession of his Repentance was restor'd, yea and advanc'd to the Order of a Presbyter, one of the Churches of *Alexandria* call'd *Baucalis*, being assign'd to him for his Cure; for it was the ⁱ Constitution of that place, that every Presbyter in that Church should have a particular Parish-Church in the City allotted him, where he communicated and taught the People. Besides all which (if an ancient Writer ^k may be believ'd) *Achillas* made him Regent of the Catechetick School at *Alexandria*. But *Achillas* liv'd not long in that honourable Place, but three Months, says *Epiphanius*, ^l though mistaking the Order of his Succession, five, says *Georgius Cyzicenus*, ^m but a little while, so *Theodorit*; ⁿ and certainly it could not well be above a year at most, which is the time that *Nicephorus of Constantinople* assigns to him. Though I believe the Reader will think what the Author of the *Oriental Chronicle* says, ^o in this Case to favour of more Zeal than Truth, that the Reason why God took away *Achillas* in so short a time, (six Months he allows him) was for his imprudent re-admitting *Arius* into the Church. And here I cannot but remark the Ignorant, or rather willful Mistake of a late Author, the historical Advocate ^p for the *Arian* Cause; who makes this venerable Bishop the same with that *Achillas* that sided with *Arius* in his Innovations; which he confidently puts beyond all doubt. And because he could not but see that *Arius* never vented his Opinion, till after *Alexander* was come into the Chair of that Church; he adds, that *Alexander* depos'd and thrust out *Achillas*. A piece of Confidence, for which he offers not the least shadow of probability, as indeed 'tis most plainly repugnant to all the Writers of that Time; not once intimated, that I know of, by any Author, except only the *Arabian* Historian, ^q whose accounts of things, when differing from more ancient Writers, are generally too idle and trifling, for any Prudent man to rely upon them. Not

^a All. Martyr. S. Petr. Gr. l. i. a Comb. edit. p. 197. ex iis Nicet. Thol. Orth. Fid. l. 5. c. 1. p. 437. con. Juv. Anall. Sicut. Odo. c. 5. p. 86.

^b Ib. p. 193. &c.

ⁱ Epiph. contr. Arian. Hæres. LXIX. p. 311. Socr. ibid. p. 428.

^k Orig. Ar. lib. Or. c. 1. in Synod. gr. l. 3. p. 14.

^l Loc. cit. p. 314. ^m H. conc. Nic. l. 1. c. 1. col. 147. ⁿ Loc. cit. p. 7.

^o Ap. Comb. not. in Act. Petr. p. 226.

^p Sand. H. Eccl. l. 2. p. 8.

^q Euseb. Arab. p. 541. Tom. 1.

^a *Epist. l. 1. c. 4.* to say, that *Theodorit* * makes the *Arian Achillas* to have been of no higher order than a Deacon; and admit him with others to have been a Presbyter, yet incredible is it, that there should be no tidings of his Deposition, especially when in the same List with him and others condemned by *Alexander*, *Secundus*, and *Theonas*, are reckon'd up, ^c and particularly said to have been Bishops heretofore. Besides, that *Athanasius* * styles our Bishop the Great *Achillas*; a Title which he would not have bestow'd upon him, had he either joyn'd with *Arius*, or done any thing that might make him obnoxious to be depos'd from his Episcopal Station. But the Error is too gross, to deserve a Confutation.

^a *Thend. l. 1. c. 2.* ^b *7. Hist. Fab. l. 7. c. 1. Nicph. l. 8. c. 5. p. 538.* ^c *Philoph. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 3. p. 468.* ^d *Epiph. Hierof. l. 3. tit. p. 307. LIX. p. 311.* ^e *Socr. l. 1. c. 5. p. 9.* V. TO *Achillas* succeeded *Alexander*, one whom for his Piety, Justice, Candor and Courtesie, Kindness to all, and Charity to the Poor, both Clergy and People had in great Veneration. But impossible it is to please all, *Arius* secretly stomach'd the Election, that one to whom he thought himself no whit Inferior, should be prefer'd before him. And this is * generally suppos'd to have given the first occasion to his starting aside, and to his after-Innovations in the Church. 'Tis true the *Arian* Historian * gives quite another account of it, that at the Election, when the greater number of Suffrages were for *Arius*, he modestly gave *Alexander* the Precedence, and transfer'd his Votes over to him. A thing so contrary to the proud and turbulent Spirit of the man, that it needs no more to make it seem improbable, if *Philostorgius* his known Partiality to the Cause did not render it suspected. *Alexander* for some time had *Arius* in good esteem, who in the mean while went on in his Parish-cure, where he began to vent * his heretical Notions, as did also *Collythus*, *Carpones*, and *Sarmatas*, Presbyters of particular Churches in the same City; who by dispersing different Doctrines amongst their People, drew them several wayes, each Party styling it self after the name of its Teacher; some *Collythians*, others *Arians*. Of all which *Alexander* is said to have been Ignorant, till *Meletius* (who though Schismatical in Practice, was sound in the Faith) came to him and gave him notice of it, desiring a speedy stop might be put to it: Accordingly *Arius* was sent for, and being examin'd concerning the Matter, at first sight confess'd it, and stood to it. A Passage I am apt to think, told by the *Meletians* in favour of their Bishop, and from them borrowed by *Epiphanius*. Indeed the first occasion of *Arius* his discovery of himself, is somewhat differently related. Most probable it is, that *Arius* not knowing whence else to pick a Quarrel with his Diocesan, took occasion to censure and impugn his Doctrine. For *Alexander* * on a time, in the presence of his Presbyters, and the rest of his Clergy, somewhat boldly discours'd concerning the holy Trinity, affirming, that in the Trinity there was an Unity. This *Arius* presently laid hold on, and supposing the Bishop to have meant it in the *Sabellian* Sence, run himself into the contrary extream, eagerly disputing against it to this effect; that if the Father begat the Son, then the Son had a Beginning of subsistence, and consequently that there was a time, when he was not a Son, and therefore proceeded out of nothing. The Controversie thus unhappily started quickly engag'd many on either side, for the allaying whereof, *Alexander* caus'd several Meetings, wherein the Matter might be debated,

himself

himself moderating in the several Disputations. In one of which it was, (if there was any Foundation for what *Philostorgius* * and *Nicephorus* * report) that *Alexander* sur-nam'd *Baucalis* or *Crook-back'd*, an *Alexandrian* Presbyter, being vex'd that *Arius* had sometime been prefer'd before him, charg'd him home for an Innovator in the Faith. For the ending of which contest, *Alexander* invited them to canvass the Matter by fair and amicable Discourses, which being done in several Disputes according to the Circumstances of their Disputation, he sometimes inclin'd to one, and sometimes to another, till at last he positively determin'd against those Doctrines which *Arius* had maintain'd. Hence it is, that *Constantine* the Great, in a Letter ^b jointly written to *Alexander* and *Arius*, blames them both, the one for propounding nice and subtle Questions to his Presbyters, the other for returning Answers concerning things never to be thought of, or if once thought of, to be immediately fill'd in the profoundest Silence.

VI. BEFORE we proceed any farther in the Course of the Story, it will not be amiss to enquire into the true State of the Controversie, and to fix the Notion of the *Arian* Principles, wherein we shall not take our Measures merely from the account of his Adversaries, who may be suspected sometimes more partially to represent them; but from what of his own Epistles and Writings is yet extant, which, as well as the Nature of such things will bear, we will endeavour to describe in his own Words. And first for the Principles which he was charg'd to oppose; he tells ^c us they were these, viz. that God was always, the Son always; the Father together, the Son together; that the Son in an unbegotten way does co-exist with God, being ever-begotten; that God does not precede the Son in one minute, no nor so much as in a thought; and that the Son is of God himself. And then for his own Principles which he asserted, he declares, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor any wayes any part of the unbegotten, that by Council and Decree he did before all Times and Ages subsist perfect God, the only begotten, and immutable; and that before he was begotten, or created, or determin'd, or founded, he was not; that the Son had a beginning, but that God was without all beginning; and that he therefore affirm'd him to proceed out of a State of Non-existence, as being no part of God, nor of any subject Matter: That ^d when he styl'd God unbegotten, it was to distinguish him from that Nature that was begotten; when without beginning, from him that had a beginning; when Eternal, from him that did exist in time: That he who is without beginning, has set his Son as the beginning of the things that are made, having made or adopted him to be his Son, who has of himself nothing of the peculiar subsistence of God, being neither equal to him, nor co-essential with him: That ^e God was not always a Father, but there was a time, when he was only God, and was not yet a Father; that afterwards he became a Father, and that the Son was not always such; for since all things were made of nothing, and that all things are created and made, the Word of God it self must be made out of nothing, and was not before he was made, but had a beginning, when he was created; there being a time when there was nothing but God, and afterwards the Word and Willom; and that when at length

^a *Philost. loc. cit.*
^b *Nicph. l. 8. c. 5. p. 539. conf. Sozom. l. 1. c. 15. p. 420.*

^c *Ap. Eccl. de vit. Const. l. 2. c. 62. p. 474.*

^d *Epist. ad Euf. Nicen. ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 5. p. 21.*

^e *Except. ex Arii Thalia ap. Athan. de Syn. Arim. & Schol. p. 381.*

^f *l. con. Arim. Orat. l. 1. p. 137.*

God was resolv'd to create us, he then made one, whom he call'd Word, Son, and Wisdom, by whom he did create us: That ^f the Son has nothing peculiar of the Father's substance, but that he is a Workmanship and a Creature, and not true God, but only by Participation, and as he is made God: That ^g there is a Trinity, but not all alike in Majesty, whose subsistences are unmingled with one another, one being more immenly Glorious than another, and that the Father, as being without beginning, is as to his Essence different from the Son: That in short, the Father is invisible, ineffable, incomprehensible to the Son; and that 'tis evident, that that which has a beginning, can never thoroughly understand or comprehend the Nature and Quality of that which is without beginning: That ^h there are three Subsistences, and that God, as being the Cause of all, is alone without beginning; that the Son was begotten of the Father without time, and made and settled before time, but was not before he was begotten, and as such did alone subsist with the Father; that he is not eternal, nor co-eternal, nor begotten together with the Father, nor has the same Being with him, as some affirm, introducing two unbegotten Principles; but as God is Unity, and the Principle of all things, so he is before them, and consequently before the Son. From all which it appears, what *Arius* asserted, viz. that God was, before he was a Father; that he was before the Son, not only in order of Nature, but of Time; that the Son, though begotten of him, has not the same Essence, Power, and Glory with him; not made of his Substance, or at all partaking of his Nature, or existing in his Essence, but altogether different both in Nature and Power, though form'd to the perfect likeness of it; as *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* speaks out in his Letter ⁱ to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*: That what subsistence he had from Eternity, was *ἑκλήμλε & βυλῶν* by the Will and Council of God; that he is a God by Constitution, and as the Father imparts some Divinity to him; and that he was made, created, and establish'd, though in a more sublime and mysterious Way, than any part of the Creation. If it shall be askt, whence *Arius* deriv'd these Notions, probable it is, he took the hint from the Doctrine of the later *Platonists*, who at this time govern'd the Schools at *Alexandria*. For although the ancient Doctrine of the *Platonick Trinity*, asserting three divine *Hypostases*, the *πρωτόν*, the Ν^{ος} or *λόγος*, and the *ψυχὴ*, all eternal, necessarily existent, undestroyable, and in a manner infinite, and which had a common *τὸ θεῖον*, or Deity, though this Scheme rightly stated, gave little, if any, encouragement to the Principles of *Arius*, yet the *Junior Platonists* of that time, out of spite to Christianity, (to which the old Scheme did too near approach) began to depart from the ancient Doctrine of *Plato* in this Matter, stretching the Differences, and gradual Subordination, which the Elder *Platonists* had made amongst the *Hypostases*, into too wide a distance, particularly they made the third *Hypostasis* to be *ψυχὴ ἐκκόσμου*, the immediate Soul of the World, informing and acting all parts of the Creation, thereby blending God and the Creature together, or rather debasing the Deity into the rank of Creatures. Now *Arius* having been brought up in the Schools of *Alexandria*, and being a Person of a quick subtle Wit, easily caught up these Notions, and adapting them to the Christian Trinity, began to assert

^f *ib. p. 141. d.*

^g *De Syn. Arim.*
^h *de Sabasti p. 10.*

^h *Aril. Epist.*
ⁱ *ad Alex. libid.*
^j *p. 632.*

ⁱ *Ep. Troad. l. v.*
^j *c. 6. p. 22.*

*De Platonico-
vna Trinitate
videtis cl. l. v.
D. Cudworth
platonism &
dissip. diffi-
culty. lib. i. de
Systematiz. c. 1.
p. 551. & c.*

assert so wide a distance between the first and second Person (for as yet nothing was said concerning the third) as plainly to degrade it into the form of created Beings, though still sheltering himself under ambiguous Expressions. And for this attempt he was not a little prepar'd by the Principles which he had suckt in from *Lucian* of *Antioch* (though whether at the first or second hand it is hard to say) concerning the Person of our blessed Saviour, whom he maintain'd to be no more than a meer man, which *Lucian* himself had deriv'd from *Paul* of *Samosata*. For that *Arius* was one of that Tribe, we shall see by and by.

VII. THESE impious and pernicious Principles, which *Arius* propagated both by word and writing, were greedily entertain'd by Persons of loose and instable Minds, as indeed the minds of men are naturally dispos'd to novel and curious Opinions, and men are most apt to admire what they do not understand. *Arius* like a man that was resolv'd to go on with what he had begun, preach'd ^k diligently at his Church, and liberally scatter'd his Notions amongst the People, and not there only, but diffus'd the Venom in all publick Meetings and Conferences where he came, and that no method of a subtle Heretick might be left unattempted, went home to their Houses, and by crafty Insinuations, gain'd Profelytes to his Doctrine. By which means he soon made himself a considerable Interest amongst the common People, and had drawn ^l over to him DCC. Women that profess'd Virginity, and gain'd footing amongst the Guides themselves, and those both of the inferior and superior Order, not only in *Alexandria*, but *Pentapolis*, and the Parts thereabouts. It was high time for *Alexander* to have his Eyes about him, while the envious man thus sowed the Tares. He had treated the man by all prudent and gentle Methods, by wise Counsels, and friendly Admonition, if by any means he might reduce him to a right Mind. But the stubborn Heretick was not to be wrought upon by arts of Kindness, and was therefore to be cut off by publick Censures. In order whereunto ^m *Alexander* summon'd a Synod of all the Bishops under his Jurisdiction, who met at *Alexandria*, and having examin'd the Matter, condemn'd his Doctrine, depriv'd him of his ministerial Station, and expell'd him, with nine more of his adherents out of the Church.

^k *Th. 1. l. 1.*
^l *c. 2. p. 7.*

ⁱ *Epist. Herod.*
^j *LIX. p. 311.*

^m *Epist. Herod.*
ⁿ *LIX. p. 311.*
^o *LIX. p. 312.*

S E C T. II.

His Acts from Arius his first Condemnation, till the Council of Nice.

Arius his great endeavours to recommend and support his Cause. The sum of Alexander's Letter to Alexander of Byzantium, concerning Arius, his Principles, Abettors, and Condemnation. Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, Arius's great Patron. Collucianists, who, and why so called. Arius his Letter of complaint to Eusebius, who writes Letters in his behalf. The Intercession of the Synod of Bithynia. He is admitted by the Palestine Bishops. Condemned a second time at Alexandria. Alexander's Encyclical Epistle about his Proceedings against Arius. The ill Effects of the Disputes about these Matters. Arius his flight into Palestine, and Reception there, and at Nicomedia. His attempt to reconcile himself to his own Bishop. Constantine's trouble at these Divisions of the Church: His Letter to Alexander and Arius. Hosius sent by him to Alexandria, not employ'd in these Affairs as the Pope's Legat, shew'd against Baronius. A Synod holden by him at Alexandria, but without any good Effect.

I. **A**RIUS though depress'd by the publick Sentence of the Synod, yet was so far from being discourag'd in the Prosecution of his Cause, that he pursued it with more Life and Vigor than before. What he could no longer do by his publick Ministry in the Church, he carried on by clancular and private Arts, setting up Conventicles for his Party, mingling himself with every Company, and starting opportunities of Discourse, running up and down both in City and Country, and filling all places with Clamours against Alexander, and the Synodical Censures. Nay the very Women whom he had inveigled over to his Party, immodestly ran up and down the Streets and High-ways, to tell Tales for him in every Corner, to plead his Cause, and promote his Interest; some of them taking upon them to solicit the Justice of the publick Tribunals, to take Cognizance of his Case, and to rescind the Sentence of his Diocesan, creating the aged and venerable Bishop all imaginable trouble and disturbance. By these and such-like Artifices he daily increas'd and got ground at home, himself all the while successfully fishing in the troubled Waters. Abroad he supported and advanc'd his Reputation by frequent Messages and Dispatches, by writing to several of the most noted and eminent Bishops of the East, to whom he so dress'd up his Notions, disguis'd his Affairs, put so specious and plausible a colour upon his Cause, that some of them openly appear'd in his behalf, and most sent to Alexander to mediate a Peace and Reconciliation, the thing which Arius pretended he most desir'd. By this means Alexander found it necessary to make publick, what he had hitherto suppress'd and stifled, the true State of the Case, writing to most of the Eastern Bishops. His Letter to Alexander Bishop of Byzantium (for to him Theodorit expressly says it was written, otherwise I should for some Reasons have guilt it to have been

^a Alex. Epist. ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 4. p. 9. Epiph. ubi supr.

been Alexander Bishop of Thessalonica) is yet extant, ° "Wherein he first complains that Arius and his Party, had upon ill Designs, ° ^{Ap. Theod. loc. supr. citat.} "and by ill Arts, advanc'd and introduc'd an impious Heresie into the Church, a Doctrine as destructive to the Deity of the Son of God, as that of either Jews or Gentiles, which they securely ventur'd in those Dens of Thieves to which they had betaken themselves; "and wherein they skulk'd day and night: And not content with this, began to promote an open Schism and Sedition, making use of the disorderly Women, whom they had seduc'd over to their Side, to propagate their Faction in every Corner, yea, and to prefer Indictments against him before the civil Magistrates. And though by reason of their clancular Actings he had somewhat late discovered them, yet had he Synodically condemned, and cast them out of the Catholick Church; but so far were they from acquiescing in that Sentence, that they dispers'd themselves abroad, and by Flattery and Dissimulation had so far impos'd upon foreign Bishops, "as to procure large Letters of Commendation from them, which they made use of to great Advantage; nay, by some they had been admitted to Communion, whose rashness herein was to be blamed. Next, he expos'd the Impiety of their Principles, concerning the divine Nature, and eternal existence of the Son of God; and shews "at what places of Scripture they took Sanctuary to defend themselves; all which he refutes at large with admirable clearness and dexterity, and withall states the Catholick Doctrine in this Matter. Then he proceeds to enquire into the Original of these mens Principles, which he shews to have been first brooded and hatch'd by Ebion and Artemas, afterwards nourished by Paul of Samosata, then by Lucian of Antioch, the very dregs of whose Opinion had been drank in, and vomited up by Arius, Achillas, and the rest; "wherein they had received but too much encouragement from the three Syrian Bishops (he means Eusebius of Cæsarea, Paulinus of Tyre, and Theodorus of Laodicea) whose Case he wish'd might be canvass'd and examin'd. That for himself, it was no wonder if after so many bold Reflections upon the Son of God, and the devesting him of his Divinity, they should liberally bestow their Scorn, their Slanders and Calumnies upon him and his Party, and decry them as a Company of ignorant and illiterate Fellows, boasting that all Wisdom dwelt with them, and that they had discovered Truths that had been hidden from Ages and Generations, and which had never so much as entred into the thoughts of any but of themselves alone. This he cries out upon as a most impious Arrogance, and "an unmenurable madness, a piece of Pride kindled by the Devil, "which neither the divine Demonstration of Scripture, nor the unanimous Consent of Bishops in the Doctrine of Christ, was able to restrain; nay, that herein they out-did the Impiety of the Devil, "who durst not utter one word to blaspheme the Son of God. Hence he goes on to declare his belief in all the great Articles of the Creed, "both concerning God the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost; "the one Catholick and Apostolick Church, the Resurrection of the Dead, founded in that of our Lord Jesus Christ, who truly, and "not in appearance, took our Flesh upon him, and was born of Mary "the Mother of God (ἐν τῇ Θεοτόκῳ Μαρίᾳ) and in the end of the World

"World came hither for the Expiation of sin, who was crucified, and died (though without any impairing, or disparagement to his Godhead) rose again from the Dead, was taken up into Heaven, and set down at the right Hand of the divine Majesty. This was the Doctrine he taught and preach'd, this the Apostolick Faith of the Church, for which he was ready to lay down his Life, little regarding the Opposition that was made against it by *Arius* and his Accomplices, Enemies of the Truth, who were therefore expell'd the Church, according to S. Paul's sentence in the Case, that if any one, yea though pretending himself, an Angel from Heaven should preach any other Gospel than what they had receiv'd, he should be accus'd. In Conclusion he advises him, that he would keep a vigilant Eye upon them, who under a pretence of Peace and Piety, labour'd to insinuate themselves in all Parts, that he would give them no entertainment, who had been regularly expell'd and cast out of the Church, but by Letters would testify his agreement in the Apostolick Doctrine, and his Approbation of what he had acted against those Gain-sayers, as great numbers had done in all Provinces, as he might see by the account which by *Apion* his Deacon he then sent to him. This is the sum of that very prolix Letter, which though particularly directed to the Bishop of *Byzantium*, yet (as is plain from several Passages in it) was intended to be of a more general Concernment, and that Copies of it (as no doubt they were) should be communicated to all the neighbour Bishops. To the same Effect he wrote to *Philogonius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Eustathius* of *Berea*, and many more, to the number in all from first to last of LXX. Epistles, which together with their Answers, were carefully collected and kept together; as were also those of *Arius* and his side, and laid up in the several Repositories of each Party, whence the Writers of those times furnish'd themselves with Materials for the Transactions of that Age.

II. AMONGST those to whom *Arius* address'd himself, the chief was *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, the Head and Champion of the Cause. He had sometime been Bishop of *Berytus* in *Syria*, and thence translated to *Nicomedia*, which being at that time the Seat of the *Eastern* Emperors, gave him a fair Opportunity to ingratiate himself with the great Ministers of State, and to render himself considerable for Power and Interest at Court. He was a man of Parts and Learning, of a subtle and a daring Temper, but of a Head deeply infected with those Principles, which *Arius* had newly broach'd to the World. For which we are to know, that *Paul* of *Samosata* Bishop of *Antioch* in the declining Part of the foregoing Age, had been by a Synod depos'd for some heretical Doctrines, concerning the Trinity, and the Person of the Son of God. These Principles with some Improvements and Alterations, *Lucian*, who was born at the same Town of *Samosata*, and about the same time Presbyter also of the Church of *Antioch*, took up, and so stiffly maintain'd, that for many years, during the intire presidency of the three succeeding Bishops, he withdrew himself from the Communion of the Church; though towards the end of his Life, he probably retract'd his Errors, and suffer'd Martyrdom under the late Persecution. Disciples he had many, whom he had train'd up in his erroneous Opinion, who held

¶ Theod. lib. 20.
Epiph. ad Jap.
Sacr. l. 1. c. 6.
p. 15.

¶ Alex. Epist.
ap. Theod. ubi
supr. p. 15.

held together in so strict a Fraternity, that they distinguish'd themselves by the name of *Συμμετανοηταί*, Fellow-*Lucianists*, by which title *Arius* styles *Eusebius* in his Letter to him. For indeed *Eusebius* was one of *Lucian's* principal Schollars, who so strenuously defended his Master's Principles, that he made all his Interest subservient to it. To him therefore *Arius* directs a Letter, which he sent by his Father *Ammonius*, wherein he salutes him with the Titles of the most desirable Lord, the man of God, the faithful and orthodox *Eusebius*. In it he complains of *Alexander's* severe and unjust Proceedings against him, merely for his defence of Truth, that he turn'd every Stone to do him mischief, and had expell'd him for not subscribing to Principles which he could not own, and not him only, but had denounc'd an *Anathema* against *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, *Theodotus*, *Paulinus*, *Gregorius*, and other *Eastern* Bishops, (not that *Alexander* had particularly condemn'd any of these, but only under the general name of Friends and Favourers of the *Arian* Cause.) desiring his favour, and to be mindful of those Troubles, which his Zeal for Truth had brought upon him. *Eusebius*, forward enough to undertake the Patronage of the Cause, writes several times to *Alexander* about this Matter, Magisterially requiring him to loose the band of Excommunication, and restore *Arius* to Communion, as one whose Sentiments were found and orthodox. And not content with this, he presently writes to *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, chiding him for his Silence and Negligence; and pressing him to write to *Alexander*, as hoping his Intercession might prevail. Vex'd to see that nothing was done by all this importunity, he summon'd a Synod of the *Bithynian* Bishops, where Letters were written to the Bishops of other Parts, that they would communicate with *Arius* and his Adherents, as Persons found in the Faith, and use their endeavours with *Alexander* to receive them again into the Church. But the good Bishop stood firm and immovable as a Rock, deaf to all such Importunities. Which *Arius* perceiving, sent Agents to the Bishops of *Palestine*, desiring that by their Sentence he might be allow'd to assemble his Congregation, as aforesaid he had done. The Bishops being met, assented to his Petition, but with all, charg'd him and his Fellows to behave themselves with all due Reverence and Submission to their own Bishop.

III. ELATED with the Letters and Interposals of so many and such potent Intercessors; *Arius* behav'd himself with greater Arrogance than before. He boasted of his great Alliances, and the numbers of those that consented with him, shew'd the Letters that had been written to him, and in his behalf, proceeded confidently in his seditious Meetings, and despis'd his Adversaries as simple and illiterate. To repress whose Insolence, *Alexander* found it necessary to convene a second Synod at *Alexandria*; for that it was distinct from the former, seems evident from the number of the Persons senten'd, ten only being condemn'd in the first, fourteen in this latter Synod, two of which, viz. *Secundus* and *Theonas* were *Lybian* Bishops, who having joyn'd themselves to the *Arian* Party, were now condemn'd in this. In this Synod met near an hundred Bishops out of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, who solemnly excommunicated the man and all his Partners, declaring them to be fallen from the Catholick Faith, and cut off from the Church of Christ. Accordingly *Epiphanius*

¶ Philost. l. 7.
c. 14. § 5. p. 475

¶ Ext. ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 5. p. 20
Or ap. Epiph. loc. cit.

¶ Socr. l. 1. c. 6.
p. 13, 14.

¶ Ext. Epist. ap. Theod. ib. c. 6. p. 22.

¶ Socr. l. 1. c. 15. p. 428.

³ *Ex. ap. Socr.* ^{11. 16. p. 100.} ⁴ *Encl. Cyr. H.* ^{conc. Nic. 1.2.} ^{63. col. 144.} *nus* tells us, that *Arius* after his first Condemnation, having staid a long time at *Alexandria*, was at length apprehended, and brought *eis tēn agorān* ἐν τῇ πόλει, & ἐκώπουσε γερμένον, to a Conviction or Confutation in the City, and by publick Proclamation proscrīb'd and banish'd. Of these Proceedings *Alexander* presently publish'd an account, and as before he had written to particular Bishops, so now he wrote a more general and *Encyclical* Epistle, & directed to all the Bishops and Governours of the Church, calling upon them as Members of the same Body, to entertain a compassionate Sympathy with the State of his Church.

This Epistle is much shorter than that heretofore written to *Alexander*, and containing a brief, but true State of the Controversie then on foot, we shall here set it down.

TO our dear and venerable Brethren, our Colleagues in the Ministry of the Catholick Church wheresoever dispers'd, *Alexander* in the Lord greeting. For as much as the Body of the Catholick Church is but one, and that we are commanded in the holy Scriptures to keep the bond of Peace and Concord, it is very fit that we should write to you, and that whatever passes amongst us, should be mutually communicated to one another, so that whether one Member suffer, we also may suffer with it; or one Member rejoyce, we may rejoyce with it. Know therefore that within our Diocesis, certain bad men, Enemies to Christ are risen up, who propagate an Apostacy; which a man may very truly judge and style the forerunner of Anti-christ. Desirous I was to have stifled and conceal'd this Matter, that the Venom might have been kept only within these Apostates; and so have expir'd, and not spread it self abroad into other Parts, and infect the Minds of the Simple. But since *Eusebius* now Bishop of *Nicomedia* (who presumes that the disposal of all Ecclesiastick Affairs is lodged with him, especially since having deserted *Berytus*, he has possess'd himself of the See of *Nicomedia*, without being prosecuted for it as a Violator of the Canons; since he) hath undertaken the Patronage of these Apostates, and has written Letters in their Commendation into all Parts, to seduce unwary and undiscerning Persons to this execrable and Anti-christian Heresie; I thought it necessary, considering what is written in the Law, to be no longer silent, but to acquaint you all with the State of things, that you may both know the Apostates themselves, and understand the unhappy Terms and Expressions of this Heresie, and that if *Eusebius* have written to any of you, you may give no heed to it. By these Persons he endeavours to broach and bring to light that corrupt and perverse Mind, which he has a long time conceal'd, and though he pretends he only writes in their behalf, yet he sufficiently declares he does it upon his own account. The Names of those who have thus apostatiz'd, are these, *Arius*, *Achillas*, *Aithales*, *Carpones*, another *Arius*, *Sarmates*, *Euzoius*, *Lucius*, *Julianus*, *Menas*, *Helladius*, *Gaius*; and together with them, *Secundus* and *Theonas*, heretofore accounted Bishops. The Doctrines which they have started without any ground from Scripture, and which they publicly vent, are these. God (say they) was not alwayes a Father, but there was a time, when he was God, but not Father: The word of God was not alwayes, but sprang out of nothing. For he that was God, made him that was not, out of that which was not; and therefore there was a time, when he

he was not. For the Son is a Creature, and the Workmanship of God; neither in Essence like to the Father, nor the true and natural Word, or Wisdom of the Father, but one of the Creatures that were made, and is only improperly styl'd the Word and Wisdom: For as much as he himself was made by the genuine word of God, and by that Wisdom that is in God, by which God made him as well as all other things. Upon this account he is in his own nature mutable and alterable, as all rational Creatures are. He is a word Foreign, and separated from the Essence of God. The Father is incomprehensible and ineffable to the Son; who neither perfectly and accurately knows him, nor is able perfectly to behold him. Nay the Son understands not his own Substance, of what kind it is. For he was made for our Sakes, that by him as by an Instrument God might create us: Nor had he ever had any Being, had not God deserv'd to create us. And when they were ask'd, whether the Word of God might change, as the Devil did, they blasphem'd not to reply, he might do so; for being made and created, he must be of a mutable Nature. While therefore *Arius* and his Party discours'd at this rate, and impudently preach'd these things up and down; we with the Bishops of Egypt and Libya, to the number of near an hundred, met in a Synod, where we anathematiz'd them, and all that adher'd to them. Notwithstanding which, *Eusebius* and his Followers gave them entertainment, endeavouring to blend Falshood with Truth, and to confound Impiety and Religion. But they shall be able to do nothing. For Truth is Mighty, and will overcome; neither is there any Communion of light with darkness, or any Concord of Christ with Belial; who ever heard of such things as these before? Or who is there that hears them now, and does not stand amaz'd, and stop his ears, that they may not be defil'd with such wretched and infectious Discourses? Who can hear *S. John* say, In the beginning was the Word, and not presently condemn those that assert, that there was a time, when he was not? Or who can hear those Expressions in the Gospel, the only begotten Son; and, by him all things were made, but he must abominate those that affirm, that the Son is one of the Creatures? For how can he be one of those things which himself made? Or how can he be the only begotten, who according to them is level'd with the rank of all created Beings? How can he arise out of nothing, when the Father assures us, a my heart hath sent forth a good Word; and elsewhere,^a from the Womb before the day-spring have I begotten thee? Or how is he in Substance unlike the Father, when he is the perfect Image and brightness of his Father, and has himself told us, he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father? How can the Son be the Word and Wisdom of God, if there was a time, when he was not? For 'tis as if they should say, there was a time, when God was without Wisdom and Reason. How can he be liable to Change and Alteration, when he tells us of himself, I am in the Father, and the Father in me? And, I and the Father am one; and by the Prophet, behold, I am, and I change not. And though some may refer this Expression to the Father, yet may it now be more conveniently understood of the Son; for that being become man, he is not changed, but as the Apostle says, *Jesus Christ*, the same to day, yesterday, and for ever. But what was it induc'd them to affirm, that he was made for us; when *S. Paul* testifies, for whom, and by whom are all things? As for their blasphemous asserting, that the Son does not perfectly know the Father, no man ought to wonder at it. For having once proclaim'd War against Christ, they easily set at naught his words, that tell us, as

^a *Psalm XLIV.*^b *Psalm CIX.*^c *S. John.*

the Father knows me, so know I the Father. *If therefore the Father knows the Son in part, plain it is, that the Son also in part knows the Father. But if it be unlawful to affirm that, and if the Father perfectly knows the Son, 'tis most evident, that in the same manner that the Father knows his Word, in the same does the Word know his Father, whose Word he is. With these Arguments, and the frequent urging of the holy Scriptures, we have often convinc'd and silenced them. But they Chameleon-like, presently again chang'd colour, making good in themselves, that which is written; that when the wicked is come to the bottom of evil, he will still despire. Many Heresies have arisen before these, which attempting more than was meet, have fallen into folly and madness. But these men, by their attempts to destroy the Divinity of the Word, which is the scope and design of all their Discourses, have justified all those ancient Heresies, and do themselves much nearer approach to Anti-christ. For which cause they are anathematiz'd, and cut off from the Church. We are indeed heartily griev'd for the Destruction of these men, and especially for that having heretofore receiv'd the Doctrine and Communion of the Church, they are now departed from it. Which yet we ought not to think strange. For thus did Hymenæus and Philetus, and Judas before them both, who having been a Disciple of our Saviour, became afterwards a Traytor and an Apostate. Nor have we been left without warning of these things. For our Lord foretold, Beware, lest any man seduce you. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am he, and the time is at hand, and shall deceive many: but go not after them. And Paul, who learnt these things from our Saviour, writes thus: In the latter times some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils, that turn away men from the Truth. Since therefore our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has both himself forewarn'd, and by his Apostle given us notice of these Matters, we who were Ear-witnesses of these men's Impiety, have justly condemn'd them, and declar'd them separate from the Catholic Church and Faith. This, dear and honour'd Brethren, we have thought good to signify to your Piety, that you may neither entertain any of them, if they shall have the Confidence to come to you, nor give any credit to Eusebius or any man else that shall write in their behalf. For it becomes us, as we are Christians, to turn away from all those that either opine, or speak against Christ, as Enemies to God, and Corrupters of mens Souls, and not so much as bid them God speed, lest we be partakers of their evil Deeds, as S. John has charg'd us. Salute the Brethren that are with you. They that are with me salute you.*

¹¹⁷ *Id. Epist. ad. Const. c. 148.* This Epistle was subscrib'd * by seventeen Presbyters of Alexandria, and thirteen Deacons, whereof one was Athanasius, and by sixteen Presbyters, and as many Deacons of the Province of Mæcedonia.

¹¹⁸ *Id. Epist. ad. Const. c. 148.* And indeed it was time for Alexander thus to bestir himself; for the Flame had not only kindled in his own Quarters, but began to spread it self into most other Churches. All places * were full of Schisms and Factions, of Fews and Quarrels, and that not with open Enemies, but amongst Friends and Neighbours; nothing but Disputes and Controversies heard in every Company; and the common People, who were least capable to understand them, were made, not only Spectators of the Differences, but Judges of the most abstruse and

and intricate Doctrines of Religion: Nay the very Gentiles themselves were furnish'd with matter of Scorn and Laughter, and the sublimest Articles of the Christian Faith, made sport for the *l'beater*.

IV. BY this time Arius had left ^b Alexandria, which the Sentence of the late Synod had now made too hot for him. He first retir'd into Palestine, to try what Reception he could find amongst the Bishops there, to whom he address'd himself with all the Arts of Courtship and Insinuation, that might beget in them a good Opinion of him and his Cause, and oblige them to stand his Friends. By many he was kindly entertain'd, but reject'd by others. Which Alexander no sooner understood, but he wrote to the Palestine Bishops, to Eusebius of Cæsarea, Macarius of Jerusalem, Eusebius of Gaza, Longinus of Ascalon, and several others, reproving those that had us'd him with so much kindness and civility; who all by their several Answers, return'd him an account of what had been done; some protesting that they had not receiv'd him, others that they had done it through ignorance and surprize, not knowing the State of his Case; others that they did not conceive him to be so bad as his Adversaries represented him, and others, that they had done it in order to the reducing and reclaiming of him. However the Effect was, that men generally became more shy of his acquaintance and Company. Whereupon finding his entertainment grow colder in these Parts, he betook himself to his great Patron at Nicomedia; with whom he found a hearty Welcome, being receiv'd with all the Demonstrations of Affection and Friendship. While he continued here, he again attempted to reconcile himself to his own Bishop, by explaining his Principles, and avoiding what he thought might be charg'd upon them, though he render'd them not one Syllable better than he had done before, which he did in a Letter ^c directed to Alexander after this manner. To the blessed Pope Alexander, our Bishop, the Presbyters and Deacons in our Lord greeting. The Faith which we have received from our Ancestors, and which we learnt even from you, blessed Father, is this. We acknowledge one God, &c. The whole Letter contains nothing else but an Explication of their Doctrines; wherein, though at first they seem to smooch over things with a plausible Gloss, and terms contriv'd on purpose to disguise their Meaning; yet in fine, they plainly declar'd that the Son is neither Eternal nor Co-eternal, nor Co-essential with the Father, but that God is before the Son; and this they confidently tell him is no more, than what they learnt from his own publick Sermons in the Church. This Letter was subscrib'd by Arius and his Company, being the whole number of those who had been condemn'd in the late Synod, excepting only the other Arius, who was either absent at this time upon some occasion, or his name it may be left out by Transcribers, as supposing it the same with the former. A long time Arius remain'd at Nicomedia, though with what success to his Affairs is not known; after which he seems to have return'd back to Alexandria.

V. THUS things stood till the year CCCXXIV when Constantine having vanquish'd Licinius, was come to Nicomedia, ^d intending a farther Journey into the East, into Syria, and Palestine, and thence into Egypt, when he was advertis'd of the Dissentions at Alexandria,

^a Ext. ap. Athanas. de Syn. Arim. c. 5. ^b Id. p. 682 & Epist. ubi sup. p. 312.

^c Epist. de vii. Const. l. 2. c. 61. p. 471. 472. ^d Ibid. l. 1. c. 6. p. 23.

^d Const. Epist. ap. Euseb. de vii. Const. l. 2. c. 72. p. 477.

Alexandria, either by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, or by Letters from *Alexander*, for that he wrote to the Emperor about this Affair, *Epiphanius* ^c expressly tells us. The good Emperor was infinitely surpriz'd and troubled at this unhappy News, and stopping his Journey, wrote ^f jointly to *Alexander* and *Arian*, the two Heads of the dissenting Parties: In which Letter he tells them, that two things he had chiefly design'd with himself, to reduce all Persons to an Unity and Agreement in matters of Religion, and to deliver the World from that Yoke of Tyranny that was upon it; and that having happily effected the latter by his late Triumph and Victory, he was resolutely bent upon the other, when the sad Tidings of their woful Differences overtook him: Differences which he understood arose from nice and curious Questions, and which ought not to be bandied in fruitless and subtle Disputations; that therefore they should forbear such unprofitable Problems, and mutually accord and joyn together; and when they were agreed in the main duties and principles of Religion, should not for little things go on by such pertinacious Contentions, to distract the Minds of the People, and tear in pieces the Peace of the Church; passionately concluding, that they would return to mutual Love and Charity, and let the People enjoy their proper Kindness and Friendship, and laying aside all quarrelsome Feuds and Animosities, would receive and embrace each other; especially that at least they would have some regard to his ease and quiet. "Restore me (says he) my "calm and peaceable days, and my nights void of Cares, that so here- "after I may enjoy comforts of pure Light, and the pleasure of a "quiet Life may be my Portion; otherwise I shall ravel out my "days in Tears and Sorrow, and bid adieu for the future to repose "and ease. For how shall I be able to support my mind, while my "Brethren, the People of God are rent asunder by such pernicious "and scandalous Schisms and Dissentions? By your Concord open "my Journey into the East, which you have block'd up by your "Feuds and Quarrels; grant me thus much, that as soon as is possible, "I may see you and all other People rejoicing together, and that "we may unanimously celebrate the due Praises of God for the com- "mon Liberty, Peace and Concord. This Letter he sent by *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, who had been an eminent Confessor under the late Persecution, one for whom *Constantine* had a great Honour and Reverence, and whom he now deputed as Umpire to decide these Differences. Indeed *Baronius*, ^e true to the Interest of his Design, will needs have *Hosius* to have been sent as a *Legat* from Pope *Silvester* upon this errand, that so the Honour of this great Affair might be deriv'd upon the See of *Rome*. But for this there's no Foundation appears in Story, not one Syllable of the Pope's being concern'd in it: All the account *Eusebius* ^h gives of it is, that when the Emperor heard the News, he was passionately concern'd at it, and looking upon it as a thing nearly touching him, immediately dispatch'd away one of the Servants of God, that were then with him at Court, one famous for the sobriety and excellency of his Faith, and his constancy in Religion in the late Times, to compose the Dissentions at *Alexandria*, furnishing him with necessary Letters to the Authors of them. Whereas *Baronius* suggests, what errand else could bring *Hosius* to Court? As if an hundred Occasions might

not

not bring him thither, that are to us unknown. But if a Reason must be assign'd, why might not *Constantine* (who ever lov'd to have eminent Bishops in his Company) bring him along with him out of the West? Or if he came upon publick business, I should rather think it was upon the account of the Content of the *Donatists* in *Africa*, whose cause had been so often heard and canvass'd in Synods, both there, and in *France*, and at *Rome*, and that by the Emperor's own Order and Direction, to whom those Hereticks frequently appeal'd: And this I am the rather inclin'd to believe, because *Constantine* in this very Epistle ⁱ tells us, that upon his Victory over *Licinius*, he design'd to convene Synods for the composing those *African* Dissentions, which had so miserably disturb'd and over-run the Church, which he had effectually done, had not these new *Alexandrian* Differences interven'd. As for *Hosius* his subscribing first in the Council of *Nice*, implying him thereby to have been the Papal Legat; admitting this to have been so, yet this was not till afterwards, and might be done time enough, when *Silvester* and the rest of the Bishops receiv'd the Imperial Summons for that Synod. Nor could the Pope derive his Proxy upon a fitter Person, a man of great Name and Note, already conversant in those Parts, and that had been concern'd and busied in those Affairs. But the best of it is, there was no such thing, nor is there any ground in Story for asserting it. And accordingly we find men of Learning, ^k and zealous enough for the Interests of the Church of *Rome*, who deny *Hosius* to have been the Pope's Legat in that Council, and affirm him to have subscrib'd only in the name of the Province for which he serv'd, and that whatever Presidency or Authority he had in that Synod, it was deriv'd upon him by the Fathers of the Council, and that only upon account of his excellent Learning, and eminent Confessorship in the times of Persecution.

VI. *HOSIUS* thus furnish'd with the imperial Comission, takes his Journey for *Alexandria*, where being arriv'd, he delivered the Emperor's Letters, and it was determin'd, that the Matter should be again examin'd in a publick Convention. Hereupon a Synod ^l of the Bishops of those Parts was assembled, which *Baronius* ^m (who traded no farther than in *Latin* Translations) calls a general Council, and that for this Reason, because it was held by the Legat of the Apostolick See. Both certainly true alike. For neither did *Hosius* preside in this Synod as the Papal Legat, nor is this Synod in *Athanasius* styl'd a general Council, things being only said to be manag'd ⁿ *κατὰ τὸν συνόδον*, in a common Assembly of the *Egyptian* Bishops. What was particularly transacted in this Synod, we no where find, more than that *Colluthus* was depos'd, who having been Presbyter of one of the Parish-Churches in *Alexandria*, had arrogantly assum'd to himself the Place and Title of a Bishop, and as such had consecrated many into holy Orders, for which he was here censur'd and reduc'd to his former Station, and the Ordination of those who had been consecrated by him, declar'd null and void. As for the *Arian* Controversies, we may guess by the Event what was the Issue of this Meeting, no good being done in it, neither the Care and Authority of the Emperor, nor the Presence and Perswasions of *Hosius* being able to prevail, the full deciding of the Case being reserv'd to a more publick and solemn Determination.

S E C T.

^c Loc. citat.^f Eccl. ap. Euseb. 10. c. 24. p. 111. p. 112. c. 1. 1. 2. c. 1. 1. 2. p. 112.^e Ad. Ann. 318. No. LXXXIII. LXXXIX.^h Loc. cit. 63. p. 472.ⁱ Ubi sup. c. 66. &c.^k Fr. Bivar. Comment. in L. Dextr. Chron. ad Ann. 324. p. 376. ubi alii citantur.^l Vid. Athan. Apol. 11. p. 614. c. 616. B. ^m Ubi sup. c. Ann. 319. N. XXIII.

S E C T. III.

The Acts and Proceedings of the Council of Nice.

A general Council summon'd at Nice from all Parts of the Christian Church. The different Accounts of the Numbers that met in that Synod. Whence this arose. How many took part with Arius. The time and place of their Meeting. A busy Philosopher silenc'd and convinc'd by an illiterate Confessor. The preliminary Disputes with Arius. The vigor and briskness of Athanasius in those Disputes. The manner of the Emperor's entrance into the Synod, and the Effects of his Speech to them. Their mutual Heats and Accusations quash'd by Constantine. The Arian Doctrine more solemnly debated by the Fathers. The Arian Formula by whom brought into the Synod. The subtle Evasions of the Arians in the Nicenes of the Difference between them and the Catholics. The Nicene Creed drawn up by Hosius, and approv'd by the Council. By whom rejected. Arius and his Associates banish'd by the Emperor. Constantine's Edict against them and their Writings, and command that they should be styl'd Porphyrians. What Determination the Synod made in the Case of Meletius, and the Person ordain'd by him. Their Decision of the Paschal Controversy. The number of the Canons made by them. What pass'd between Constantine and Acacius the Novatian Bishop. No reason to question the Truth of that Story. The Synodical Epistle to the Church of Alexandria, concerning the Translations of the Council. The Effects of some of Constantine's Letters to the same purpose. The End and Duration of the Synod: The Fathers magnificently treated by the Emperor. Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice recant their Subscription to the Decrees of the Synod, and are banish'd by the Emperor; their Boldness and Impiety. The true account of that Matter.

I. A FTER Hosius had in vain attempted to make up the breach, he return'd back to the Court at Nicomedia, to give the Emperor an account of his unsuccessful Transaction at Alexandria. But Constantine desiring, if possible, to stop the Grangren from spreading farther, and finding that no private Method would effect the Cure, resolv'd for the suppressing this and some other Controversies then on foot, to call in the assistance of the whole Christian Church. To which purpose he presently issued out his Letters ^m into all parts of the Christian World, commanding the Bishops and Clergy to meet together by a day appointed. Who no sooner received the Summons, but flock'd out of all Provinces, from Syria, Cilicia, Phenicia, Arabia, Pontus, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, Phrygia, Persia, Scythia, Egypt, Lybia, Thracia, Macedonia, Epirus, Italy, and whence not? So that Eusebius compares this Council, to the great Apostolical Assembly that met together upon the day of Pentecost, where there were Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia,

^m Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 6. 7. & c. p. 486.

Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt; and in the part of Lybia about Cyrene, Strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, men out of every Nation under Heaven. Only herein (as he observes) this had the advantage of the other, that in that the greatest part were Laicks, and they but Proselytes; in this they were the Guides and Ministers of Religion; men venerable for their Age, and their Confessions, and constancy in the Faith; for the gravity of their Manners; the Wisdom, Learning, and Reason of their Arguments and Discourses, who meeting together out of the remotest and most distant Parts, made up a variegated Garland (as he Styles it) of the most beautiful and curious Flowers, which the Christian World ever beheld either before or since. The place appointed for the Assembly was Nice, the Metropolis of Bithynia (as Strabo ⁿ calls it) situate upon the Banks of the Ascanian Lake, in the same Province with Nicomedia, where the Emperor then kept his Court. 'Twas a City large and exactly four-square, and seated in a pleasant Champion, highly commended by an old Geographer ^o for the neatness, elegancy, evenness, and regularity of its Buildings, so as scarce any other place could equal it. Hither came CCCXVIII. Bishops, besides an innumerable Company of Presbyters, Deacons and inferior Orders. Indeed the number of the Nicene Fathers is uncertainly delivered by the Ancients. Eusebius ^p makes them more than CCL. Eusebius ^q Bishop of Antioch CCLXX. (but withall tells us, that by reason of the greatness of the number, he could give no certain account, nor was he very exact and curious about this Matter.) Athanasius ^r CCC. more or less, Sozomen ^s about CCCXX. A Manuscript Collection of Synodical Acts, which Mr. Selden ^t conjectures to have been written about the time of the Council of Chalcedon, makes the Bishops to have been CCXXXII. the Priests, Deacons, and Monks LXXXVI. in all CCCXVIII. With him concurs a Modern Greek Historian, ^u who adds, that the Reason why just so many met, was because there were just so many years expir'd from the Birth of Christ, to the convening of that Synod, which he makes to have been called Ann. CCCXVIII. On the other hand Eutychius the Arabick Historian, and Ismael Ibn Ali, a Mahometan Historian, mention'd by Mr. Selden, ^v enlarge the number to MMXLVIII. Out of which they tell us, the Emperor select'd CCCXVIII. Though whence this variety of Reports should arise, whether from the great numbers of inferior Clergy that came thither, but had no Votes in the Council, or from the dissenting Parties in the Synod, not taken into account, is hard to say. The first is most probable, especially since Eusebius tells us, that the number of Presbyters, Deacons, Acolyths, and others that attended the Bishops thither was so great, that they could not well be reckon'd up. Nicetas Choniates ^x gives this Reason, why no more Bishops met in so venerable an Assembly, because Age and Sickness detain'd many at home, and that Bishopricks were then but thin sow'd, every little City not being then advanc'd into an Episcopal See, as it was afterwards, some whole Countries having no more than one Bishop to preside over them. The number that has gain'd the general Suffrage in all Ages of the Church, is that there were CCCXVIII. Bishops, and with this Athanasius himself elsewhere ^y concurs. And to make it the more sacred and venerable, Liberius ^z with

ⁿ L. 2. p. 563.

^o Pto. Orb. descr. gr. l. 2. Geograph. ed. p. 28.

^p Loc. cit. c. 8.

^q Ap. Theod. l. 1.

^r c. 8. p. 26.

^s Ep. ad Solit.

^t p. 660, 661.

^u Lib. 1. c. 17.

^v p. 430.

^w Comment. in Eutych. p. 72.

^x Dorothe. Mon. nemb. Euseb. diasp. 1525. p. 686.

^y Loc. citat.

^z Theoph. Orth. Fid. l. 5. c. 4. p. 441.

^y Epist. ad African. p. 718.

* *Epist. ad Episc.*
Maccedon. an.
Socr. l. 3. c. 12.
 p. 222.

^a *Trad. Mopf.*
apud Nicet.
Thes. Orthod.
l. 5. c. 7. p. 445.
^b *Theodorit. ap.*
tund.

^c *Socr. ibid.*
^d *Act. Synod.*
^e *ib. Ruffin. l. 1.*
 c. 5.

^f *H. E. l. 1. ap.*
Nicet. loc. cit.

^g *Il'al. Annot.*
in Euf. de vit.
Confl. l. 3. c. 10.

^h *De Legat.*
Turc. Epist. l.
 p. 79.

ⁱ *Socr. l. 1. c. 8.*
 p. 20. *Soc. l. 1.*
 c. 17. p. 431.
^k *Ruffin. l. Eccl.*
l. 1. c. 3. p. 218.

z with his Council of *Western* Bishops, has found out a Mystery in it, it being exactly the same number, wherewith the Patriarch *Abram* went out and overcame the vast Army of the Infidels. Of this number there were that espous'd the Cause of *Arius* in the Council, nine (say some ^a) thirteen (say others ^b) fifteen ^c, or seventeen (as others ^d) *Philosophus* ^e reckons up XXII. whose names he sets down, together with the Provinces from whence they came. They were all together with their Attendants and Followers, transported thither by publick Conveyances at the Emperor's Charge, as they were maintain'd at his Cost during their being there.

II. THIS venerable Synod began upon the XX. day of *May*, or, as others more probably, on the XIX. of *June*, Anno Chr. CCCXXV. They met (as the Ecclesiastick Historians generally affirm) in the great Met of the Palace; though a learned man ^f thinks it highly improbable, that such sublime and sacred Matters should be debated any where, but in the Church; and that it was only on the final and conclusive day that they assembled in the Palace. But where-ever it was, it was a place which this great Transaction recommended to the respect and reverence of Posterity, some part of it yet standing in the last Age, and which *Busbequius* the Emperor's Ambassador supposes ^g to be the place he lodg'd in in his *Amasian* Journey to the *Grand Seigneur's* Court. The Bishops before they formally met in a solemn Council, spent some dayes in præliminary Discourses ^h and Disputations, wherein they were first attack'd by certain Philosophers, men vers'd in Subtilties and the Arts of Reasoning, whom either Curiosity had drawn hither, or as some suspect, *Arius* had brought along with him to plead his Cause, and to retard and intangle the Proceedings of the Synod. One of which priding himself in the neatness and elegancy of his Discourses, reflected with scorn upon the Fathers of the Council. A piece of insolence so intolerable, that an ancient Confessor then in the Company, a man plain, and unskill'd in the Tricks and Methods of disputing, not being able to bear it, offered himself to undertake him. For which he was laugh'd at by some, while others more modest and serious, fear'd what would be the success of his entering the Lists with so able and fam'd a Disputant. The good man however went on with his Resolution, and bluntly accosted his Adversary in this manner. "In the name of *Jesus Christ*, Philosopher, give ear. There is one God, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible, who created all these things by the Power of his Word, and ratifies them by the Sanctity of his holy Spirit. This word which we call the Son of God, pitying the Apostacy and brutish State of Mankind, condescended to be born of a Woman, to dwell amongst men, and to dye for them, who shall come again to sit as Judge upon whatever we do in this Life. These things we plainly believe. Strive not therefore to no purpose, to endeavour the Confutation of what we entertain by Faith, or to find out how these things may, or may not be; but answer me, if thou dost believe. The Philosopher astonish'd and thunder-struck with the Zeal and plainness of the old man's Discourse, answered that he did believe; and thanking that Conqueror that had overcome him, yielded up himself to his Sentiments and Opinions, persuading his Companions to do the like, solemnly affirming,

affirming, that it was by an unspeakable Power, and not without immediate Direction from Heaven, that he was thus brought over to be a Christian. This passage, for substance the same both in *Rufinus*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, has improv'd into many elaborate Stories, having given us at large the particular Disputations of these Philosophers, with the Replies of the several Fathers of the Synod about the *Arian* Doctrines; which being in all likelihood no better than the Issue of his own brain, we here omit.

III. BUT to proceed, that which they were most intent upon, was the Examination of those Opinions, that had created so much noise and bustle in the Church. For which purpose they frequently called for *Arius* before them, debated his Propositions, considered what might be said on either side, weigh'd every thing with infinite Care and Deliberation, that nothing might be rashly determin'd in so weighty and important an Affair. This freedom of debate soon multiplied infinite Questions, and produc'd various and different Counsels and Perswasions about the Matter. Some advis'd that no Innovations should be made in Matters of Faith, but that it should be still entertain'd with the same naked Simplicity, wherewith from the beginning it had been delivered to the Church; men of simple and honest Minds not thinking it fit that Articles concerning God should be made the Subject of subtle and over-curious Disputes. Others contending that Times and Circumstances altered the decency of things, and that we ought not implicitly to follow the Opinions of the Ancients, without due trial and Examination. These Disputations were manag'd with great heat and briskness, both by them of the Episcopop, and by others of inferior Orders, amongst which, in the former capacity none appear'd with more warmth and zeal than *Alexander*, as being most immediately concern'd in the Controversie, as amongst the latter none behav'd himself with more smartness and accuracy than *Athanasius*, at that time Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, whom *Alexander* had brought along with him to the Synod, where with all boldness and vehemency he assaulted and oppos'd the *Arian* Principles, for which (as the *Egyptian* Bishops in their Synodical Epistle tells ^k us) that Party never forgave him, transferring their Pique against *Alexander* upon him; a Quarrel, which they never ceas'd to prosecute to his dying day.

IV. HITHERTO the Fathers had been exercis'd only with private and preparatory Disquisitions, like light Skirmishes to the main Battel: But now they were to act more solemnly in a Synodical way to bring the thing to a final Issue; at which Assembly, probably, none were present of the inferior Clergy, at least none gave their Votes. The Bishops being met ^l in the Palace, where all things were made ready to receive them, the Emperor came attended not with his usual Guards, but Persons eminent for their Faith and Piety. He enter'd the Council with all imaginable Pomp and State, cloath'd with the richest and most splendid Robes, but with a mind humble and pious in the midst of all his greatness. He pass'd through the Ranks on each side, to the upper end of the Hall, where he plac'd himself in the midst, and having receiv'd an Intimation from the Bishops that all things were ready, sat down in the Chair that was plac'd for him, after which the Fathers took their Places, and some

ⁱ *Ruffin. ubi*
supra. Soc. loc.
cit. c. 12.
 p. 431.

^h *Ap. Athyr.*
Anal. l. p. 564.
vid. Soc. l. 1.
 c. 8. p. 20.

^l *Euf. de vit.*
Confl. l. 3. c. 10.
 p. 488.

of them having a while entertain'd him with Speeches in the name of the Synod, silence was made, and in the *Latin* Tongue (which by the Interpreter was soon rendred into *Greek*) he discours'd to them to this Effect. "That there was nothing which he had more passionately desir'd, then to behold this venerable Assembly, for which being now met, he return'd hearty thanks to the Supreme Governor of the World; that he desir'd no envious man might hereafter interrupt their Prosperity, and that when the divine Power of our Saviour had delivered them from the Oppositions of impious and atheistical Tyrants, the mischievous Enemy of Mankind might not be suffered to shift the Scene, and attempt it by another way: "That he look'd upon the intestine Divisions of the Church of God, as the most pernicious and dangerous Commotions, nothing creating so great a trouble to his mind: That when God had blessed him with such happy success against his Enemies, he had well hop'd he had had nothing to do, but to celebrate the divine Goodness, and rejoice in the common Safety; but being unexpectedly arrested with the unwelcome News of their Dissentions, he thought himself oblig'd immediately to take care about it, and had for that end so suddenly call'd them together, as the most proper and effectual Remedy in this Matter, and should then think he had done it to good purpose, when he should see them joyn hearts and hands together, and promote the publick Peace and Concord, which as Persons consecrated to God, they were above all others bound to procure and further; That therefore, as Ministers of God, as faithful Servants of the common Lord and Saviour, they should endeavour, that all occasions of Difference being thrown out of the way, and the noise of Contention being dissolv'd, they might preserve things in the bond of Peace. By which means (said he) you will at once do what is highly acceptable to the great God, and infinitely gratify me your Fellow-Servant. And certainly it was not without reason, that this pious Prince so pathetically press'd them to Peace and Unity. For amongst other Artifices to obstruct the Proceedings of the Council, this was not the least, to exasperate the minds of the Bishops against each other, by which means they had charg'd and impeach'd one another, and had presented Libels of Accusation to the Emperor: Which he receiving at their Hands, had tied together in a Bundle, and set his own Seal upon them. And having afterwards made Peace amongst them, produced the Bundle, and gravely chiding them for their mutual Recriminations, told them; "That these things were reserv'd for the Decisions of the great day, and were not so proper for the Cognizance of humane Judicatures, both Plaintiff and Defendant being Persons in holy Offices, who ought to do nothing that may make them liable to those Tribunals: "That setting before them the divine Clemency and Indulgence, they should forbear and forgive one another; and laying aside their Quarrels, agree, and mind the things that concern'd the Faith, the end for which they were there met together. And with that he threw the Papers into the Fire, seriously protesting, that he had not read one word of them; that it was not fit the Faults of Priests should be publish'd to the Scandal of the People, who might thence derive a Warrant to themselves to sin with more freedom and boldness;

^a *Socrum. l. 1. c. 17. p. 430. Theod. l. 1. c. 11. p. 36.*

ness; that for his own part, if he should chance to espy a Bishop overtaken in a wanton and immodest Action, he would cover him with his own imperial Cloak, rather than it should be expos'd to the offence and scandal of Spectators. But to proceed.

V. NO sooner had the Emperor given the Synod leave to debate their Matters, but they presently fell upon the *Arian* Controversies. And first they examin'd the Acts of the Synod at *Alexandria*, that so they might proceed with all possible Care and Caution, and the Parties Criminal know that they had not been sentenc'd without just Cause. Next they canvass'd the Doctrines of *Arius*, whose Propositions were extract'd and read out of his own Writings, at the hearing whereof, the holy Fathers stop'd their Ears, declaring them Heretical, and Alien from the Faith of the Church. The Cause at first was argued with heat on both sides, with great Contention and Opposition, there being Seventeen of the Bishops that appear'd in favour of the *Arian* Cause, and some few more it may be, that did not openly declare themselves. In these Contests the good Emperor sat as a publick Moderator, hearing the Debates with an unwearied Patience, and weighing the Arguments with an intent and judicious Mind: To what appear'd just and reasonable, he gave a ready Assent; where any were Refractory and Pertinacious, he sought to reclaim them by mild and gentle Means; some he conquered by Reason and Argument; others he prevail'd with by Importunity and Persuasion; endeavouring to reduce all to Love and Peace. The *Arians* by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* brought a Writing into the Synod, containing an account of their Faith; which *Eusebius* of *Antioch* one of the Council calls Vile and Impious, and a most evident Argument of Blasphemy; and tells us, 'twas no sooner read, but 'twas infinitely resent'd, and torn in pieces before them all. I know *Monsieur Valois* will have this Libel brought in not by the *Nicomedian*, but *Cesarius* *Eusebius*; and that it was that *Formula* or Confession of Faith, which *Eusebius* brought into the Synod, and of which himself has given us a particular account in his Letter to the People of *Cesarea*. But this certainly without any Reason, there being nothing in that Confession, that deserves so bad a Character; nothing that favours either of Heresie or Blasphemy; and which the Author tells us was well approv'd, and both with the Emperor and the rest found a candid and kind Reception. Most probable therefore it is, that the *Nicomedian* Confession being rejected by the Synod, another was presented by *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, as a more sound and safe Expedient.

VI. BUT though this of *Eusebius* was consonant and agreeable enough to the Doctrine of the Church, yet was it not thought sufficiently punctual and expresse in the Minutes and Criticisms of the Controversie. For the *Arians* represented their Propositions in such general Terms, and were so subtle and deceitful in their Explications, that the Fathers thought they could never particularly enough provide against them. When the Orthodox asserted Christ to be God, the *Arians* allowed it, but then meant it in no other Sense, than as Angels and Holy men are styl'd Gods, and the Sons of God in Scripture: When they affirm'd him to be true God, the others assented, that he was truly made so by God; if the Catholicks maintain'd that the Son was naturally of God, the *Arians* would grant it;

for

^a *Jat. p. p. Epi. av. Athan. apol. II. p. 576.*

^a *Athan. contr. Arian. Orat. I. p. 125.*

^v *Euf. de vit. Conf. l. 3. c. 13. p. 490.*

^a *Ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 8. p. 26.*

^c *Annot. ad Socr. l. 1. c. 7. 8. p. 10.*

^a *Ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 12. p. 37.*

^a *Athan. Epist. ad Afric. p. 720 721. de decret. Synod. Nic. p. 415, 416, 437. vid. Theod. l. 1. c. 8. p. 27*

for even we (say they) are of God, *there being one God, of whom are all things.* Did the one hold, that the Son was the Power, Wisdom, and Image of the Father; the other never scrupled to admit it, for that we also are said to be the *Image and Glory of God*, and even the meanest Creatures are sometimes call'd the great Power of God, Such being the Crafty and Fraudulent shifting of their Adversaries, the Fathers found themselves oblig'd to collect together the places of Scripture which represent the Divinity of the Son of God, which they more particularly declar'd to be meant of his being of the same Substance with the Father, that Creatures were said to be of God, because not existing of themselves, they had their Rise and Beginning from him; but the Son only was properly of the Substance of the Father; this being the peculiar propriety of the only begotten, and the true Word of the Father. All which they sum'd up into this one word *ὁμοούσιος*, implying him to be *Con-substantial*, or *Co-essential* with the Father.

VII. MATTERS having proceeded thus far, the result of their Determination was ordered to be compriz'd in a standing Creed or Confession of Faith, which was accordingly drawn up by *Hosius* Bishop of Corduba, by him brought into the Synod, and highly approv'd both by them and the Emperor, and was in this Form.

* *Athan. Epist. ad Solit.* p. 648.

WE believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, that is, of the Substance of the Father; God of God, and Light of Light, very God of God; begotten, not made, being Con-substantial, or of one Substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both in Heaven and Earth: Who for us men, and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate, and was made man: He suffered, and rose again the third day; ascended into Heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the holy Ghost. But for those that say, there was a time when he was not, and, that he was not before he was made; or, that he was made out of things that were not, or, that he is of any other Substance or Essence, or that he is obnoxious to change or alteration; all such the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church does anathematize and reject.

This Confession was almost universally entertain'd; *Constantine* [†] declaring his hearty Approbation of it, and that he look'd upon this Unity in the Council, as immediately given from above, and that whoever refus'd to comply with the Decrees thus establish'd, should be banish'd, as a Person endeavouring to reverse the Judgment of God himself. Having thus condemn'd *Arius* his Doctrine, they proceeded next to censure his Person, deposing [‡] and excommunicating him and his Followers, and forbidding him to enter into *Alexandria*, where he had so plentifully sow'd his Tares. To these Decrees the *Arian* Party at first stood off and would not consent, but knowing how deeply they were like to fall under the Emperor's displeasure, and being advis'd to it (says *Philostorgius* [§]) by their great Patroness

Constantina,

[†] *Sozom. l. 1. c. 20. p. 434.*

[‡] *Soz. ib. c. 21.*

[§] *L. 1. c. 8. p. 469.*

Constantina, the Emperor's Sister, they at last subscrib'd, though not to the deposing of *Arius*, yet to the Confession of Faith. Though even this they did (as he adds, ^b and we may safely credit their own Historian) *ἐν δόλῳ* by Arts of Treachery and Deceit, reserving to themselves their own Sense, and subscribing not *ὁμοούσιος*, but *ὁμοιούσιος*, not that the Son is of the same, but only of a like Essence with the Father. Two only of the whole number stood out, *Secundus* Bishop of *Ptolemais*, and *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, who chose rather to undergo the same Fate with *Arius*, than to own and acquiesce in the Synodical Determination. The former of which not long after, came to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and bluntly told him; *Eusebius*, thou hast subscrib'd merely to prevent banishment, but I trust in God that thou wilt be banish'd within a Twelvemonth; which accordingly came to pass.

VIII. THE Council having done their Part, the Emperor was not long wanting in his. For he commanded ^c *Arius* and his condemn'd Associates to be banish'd, who were accordingly transmitted into *Illyricum*, the place appointed for their Exile. And by a subsequent Edict, directed indefinitely both to Clergy and People, ordered his Writings to be burnt, and a title of Ignominy to be fix'd upon the Party. The Copy of the Letter ^d being but short, we here insert.

^b *1ac. cit. & ap. Nicet. Theol. Orth. Fid. l. 5. c. 8.*

^c *Soz. l. 1. c. 21. p. 435.*

^d *Ext. ap. Soz. l. 1. c. 9. p. 32. vid. Sozom. loc. cit.*

CONSTANTINE the Great, the August, the Conqueror, to the Bishops and People.

SINCE *Arius* has taken upon him to imitate impious and bad men, 'tis but just he should undergo the same punishment with them. As therefore Porphyry, the Enemy of true Religion, for the pernicious *Volumns* he wrote against Christianity, met with a reward due to so great a Villany, to become infamous to all Posterity, to be loaded with Reproaches and Execrations, and to have his impious Books quite banish'd out of the World. So it now seems good to us, that *Arius* and his Adherents be call'd PORPHYRIANS, that they may bear his Title, whose Manners they imitate and resemble. Farther, if any Book written by *Arius* be found, we command it to be burnt, that so not only his vile Doctrines may be utterly extirpated, but that not the least Monument of him may remain. Declaring also, that if any man shall be found to conceal any such Book of *Arius*, and not presently offer it to be burnt, as soon as ever he shall be apprehended, he shall be put to Death. God have you in his keeping.

Several Letters of this nature *Constantine* wrote ^e up and down against *Arius* and his Followers, and amongst the rest that cited by *Epiphanius*, ^f but extant intire in *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, ^g wherein he expostulates the Case with him in the most vehement Manner, and treats the man with all imaginable sharpness and severity.

^e *Soz. ubi sup. p. 436.*
^f *Hevif. LXIX. p. 214.*
^g *H. conc. Nic. l. 3. c. 2. col. 259.*

IX. TOGETHER

IX. TOGETHER with that of *Arius*, the Synod took under Consideration the Case ^h of *Meletius the Egyptian* Bishop, who had given so much disturbance to *Peter* and his Successors in that See; with him they dealt by more easie and gentle Measures, his fault being not Heresie, but a Schism only. Him they confine to his own City, allow him the title of a Bishop, but without any Episcopal Power or Jurisdiction either in City or Country. The Persons that had been ordain'd by him, being first confirm'd by *Alexander*, their proper Metropolitan, were to be admitted to Communion, and to the exercise of their severall Ministries; but according to the Capacities of their Station, were to take place after all other Clergy-men, in all Churches and Parishes where they come, and as others died out of any place, they in their Order might succeed, being regularly chosen by the People, and the Election ratified by the Bishop of *Alexandria*: But that they themselves should have no hand in the Election, or Power to choose whom they would. As for *Meletius* himself, knowing his inveterate Contumacy, and his rash heady Temper, they quite divested him of all Power, lest he should excite the same Troubles and Factions which he had formerly rais'd in the Church of God.

X. THE next thing that came under debate (for being thus far engag'd, we shall give a brief account of the whole Transactions of the Synod) was the Paschal Controversie, concerning the time of the Celebration of *Easter*, wherein the Christian World was so much divided; the *Astticks* and *Eastern* Churches observing it after the *Jewish* Custom, on the fourteenth day after the *Phasis* or appearance of the Moon, the rest on the next Lord's day after the *Jewish* Passover. A Question controverted from the very Infancy of the Church, and manag'd even by good men with great Bitterness and Animosity, and about this time reviv'd as hot as ever. The suppressing whereof was one of the Emperor's prime inducements ¹ in calling this Oecumenical Assembly, where it was first concluded in the General, that 'twas a thing highly fit and reasonable, that this great Festival should in all places be solemniz'd upon one and the same day: Next, that it was as indecent and uncomely, that this Solemnity, wherein we commemorate our Saviour's rising from the Dead, should depend upon the Custom of the *Jews*, who with so execrable a Villany had imbrued their hands in his innocent Blood: Wherefore it was universally agreed to follow the usage of those Churches, whose custom it had been from all Antiquity, to observe it on the Lord's day next ensuing the *Jewish* Festival. And thus was this storm on a sudden calm'd, which the endeavours of preceding Ages were never able to allay. The last thing they took in hand, was to draw up some Rules ² for Ecclesiastick Discipline, and the Government of the Church, which they digested into XX. Canons, all extant intire at this day. Which they who have improv'd into LXXXIV. might by the same Authority have added as many more. For though neither *Socrates* nor *Sozomen* say any thing of the particular number, yet *Theodorit*, ³ *Gelasius*, ⁴ and many others expressly limit it to twenty. Nor have any more been own'd, or so much as heard of (an *Arabick* Writer or two, of no credit, excepted) till of late in the Christian Church.

¹ *Exst. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 5. 14, 18, 19.*

² *Socr. l. 1. c. 13. p. 43. Sozom. l. 1. c. 23. p. 437. Epiph. loc. sup. cit.*

³ *Lib. 1. c. 8. p. 29. H. Conc. Nic. l. 2. c. 30. col. 236.*

XI. AMONGST others whom the Emperor had summon'd to the Synod, was *Acecius* ^a Bishop of the *Novatian* Party, who upon the account of the severity of their Principles, kept separate Assemblies, and did not communicate with other Churches; The pious Prince, whose heart was set upon abolishing all Diffentions amongst Christians, hoping to reconcile and bring them in. The Creed being drawn up and ratified by common Subscriptions, the Emperor demanded of *Acecius*, whether he also would subscribe it, and stand to the Determination about the *Paschal* Festival. *Acecius* replied, that the Council had defin'd nothing new in this Matter, and that he had ever receiv'd the Faith as such, and the time of the Solemnity of *Easter*, as what had been so delivered from the beginning, even from the very times of the Apostles. But why then (said *Constantine*) do you separate from the Communion of the Church? Hereupon the Bishop began to open his Case, and acquaint him with the State of things under the *Decian* Persecution, and what had hap'n'd between *Novatian* and *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, and that it was the severe Principle of their Party, that those who after Baptism fell into any such crime, which the Scripture calls, *the sin unto death*, were not to be admitted to the holy Communion; they were indeed to be invited and exhorted to Repentance, but might not expect Remission or Absolution from the Priests, but must look for it at the hands of God, who alone has power and right to forgive Sin. The Emperor paus'd a little, and considering the unmerciful strictness of this Rule, replied, *if so, then Acecius, set up your Ladder, and go to Heaven by your self*. This Story is question'd by the late Publisher ^o of the Ecclesiastical Historians, but *Socrates* that reports it, assures us he receiv'd it from *Auxanion* ^{*} a *Novatian* Presbyter, who attended *Acecius* to that Council, and both saw and heard what pass'd there. And though we should be so unreasonably dis-ingenuous as to suppose *Auxanion* made the Relation it self, yet can it not be imagined, what should tempt him to feign a Story, that made so little for the credit of his own Party.

XII. NOTHING now remain'd, but that as the custom was in such Cases, they should give some publick notice of what had been transacted in the Synod, especially to the Churches whom it more immediately concern'd. To which end they presently dispatch'd away the following Letter ^p to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the Bishops of those Parts, giving them a succinct account of what had pass'd in the Council.

^a *Socr. l. 1. c. 10. p. 38. Soz. l. 1. c. 22. p. 436.*

^o *Pal. Annot. ad Socr. p. 9.*

^{*} *Vid. Socr. ib. c. 13. p. 41.*

^p *Ext. ap. Socr. l. 1. c. 9. p. 27. Theod. ubi sup. p. 20.*

K

To

To the holy and great Church by the grace of God settled at *Alexandria*, and to the dear Brethren through *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*, the Bishops assembled at *Nice*, and there constituting a great and holy Synod, in our Lord greeting.

SINCE by the favour of God, and the most Religious Emperor Constantine, who has conven'd us out of divers Cities and Provinces, a holy and great Council is celebrated at *Nice*; we have thought it necessary, that Letters should be sent to you from the whole sacred Synod, that you may understand both what has been propounded and debated, and what has been agreed upon and decreed. First then the impious Cause of *Arius* and his Associates, was discuss'd in the presence of the most Religious Emperor, and by universal suffrage his ungodly Principles were condemned, yea and the very blasphemous Words and Phrases, that he makes use of to express them, when he affirms, that the Son of God sprang out of nothing, and that there was a time, when he was not, and that according to the freedom of his Will, he is capable of Vice and Vertue, nor scrupling to call him a Creature, and the Workmanship of God. All which the holy Synod, being no longer able to bear such Impiety and Madnesse, nor to hear such blasphemous Expressions, has anathematiz'd and condemn'd. And indeed what has been determin'd concerning him, you have either heard already, or will hear shortly; that we may not seem to insult over a man, who has received such a recompence as his Crimes deserved. Nay, so venomous and malignant was his Impiety, as to draw *Theonas* Bishop of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*, along with him into the same ruine. The same Sentence that passed upon him, being passed also against them. But forasmuch as when the grace of God, had delivered them from the blasphemy and impiety of this wretched Opinion, and from those Persons who feared not to raise Dissensions and Divisions amongst a People formerly living in Peace and Unity; the boldnesse and contumacy of *Meletius*, and those that had been ordained by him did still continue; we give you to understand, dear Brethren, what the Synod has determined in this Matter. It seemed good then (the Council dealing more tenderly with him, for in strict Justice he deserved no pity) that *Meletius* should reside in his own City, but have no Power either of electing, or laying on of hands; nor should, upon that account, appear in any Town or City, and should only retain the venerable title of Bishop. And as for those that have been ordained by him, being confirmed by a more holy and warrantable Ordination, they are to be admitted to Communion, with this condition, that they retain their Dignity, and their Office, but be ever placed after all those, whom our much honoured Colleague *Alexander*, has at any time before ordained, in what Church or Diocese soever they be. And as to these Persons, they shall have no Power to choose whom they please, or to propound any one's name in order to it, or indeed to do any thing at all without the consent of the Bishops of the Catholick Church, that are under *Alexander's* Jurisdiction. But where any by the grace of God, and the

assistance

assistance of your Prayers shall be found not to have been guilty of any Schism, but to have continued unblameable in the Catholick and Apostolick Church, let them have power of electing and propounding the names of such Persons as are fit to be admitted into the Clergy, and of doing all other things according to the Rules and Canons of the Church. And if any of them that are in the Church chance to dye, let them who were lately taken in, be advanced into the Place and Dignity of the Person deceased, always provided that they appear worthy, and that the People choose; but withall, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* consent to, and ratifie the Election. And the same is to be granted to all others. As for *Meletius* himself, it has pleas'd the Synod, not to deal altogether so favourably with him, that considering his former Contumacy, and the rash and precipitate Humour of the man, he should be intrusted with no Power or Authority, whereby he may again be capable to raise the same Stirs and Tumults that he did before. These are the things that peculiarly concern *Egypt*, and the most holy Church of *Alexandria*. If there be any thing else decreed or desired, while our Lord and reverend Colleague and Brother *Alexander* is present with us, he himself at his return shall acquaint you with it more particularly, he being chief Author and Actor of what is transacted here. We give you likewise to understand, of the Agreement about the most holy Feast of *Easter*, that by the assistance of your Prayers, this Affair is happily ended; and that all the Brethren in the East, who beforetime celebrated it after the Jewish Custom, will henceforth unanimously celebrate it agreeably to the usage of the Roman Church, and to us, and to all that from all Antiquity have kept it as we do. Rejoyce therefore for this happy settlement of Affairs, and both for the common Peace and Agreement, and for that all Heresie is cut off, receive our Colleague, and your Bishop, *Alexander* with greater Demonstrations of Honour, Respect, and Love, who has both by his presence added great Contentment and Satisfaction to us, and even at this Age has sustained infinite and indefatigable Pains, that Peace and Unity might be restored to you. Pray for us all, that those things that have been well constituted, may remain firm and intire through the blessing of Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, being ordained, as we verily believe, according to the good pleasure of God the Father in the holy Spirit. To whom be Glory for ever and ever, Amen.

This Synodical Epistle was back'd with another ⁹ from the Emperor, wherein he tells them, that he looked upon it as one of the greatest Blessings of the divine Providence, that Truth had so gloriously triumphed over Error; that Schisms and Dissentions were banished; that the evil Doctrines which *Arius* (to whom he gives no better a Character, than τὸ Ἀρχαίου ἀναιδὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, the Shameless Minister of the Devil) had scattered up and down the Word, having been first examined with all possible Care and Accuracy, had been rejected, and the contrary Truth established by the Fathers of the Synod; whose Sentence herein was to be embraced as the Judgment of God, as proceeding from Persons enlightened and directed by the holy Ghost, which every one should shew himself ready to entertain, and willing to return into the way of Truth. Besides this, he wrote ¹⁰ also to the Churches in general, to let them know, what pains he had taken for the compofure of the *Paschal* Controversie,

* Ext. ap. Soet. lib. p. 30.

* Ext. ap. Ruf. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 17. p. 491. Soet. ubi supr. p. 32. Thied. ib. p. 10. p. 32.

and how unanimously the Council had decided it, and how infinitely reasonable it was, that it should be kept at the same time in the whole Catholick Church: That therefore he desired they would acquiesce in the Decree, and receive it as a Blessing from Heaven, & θεῖον οἱ ἀνθρώποις ἐντολὴν, and as truly a divine Command; seeing what was determined by the Bishops in holy Synods, was to be referred to the Will of God.

XIII. ALL things thus successfully accomplished, the Emperor invited ^c the Bishops (it being then the great Solemnity of his *Vicennalia*) to a publick Dinner, where all the Guards and Officers stood ready to receive them. The more eminent he entertained at his own Table, the rest in apartments prepared for them. And where he espied any that had lost their right Eyes for their constant adherence to the Faith in the times of Persecution, he kiss'd the Wounds, doing all imaginable reverence to the Persons, and expecting to receive their Benediction. After Dinner he loaded them with Gifts and Presents answerable to their Merits, and the Dignity of their Places, and suitable to the Magnificence of so great a Prince. Which done, he took his leave of them, again pressing them to maintain an Uniformity in the Faith, and Peace amongst themselves; withall requesting, that every day they would earnestly solicit Heaven for him, his Children, and the Prosperity of his Empire. After which, they mutually took leave of one another, each one preparing for his Journey home. Thus ended this great and first general Council, after it had sitten somewhat more than two Months, beginning *June* the XIXth, and breaking up about the latter end of *August*. So prodigiously extravagant are the accounts of those, who extend it not only to more Months, but years. Some ^c make it to last three years and six Months, ^a *Nicophorus* three years and somewhat better, *Gelasius* ^w from the sixteenth to the twentieth Year of *Constantine's* Reign; *Photius* ^x and the Author of the *Synodicon* ^y make it holden both under the Pontificats of Pope *Silvester* and *Julius*, which accounting from the usual Computation of its being called *Ann. CCCXXV.* can extend it to no less than thirteen years. When as 'tis most evident, that it was holden under the *Consulship* of *Paulinus* and *Julian*, and ended when *Constantine* celebrated his *Vicennalia*, or the twentieth year of his Reign; which commencing *Ann. Chr. CCCVI.* fell in just about this time.

XIV. IT was but three Months ^z after the Dissolution of the Synod, when *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice* notwithstanding their politic Dissimulation, were sent the same way with *Arius*, being banish'd by the Emperor's Command. What the particular Cause was, is variously reported. *Philostorgius*, ^a who studies all wayes to secure their Credit, tells us, that repenting of what they had done, their subscribing to the *Nicene* Decrees, they came to the Emperor, and told him, *We have done ill, Sir, in that, for fear of you, we have subscrib'd an impious Confession.* Whereat the good Emperor was mov'd with a just Passion and Indignation. Others relate, ^b that having corrupted the imperial Register, who kept the Acts of the *Nicene* Council, they raz'd out their Subscriptions, and then began openly to assert, that it was false Doctrine, to teach that the Son was Co-essential with the Father. For which *Eusebius* being

complain'd of to the Emperor, carried himself before him with an excessive Confidence, and shewing him his Garment, asked him, whether if he should see that Garment rent in two, he should ever affirm, each part to be the same Substance. A piece of Impudence and Impiety which the Emperor resented with infinite trouble, and the more to see those Controversies again reviv'd, which he had well hop'd, by the care of the late Council, had been wholly suppress'd and stilled. Though these Reports be no wayes unsuitable to the Temper and Humour of the men, yet is it safest to rely upon the account which the Emperor himself gives of it in his Letter ^c to the People of *Nicomedia*, written immediately upon the Sentence of their Banishment; wherein after he had asserted the Catholick Doctrine, and reflected upon the perniciousness of the *Arian* Principles; he comes more particularly to *Eusebius* their Bishop, whom he charges with holding Correspondence with the Tyrant *Licinius*, and having been a cause of the late Persecution, with Treasons and Conspiracies against his own Person, but especially with poisoning them with heretical Doctrine, for which he had now provided them a Remedy, by sending them a faithful and orthodox Bishop, who would not fail to set them in the right Way, did they but cheerfully comply with him. That as for *Eusebius*, he had between fear and shame renounc'd those impious Opinions in the late Council of *Nice*, sending frequent Messages to himself to intercede for him, and to pray that he might not be expos'd to shame, and thrust from the Honour of his place, by which means he had been circumvented and impos'd upon. And yet after all, he and *Theognis* had lately discovered and betray'd themselves. For that certain factious Hereticks of *Alexandria*, whom he had sent for from thence, as the common *Boute-fers* and Incendiaries of the Place, and whom the Mercy of the Synod had spar'd in hopes of their Repentance; being there, these men had not only encourag'd and entertain'd, and taken them home to them, but communicated with them in all their wicked and ungodly Practices. For which cause he had ordered them to be banished into a remote Country; and if any should presume to speak in Commendation, or make mention of those Pests and Plagues, his boldness should quickly find its just Punishment and Correction. Accordingly they were immediately banished into *France*, and their Sees supplied by two worthy Persons, *Amphion* at *Nicomedia*, and *Chrestus* at *Nice*.

^c Ext. fragm. ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 20. p. 49. In tigma vero ap. Gelasius. c. 2. col. 278. vid. Nicet. Hist. Orth. Fid. l. 5. c. 8. p. 447.

^c Enl. ib. c. 15. See. ib. c. 25. p. 438. Theod. ib. c. 11. p. 35.

^a Al. Metroph. & Alex. ap. Phot. CCLVI. col. 1412. ^w Lib. 8. c. 26. p. 588. ^x Lib. 2. c. 35. col. 265. ^y Epist. ad Mich. Bulg. p. 3. ^z Synod. p. 16.

^a Philost. l. 1. c. 9. p. 469. See. l. 1. c. 21. p. 436.

^a L. 2. ap. Nicet. Th. Orth. Fid. l. 5. c. 8. p. 448.

^b See. l. 2. c. 21. p. 472.

S E C T. IV.

The Acts of Athanasius, from the Nicene Council, till the Synod at Tyre.

A more close approach to the Athanasian Story. The Death of Alexander, and Election of Athanasius to that See. The regularity of his Ordination justified against the Calumnies of the Arians. His Age at that time. The Story of his childish personating the Bishop suspected. The Arians confederate with the Meletians against him. Meletius his Violation of the Nicene Decrees. Arius his release from Banishment. The return of Eusebius and Theognis, and the Declaration of their Assent to the Faith of Nice. The Arian Stories of Constantine's favor to their Party, and displeasure against the Catholics. Athanasius his Vistation of his Diocesis, and Discovery of Ichyras. His intimacy with S. Anthony. Great attempts made for Arius's Reconciliation. Complaints made at Court against Athanasius. His Defence, and honourable Dismissal. The Crimes falsely charged upon Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, and his Banishment. The Charge reviv'd against Athanasius, who gives Satisfaction to the Emperor in those Matters. A Synod indited at Cæsarea, to enquire into the Cause of Athanasius. He refuses to appear, and is mis-represented for his refusal.

I HITHERTO we have followed the course of the main Story, we shall now more particularly bring it down to Athanasius his door, and present him upon the publick Stage of Action; to be Bishop of Alexandria, being (as Nazianzen^a speaks in this very Case) in effect to be Bishop of the whole World; and such especially he was, whose Acts and Sufferings make up almost the intire Story of that Age, in which capacity he will now fall under our Pen. Alexander being return'd from the Council of Nice, and having received into his charge the Churches, which Meletius, who had unjustly usurp'd them, readily delivered up to him, died not long after. As if God had but spar'd him, to let him tast the Fruit of his eminent Labours, and congratulate his Churches Settlement in Tranquility and Peace, and had only brought him home, that his Bones might be intomb'd with Honour amongst his own People. He died five Months after the rising of the Synod, and before his Death is said to have design'd Athanasius for his Successor. For so Apollinaris the Syrian^c (whose Father was born and bred at Alexandria) informs us, that Alexander lying upon his Death-bed, frequently call'd for Athanasius, who was then absent, and suspecting him to have withdrawn himself to avoid the great charge that he meant to devolve upon him, he cried out, *Athanasius, thou thinkest thou hast escap'd, but thou shalt not escape.* Epiphanius, who strangely confounds Times and Persons, tells us, ^e that Alexander dying, and Athanasius, to whom he had bequeath'd that See, being then from home, sent upon a Message to Court, Achilles was clapt in to fill the Vacancy, and Theonas set up by the Meletian Party, both which dying within three Months,

Athanasius

^a In Athan. Orat. XXI. p. 377.

^c Ap. Soc. l. 2. c. 17. p. 465.

^e Hieron. LXXIX. p. 318. LXX. p. 314.

Athanasius came quietly into the place. But omitting this as fabulous and inconsistent, no sooner was Alexander dead, ^a but the People of Alexandria became passionately clamorous for Athanasius to succeed, universally flocking to the Church, and publicly putting up their Petitions to God in that behalf, continuing in those Devotions day and night, yea and solemnly adjuring the Bishops (who were come to Town to settle a new Bishop in that See) to consecrate and ordain him, till when they would neither leave the Church themselves, nor suffer the Bishops to depart. Which was no sooner done, but it was entertain'd with the universal Joy and Satisfaction both of the Clergy and People, manifested by all open signs of Festivity and Rejoycing, cheerful Looks, general Confluences to behold the man, and common Gratulations and Thanks to God for so great a Blessing. So spiteful and groundless was the Calumny of the Arians (as the Egyptian Bishops, some of which were present, and did assist at his Ordination, in their Synodical Epistle do observe) that when upon Alexander's death, ^b both the Catholick and Meletian Bishops unanimously agreed to choose a Successor, and solemnly bound their Agreement by an Oath, six or seven departing from the rest, retir'd into an obscure place, and there made choice of Athanasius, of whom very little mention had been made; upon which account many both of the Clergy and People refus'd Communion with him. Philostorgius adds, ⁱ that while the Bishops were consulting about the Election, Athanasius with some of his Party, in the Evening went to the Church of St. Demys, and finding there two Egyptian Bishops, caus'd the Doors to be fast lock'd, and forced them to ordain him, for which the rest of the Bishops denounc'd an *Anathema* against him, but that he presently dispatch'd away Letters to Court, in the name of the whole City of Alexandria, as if the thing had been done by common consent, and by that Artifice procur'd the Emperor to confirm and ratifie the Election. But there needs no dispute, who are to be trusted in this Matter, whether profess'd and sworn Enemies, whose custom was, to support their Cause by arts of craft and falshood, or those who were themselves present at the Action, and made their publick Protestation, while the thing was but lately done; yea, and solemnly call'd in (as there they do) the whole City and Province to attest it. Not to say that Nazianzen^k expressly sayes of him, that he came in by the general Suffrage of the People, not as his intruding Successor, by Force and Slaughter, *ὡς διανοητικῶς τε καὶ πνευματικῶς*, but after a Divine and Apostolick manner. His Succession hapned about the beginning of the year CCCXXVI. at which time he must be very young, not above XXVIII. years of Age. For his childish personating the Office of a Bishop (when we cannot well suppose him above thirteen or fourteen years old at most) not hapning till Alexander was Bishop of that Church; and Alexander not being advanc'd to that See, till towards the latter end of Ann. CCCXII. the remainder till the year after the Nicene Synod, will but barely make up the Account. An Age not very consistent with the ordinary Customs and Constitutions of the Church. But it was thought fit it seems for once, rather to dispence with the Rules of Ecclesiastick Discipline, than that, at this time especially, the Church should want so extraordinary a Person, so admirably fit and useful to the present State and Exigencies of

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^a Epist. Synod. Alex. ap. Ath. Apol. II. p. 555, 566.

^b Tac. c. 1. v. d. Socom. ubi sup. p. 466.

ⁱ Lib. 2. c. 12. p. 473.

^k Encom. Ath. Orat. XXI. p. 377.

that Church. All which is said upon the supposal that the Story of his childish playing the Bishop, is certain and unquestionable, which though transmitted to us by a great cloud of Witnesses, yet is the whole Evidence founded upon the single Authority of *Rufinus*, who 'tis plain, was the first reporter of the Story, a man infinitely careless in his accounts of things, and who took up this only as a popular Tradition at near an hundred years distance from the thing it self. And if that Story be set aside, then may *Athanasius* his Birth be carried back into part of the foregoing *Seculum*, and a more competent Age allow'd him at the time of his Ordination. And indeed it seems very strange, that the *Arians* who narrowly ransack'd all the Passages of his Life, and particularly objected, or rather feigned other Irregularities of his Ordination, should never mention the Incompetency of his years for so great and eminent a Station, especially when it seem'd to be against the Apostles own Canon, and the ordinary Rules and Practice of the Church. But herein I determine nothing, but leave the Reader to the conduct of his own Judgment, not being willing needlessly to shake the credit of any part of Church-History.

II. *ATHANASIUS* his advancement to the See of *Alexandria*, was not more to the joy and comfort of the Catholics, than it was to the grief and vexation of the *Arians*. They knew the man, the acuteness of his Parts, and his indefatigable Zeal in defence of the Catholic Cause; and if he stickled so hard both at home, and in the Synod of *Nice*, when but in a private Capacity; what might they expect he would do, now he was plac'd in so eminent a Station? Wherefore they resolv'd to unite all their Powers against him. And to strengthen their Interest, no way appear'd more fair and plausible, than to draw over the *Meletians* to their Party; a Body of men numerous, and by reason of the Orthodoxy of their Principles, of no inconsiderable Reputation with the People. Them they endeavour by all means to gain, for which they were now furnished with a fit Occasion. *Meletius* upon *Alexander's* return from *Nice*, had resign'd up the Churches that were under his Superintendency and Care, himself quietly living at his own City of *Lycus*. But a little before his Death, which hap'n'd not long after, besides *Asenius* Bishop of *Hypselis*, he ordained *John*, otherwise called *Arcaph* to be his Successor. Which being so expressly contrary to the *Nicene* Decrees, gave a new Life and Resurrection to the Schism. This the *Arians* quickly espied, and began to suggest how unjustly the *Meletians* had been dealt with in the *Nicene* Council, that the People generally shock'd after *Athanasius*, and the *Alexandrian* Clergy, against whom it was their joint Interest to combine, as against a common Enemy. And though their Designs were vastly different (the *Meletians* being as yet untainted in their Principles) yet, as *Athanasius* observes, like *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, they both agreed against Christ, and dissembling their particular Oppositions, enter'd into a mutual Confederacy against the Truth, the *Meletians* being drawn by Covetousness and Ambition, the *Arians* by a desire to re-establish and propagate their Impieties.

III. ONE

III. ONE of the first attempts, seems to have been the recalling *Arian* from his Banishment, which *Socumen* ^a (if he means it of his recalling from Exile, and not rather his calling to Court) against all Reason, makes not to be till many years after, a little before the Synod at *Jerusalem*, when he and *Enzimus* presented their Confession to the Emperor. Certain it is, that *Arian* was recall'd from Banishment some time before *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*; as not only *Socumen* himself elsewhere confesses ^b, but *Eusebius* expressly affirms in his Petition or Declaration ^c to the Emperor, though forbidden to return to *Alexandria*, remaining, it's like, amongst his Friends and Favourers in the East. Not long after his two great Patrons, *Eusebius* and *Theognis* followed him. Three whole years ^d they had continued in Banishment, when betaking themselves to their old Arts, they preferred a Bill by way of Petition and Retraction ^e to the Emperor, wherein they represent, that they had hitherto submissively acquiesced in the Judgment which his Majesty had pass'd upon them; but left their silence should be thought an Argument of their Guilt, they declar'd that they did unanimously agree in the Faith, and that having diligently examin'd the meaning of the Word *Consubstantial*, they had wholly given up themselves to Peace, being addict'd to no Heresie: that for the Quiet and Security of the Church, they had suggested the best Councils they could think of, and had given all necessary Satisfaction by subscribing the Faith, though they could not the *Anathematism* against *Arian*, having from the Converse they had had with him, both by Word and Writing, found him not guilty of what was charged upon him. And having done this, they did again ratify their consent by this present Libel, not so much that they were weary of their Banishment, as desirous to avoid the Suspicion of Heresie; and that if but admitted into His Majesties Presence, he would find them exactly to agree with the Faith and Decrees of the *Nicene* Synod; which favour they the rather hop'd for, His Majesty having already so graciously treated the Person accounted most Criminal, and releasing him from his Banishment, had suffered him to vindicate himself from the things charg'd upon him. Hereupon the Sentence of their Banishment was taken off, and they were permitted to return to their own Sees again. It must not here be forgotten, that the *Arians* amongst the many Stories they coin'd to support their Cause, vented this; ^f that soon after the Synod at *Nice*, *Constantine* having banish'd *Eusebius*, *Theognis* and some others, for their obstinate rejecting the *Consubstantial* Doctrine, his Sister had a Vision or Revelation from Heaven, whereby she was advertis'd, that those men were Orthodox in their Opinions, and had those hard Measures very unjustly put upon them. That hereupon the Emperor recall'd them from Banishment, and enquiring of them, why since they had with the rest subscrib'd the *Nicene* Creed, they dissent'd from it; receiv'd this answer, that they never heartily consented to it; but out of a fear, lest His Majesty, but newly converted, and not as yet confirm'd by Baptism, taking offence at the Differences amongst them, should throw up the Christian Faith as doubtful and uncertain, return back to *Paganism*, and turn his resentment and displeasure against the Church. Upon this Apology he forgave them, and resolv'd (they say) to call another Synod about this Matter. But his Death pre-

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^a Socum. l. 2.
c. 21. p. 471.

^b Grat. l. contr.
Arian. p. 132.

^c l. 1. c. 27.
p. 483. 484.

^d l. 1. c. 16. p. 464.
p. 465. vid.
Socr. l. 1. c. 14.
p. 44.

^e Philo. l. 2.
c. 7. p. 472.

^f Ext. ap. Soc.
p. Socum. loc. cit.

^g Socum. l. 3.
c. 19. p. 531.

venting that, he left the Execution of it to his Son *Constantius*, with this remark, that his Empire would never prosper, if he did not bring all his Subjects to an Agreement in Matters of Religion: And that in compliance herewith, *Constantius* summon'd the Council at *Ariminum*, which ratified their Faith. A Story not very consistent with it self, built only upon a slight and trifling Report, and repugnant to the unanimous account of all the Writers of those times. Most certain it is, that *Constantine the Great*, who to his dying day, was most constant to the *Nicene* Faith, would never have cancell'd the Sentence of their Banishment upon any other Terms, than their subscribing that Creed. Which we see they accordingly did without any scruple. Of the same Thread with this, is the Passage related by *Philostorgius*, * that after the *Nicene* Council, and the Recantation of *Eusebius* and his Party (whom the Emperor punish'd for their Prevarication in their Subscriptions) *Constantine* recall'd *Secundus* and his Adherents out of Banishment, and sent Letters or Edicts into all Parts to suppress and stifle the *Consubstantial* Doctrine, and to ratify the contrary Opinion; that *Alexander* of *Alexandria* subscrib'd these Letters, and thereupon communicated with *Arius* and his Party, but no sooner was the fear of the Emperor's displeasure over, but he return'd to his former Sentiments in this Matter, whereupon *Arius* and his Followers utterly deserted him. An account so improbable in all its Circumstances, and so directly contrary to all other Writers, that it needs no Confutation. Forg'd no doubt either by *Philostorgius* himself (whom therefore *Photinus* in the entrance upon it by a witty Allusion to his name censures, ὁ φιλοφθοῖς ἔργῳ καυσθόργῳ) or handed to him by the *Arians* of those times, who spread abroad this and many more like Relations, to give life and credit to their Cause.

IV. *ATHANASIUS* in the mean time, like a Prudent and a faithful Pastor, took an account of the State of his Flock, visiting the Churches of his Diocese, which considering the State of that time, he knew, could not but be over-run with Irregularities, both in Faith and Discipline. Coming to the Province of *Marcotia*, which was populous, and where Presbyters were fixed in every Parish, who taught and governed the People in great Peace and Order, the *Meletian* Schism not being able to set its foot here, he was told that one *Ischyra*, a man vicious in his Morals, and that had never been really taken into Ecclesiastick Orders, did yet take upon him the Title and Office of a Presbyter, and draw away the People where he liv'd. Whereupon he dispatch'd away *Macarius* his Presbyter, and the Presbyter of the Place, to enquire into the Matter, and to summon the Person. Coming thither, they found the man sick in Bed, so that charging his Father to let him know, that he should not dare to meddle in the things reported of him, they returned to *Athanasius*. *Ischyra* being recovered of his Distemper, was advised by his Father and his Friends, to shift for himself, who thereupon fled to the *Meletians*, and thence to *Nicomedia*, the usual Refuge of discontented Persons, where what mischief he hatch'd against *Athanasius*, we shall hear afterwards. In this Visitation *Athanasius* is said to have taken in his way the *Egyptian* Monasteries, so famous in the Stories of those times, where he was received with all due Honour and Respect; especially

* Ath. Apol. II. p. 606. Epiph. Her. LXVIII. p. 309.

especially he visited the great *S. Anthony*, * the Father of all the Hermits of that Age, there being so great a Dearness and Intimacy between these two, that as oft as sent for, *S. Anthony* would leave his Solitudes, and come to *Athanasius*, meet him in Cities, accompany him to Church, give Testimony to his Faith, oppose and condemn his Adversaries, write to Princes and great men in his behalf, which added no little Esteem and Reputation to him. Though considering the Tactions and Artifices that at this time were on foot against him, he had need of all his Friends to stand by him and support him.

V. FOR *Eusebius* was no sooner return'd to *Nicomedia*, but he began to set his Engines on work for the promoting the *Arian* Cause. His chief Design was, to resetttle *Arius* at *Alexandria*, where he knew the Venom would work most effectually. To which end he wrote to *Athanasius*, * smoothly courting him to receive *Arius* into Communion, while at the same time, by other hands, he threatened him, if he did refuse. But the good man equally dis-regarded his intreaties and his threatnings, he sent him word, that *Arius* was an Heretick, and an Enemy to the Truth, that he had been condemn'd by a general Council, and that such could not be re-admitted. Failing in this, he went to work another way, by crafty Insinuations engaging the Emperor, who now look'd upon *Arius*, as conforming himself to the Church, to write in his behalf to *Athanasius*, which he did, † being directed by him, in a very positive and peremptory manner, commanding him to set open the Church-doors to any that were willing to enter in, telling him, that if he knew he excluded any, who were desirous to return to the Communion of the Church, he would immediately send orders to displace him, and send him far enough off. In which clause of the Letter (for part of it only is set down) no particular mention being made of *Arius*, probable it is, that *Eusebius* had couch'd the Design only in general Terms, representing *Athanasius* as an Enemy to the Peace and Union of the Church. However trusting in the goodness of his Cause, he was nothing startled at this quick and severe Message of the Emperor, humbly remonstrating by his Answer, that the Catholick Church could not possibly hold Communion with that Heresie, that plainly subverted the Divinity of our Saviour. *Eusebius* disappointed in both these attempts, falls now to downright Methods of Fraud and Falshood, resolving by right or wrong to remove him, who so long as he stood in their way, would obstruct whatever they took in hand. And first he sends to the *Meletians*, that now was a fit time to put their confederate Councils into Practice; who partly encourag'd by his Letters, partly to solicit their own Cause, viz. the Restitution of their Churches, deputed three Bishops of their Party, *Iso*, *Endemon*, and *Callinicus*, to go and manage their Affairs at Court, where, by *Eusebius* his advice, they forg'd an Accusation against *Athanasius*, charging him before the Emperor, to have exacted Linnen for the use of his Church, and to have impos'd it as a Tribute upon the People. But *Apis* and *Macarius* two *Alexandrian* Presbyters, hapning to be then at Court, quickly convinc'd the Emperor of the falleness of the Charge; who condemning the Accusers, commanded *Athanasius*, however to appear. Which when *Eusebius* understood, he perswaded

* Sazom. l. 2. c. 17. p. 467.

* Ath. Apol. II. p. 603. Ser. l. 1. c. 23. p. 57.

† Ext. Par. liter. ap. Ath. ib. p. 604.

the *Meletians* to stand to the Cause, and to attack him with new Indictments at his Arrival. To take off *Macarius* his Evidence, they renew a Charge, which they had not long since put in against him, of breaking the Communion-Chalice; upon *Athanasius* they lay no less than an Indictment of high Treason, that he had privily sent a Cabinet of Gold to one *Philumenus*, to enable him to usurp the Empire. *Athanasius* being come, his Cause was heard at *Pfammathia*, a part of the Suburbs of *Nicomedia*, where the Emperor had a Palace (not at *Constantinople*, as *Theodorit* ^a makes it, which was scarce finish'd, much less dedicated) where he so satisfied the Emperor in the Innocency and Integrity of his Cause, that his Adversaries were condemn'd, himself acquitted, and not only suffered to depart, but at his return the Emperor honour'd him with a Letter ^a to the Church of *Alexandria*, wherein after he had largely exclaim'd against the Malice and Iniquity of the Age, he tells them, that the wicked Wretches had prevail'd nothing against their Bishop, studying nothing but vainly to spend time, and render themselves incapable of Pardon; that they should assist one another by mutual Concord, and resist those that did oppose it; that as for *Athanasius* their Bishop, he had kindly receiv'd him, and convers'd with him, as one whom he verily believ'd to be a man of God, and a most venerable Person, and whom he knew to be a Minister for his Equity and Diligence, and other Qualities every way necessary for them.

VI. MALICE like Fire, must have a vent, or 'twill be stifled in its own Smoke. *Eusebius* prevailing nothing against *Athanasius*, for the present diverts his spleen another way. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch* was a stout Stickler against the *Arians*, and being set in so eminent a See, was capable of doing the greater service to the Cause. Him he singles out, and resolves to hunt him down. In order whereunto, he begs leave ^b of the Emperor (at whose charge also he went the Journey) to go see the magnificent Church which *Constantine* was then building at *Jerusalem*. Accompanied with his old Friend *Theognis* of *Nice*, he came to *Antioch*, where pretending Friendship, they were kindly and honourably treated by *Eusebius*. Thence passing through *Palestine* they laid the Design, which they resolv'd to effect at their return. For procuring a Synod to be call'd at *Antioch*, *Eusebius* is charg'd as Heterodox in the Faith; but because they knew that too thin to hold Water, they back'd it with the Accusation of Adultery, which they procur'd to be depos'd upon Oath, though but the Oath of a lewd infamous Woman. Whereupon the good man was condemn'd, and thrown out of his See. And though there were those in the Council, who sincl the Knavery, and perswaded *Eusebius* not to stand to the Sentence of Deposition, yet were their Enemies too quick for them, having immediately conveyed notice of it to the Emperor, to whom they represented the Scandal of the Crimes, and the great Justice of the Sentence, perswading the Emperor to confirm it, who accordingly ordered him to be banish'd.

VII. THOUGH let alone for the present, *Athanasius* was not forgotten. The business at *Antioch* being over, they are now at leisure to bait him a Second time. For *Ischyrius* the usurping Presbyter, who had some while since fled from *Marcotis*, having address'd

^a I. i. c. 26. p. 60.

^b Ext. ap. Ath. loc. cit.

^b Theod. l. i. c. 21. p. 51.

himself to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, was readily entertain'd by him, as a fit Instrument to promote their Designs; and to oblige him faster, he is tyed with the Assurance of a Bishoprick, which afterwards they made good, creating him Bishop of *Marcotis*, and at present treating him in the capacity of a Presbyter. By his contrivance Accusations are fram'd, and brought into more formal and plausible Stories; *Athanasius* is charg'd with cruel and tyrannical Actions, *Macarius* his Presbyter as sent by him with forcible rushing into the Chancel, breaking the Communion-Cup, and tearing the Bible in pieces, *Athanasius* indicted of Murder, for making away *Arsenius* a *Meletian* Bishop, and a dead man's hand produc'd as evidence of the Fact, whereof more in their due place. All which were repented with their greatest Aggravations to the Emperor. The first he slighted, having himself heard it sufficiently baffled, when *Athanasius*, not long since, appear'd before him at *Nicomedia*. For that of *Arsenius*, which seem'd to be of most moment, he sent to his Brother *Dalmatius* the *Consor*, then residing at *Antioch*, to take the matter under Examination. The *Consor* presently writes to *Athanasius*, commanding him to prepare himself for a Tryal, and to answer the things laid to his Charge. He, conscious of his own Innocency, and the prodigious Malignity of the Fable, at first made light of it, but considering that the Emperor had concern'd himself in it, he thought it not safe to neglect it. Wherefore he wrote to the Bishops of his Diocese, to give them notice of it, and sent a Deacon to enquire after *Arsenius*, whom with much ado he found to be alive and well. Which was no sooner done, but he dispatch'd away *Macarius* with Letters to the Emperor at *Constantinople*, to give him a true account of the State of things, to put him in mind of what had been transacted at *Pfammathia*, and to assure him that *Arsenius* after all was alive and safe. The Emperor wondering at mens immoderate boldness and confidence, commanded *Dalmatius* to surcease the Process, and the Accusers who had been sent into the *East* to manage the Charge, to depart from Court, himself writing ^d to *Athanasius*, to let him know how much he made it his business to preserve Truth and Justice, and delighted above all others in pious and good men: In which Letter he falls upon the *Meletians* with a very black Character, as the most mercilefs, wicked and execrable Persons, men harden'd in Impiety, and who attempted the greatest Absurdities merely to gratify Envy, Emulation, and a seditious Mind, as was plain in their unjust Proceedings against him; commanding that his Letter should be read to the People, that all might take notice of it, especially those whom it most concern'd, whom he assur'd, that if they still proceeded in these Practices, he would judge them not by Ecclesiastical, but Civil Laws, and would make it appear, that they were open Invaders not only of humane, but of divine Constitutions.

VIII. THIS just and necessary Severity of the Emperor frighted the *Meletians* at this time from any farther attempts against *Athanasius*, the reproaches of their own Consciences, and the publick Fame causing them to retire with shame and silence. But *Eusebius* and his Party loth to loose such useful Instruments, endeavour'd to put new life into them, by assuring them that things should be transacted in a Synod, where there was no doubt but they should have

^c Ath. ib. l. ii. p. 605. Secr. l. i. c. 27. p. 104.

^d Ext. Epist. ap. Athan. ib. p. 609.

^e Ath. ib. p. 611.

the predominant over-ruling stroke. To effect which, they put it into the Emperor's head, that his stately Buildings at Jerusalem were now almost finished, and ripe for Dedication, for which the Bishops of those Parts must be call'd together, that this opportunity might be taken first to settle and compose those Differences, which of late had so much disturb'd the Church, that so they might more unanimously carry on that great Solemnity. To this the Emperor at length yielded, appointing a Synod^e to be held at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, where the Bishops being met, *Athanasius* did not appear, suspecting, as some think, the Partiality of his Judges, and liking the place never the better, because *Eusebius* was Bishop of it, whom he look'd upon as too favourable to the *Arian* Party. Though indeed *Athanasius* assigns no such Reason, nor is this Synod so much as once mention'd by him. Long time the Bishops waited at *Cæsarea*, but *Athanasius* came not; which his Enemies knew well enough how to improve to his disadvantage, telling the Emperor, he might now see what little account *Athanasius* made of his commands, who dar'd thus contumaciously to disobey the imperial Orders. The Emperor, though otherwise of a mild and easy Temper, exasperated with these Suggestions, appoints another Synod to assemble at *Tyre*, while things were making ready for the Solemnity at *Jerusalem*, commanding *Athanasius* at his Peril to appear, and summoning such Bishops especially, as the *Eusebians* had recommended to him, intending the Case should be canvass'd and determin'd in the most publick and solemn Manner.

^e *Sec. l. 2. c. 24.*
^f *p. 479. Thod.*
^g *c. 28. p. 61.*

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

The Acts and Proceedings of the Synod at Tyre, with other consequent Affairs.

A Synod summon'd at Tyre. The Emperor's Lieutenant appointed to preside there. The sum of Constantine's Letter to the Council. Athanasius's Carriage before the Synod. A twofold Charge exhibited against him. Matters of Vice and Immorality in three Instances; Oppression, and how guilty of that; Ravishment, the Villany whereof how discovered; Murder, his killing Arsenius, and cutting off his Hand. The wickedness of this Story pursued and refuted at large, and evidently prov'd before the Council. The second head of Accusation, Impiety and Profanation. The Case of his Ordination enquir'd into. His Violation of Ischyra's Church, breaking the Communion-Cup, &c. Several Answers to that Charge. Commissioners sent by the Synod into Egypt, to examine Matters upon the place. Athanasius his Exceptions against the Persons. All Motions in his behalf over-ru'd. The partial and unjust Proceedings of the Commissioners. The Zeal of the Maræotick Clergy for their Bishop. Athanasius condemn'd and depos'd by the Synod at Tyre. The Synod adjourn'd by the Emperor to Jerusalem. Arius's Cause commanded to be taken under Consideration, by means of an Arian Presbyter's favour with the Emperor. What truth in that Report. Arius sent for to Court; Constantine's Letter to him to that purpose. His and Euzoius's Hypocritical Confession presented to the Emperor. The Judgment of the Synod about his Case. Whether he return'd to Alexandria. Upon Athanasius's complaint at Court, the Bishops are summon'd to make good their Charge against him. Accus'd by them of High-Treason, and banish'd by the Emperor to Triers. Arius taken into favour at Court: Alexander Bishop of Constantinople commanded to admit him to Communion. The perplexity of the good Bishop, and his zealous Prayers to Heaven. The unnatural and execrable Death of Arius, and the manner of it. His Character. The Description of his Temper and Person. Intercessions in behalf of Athanasius rejected. The Death of Constantine, and Division of the Empire amongst his Sons. The occasion of Constantius's favouring the Arian Party.

I. ANN. Chr. CCCXXXV. met the Council at Tyre, ^e consisting of LX. Bishops of the East, besides XLVII. that came along with *Athanasius* out of Egypt, probably not formally summon'd thither, but to pay an honourable Attendance upon their Metropolitan. And because the Emperor foresaw that Heats and Quarrels would arise, he sent *Dionysius* a man of Consular Dignity, to preside as his own Commissioner in the Synod, to see good Order and Decorum kept amongst them, himself writing ^h to them to this effect; that they would use their utmost endeavour to heal the Breaches in the Churches Peace; the most honourable Enterprize they could take in hand; that for his part nothing had been wanting, that he had granted

^e *Sec. l. 1. c. 28.*
^f *p. 65. Sec. l. 2.*
^g *c. 25. p. 479.*

^h *Ext. Epist. ap. Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 4. c. 42. p. 546. Thod. l. 1. c. 29. p. 61.*

granted whatever they desir'd, summoning what Bishops they thought convenient, and sending the *Exconsular Dionysius* to be a Witness of their Transactions, and their good Behaviours, that if any whom it concern'd, refus'd to come, he would by Banishment, make them know what it was to disobey the imperial Summons; that nothing now remain'd, but that they would judge neither for hatred nor favour, but according to the Ecclesiastick and Apostolick Canon, administering proper Remedies to all Irregularities, that so at once they might free the Church from Reproach, ease his Cares, restore Peace and Tranquillity to the shattered State of the Church, and purchase Renown and Honour to themselves. At first *Athanasius* did not appear, ¹ not that he distrust'd the goodness of his Cause, but either because he thought he should not have a fair equal Hearing, or that he fear'd they would innovate something in the *Nicene* Faith. But considering what peremptory Orders the Emperor had issued out, he came, accompanied with a great number of the Bishops of his own Province, as Witnesses of his Integrity, and Advocates of his Cause; as his Presbyter *Macarius* had a little before been brought thither in Chains from *Alexandria*, with a Guard of Soldiers to conduct him.

II. *ATHANASIUS* being brought before the Council, had the Portion of a Criminal to stand at the Bar, which so incens'd *Patamon* one of the *Egyptian* Bishops, that he fell foul upon *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, one of the Synod, when he esp'y'd him sitting upon the Bench, while *Athanasius* stood below, reproaching him with some Suspicions of idolatrous Compliance, while they had been Fellow-Prisoners under the *Diocletian* Persecution. *Athanasius* at first demur'd, though not to the Jurisdiction of the Court, yet to the competency and fitness of his Judges; which Exception not being admitted, his Indictment was read, and his Crimes openly mention'd. Now the things laid to his charge, were especially of two sorts, Matters of Vice and Immorality, and Matters of Impiety and Prophanation; for as for the stale Accusations of Treason and Sedition, the levying an Imposition of Linnen Cloth upon the People, and conspiring with *Philomenus* to invade the Empire, they had been so notoriously baffled in former attempts, that I find them not so much as once mention'd in the Synod, though to add what colour they could to their Sentence, they charge ² him with Contumacy, in refusing to obey the Emperor's Edict, commanding him to appear the year before in the Synod at *Cæsarea*, and that he had now brought so many Attendants with him to *Tyre*, as if he intended to offer force and violence to the Council. We shall a little more particularly enquire into the things charg'd upon him, because objected against him, not only in this, but in some after-Synods.

III. IN reference to Vice and Immorality, he stood indicted of three great Crimes, ¹ Oppression, Ravishment, and Murder. Under the first he was charg'd with cruel and tyrannical Usage of his Brethren, that he had often fetter'd *Ischyrius*, and having accus'd him before *Hyginus* Præfect of *Egypt*, for throwing Stones at the Emperor's Statues, had caus'd him to be cast into Prison; that he had depos'd *Callinicus* Bishop of *Pelusium* for refusing to communicate with him, and given his Church to one *Marke*, a degraded Presbyter, nay

(if *Philostorgius* ^m may be believ'd) that he had laid *Callinicus* in Irons, imprison'd him, and never left prosecuting him, till he had driven him out of the World: Thus *Euplus*, *Pachomius*, *Isaac*, *Achillas* and *Hermæon*, *Meletian* Bishops, accus'd him for having caus'd them to be whip'd and beaten. But seeing these things in all likelyhood wanted proof, no more than the bare mention of them being recorded, and that some of them depending upon other parts of the Indictment, fell together with them, it would be needless to insist upon them. The next branch of the Charge concern'd Force and Ravishment, that he had offered violence to a Woman, ⁿ whom they had prevail'd with to come in to the Council, and to own and attest the Fact; who accordingly declar'd, that for her self, she had vow'd Virginity, but that having entertain'd *Athanasius* into her House, he had violently forc'd her into lewd Embraces. *Athanasius* who had finet something of the Design, being brought into Court, came attended with *Timotheus* one of his Presbyters, between whom it was agreed, that *Timotheus* should take his part upon him. The Judges calling upon *Athanasius* to answer the matter of Fact alledg'd against him, he stood silent, but *Timotheus* turning to the Woman, *Woman* (said he) *was I ever in your House, did I ever, as you pretend, offer violence to you?* To which, with some quickness and vehemency she replied, stretching out her hand, and pointing to him with his finger, yes, yes, you are the man, that forcibly press'd upon me, and stain'd my Chastity and my Honour; adding, as in such Cases is usual, both the time and place. The Cheat thus plainly discovering it self, put the Contrivers of it to the blush; and when *Athanasius* requir'd, that before the Woman was dismiss'd, she might be ask'd, who 'twas that had fram'd and laid the Plot, his just request was over-ru'd by a clamorous Answer, that they had greater Matters against him to be examin'd, and for which they had Evidence beyond all Exception. This Passage, *Sozomen* tells us, was not recorded in the Acts of the Council, as being thought too light and immodest for the Transactions of a grave Assembly. Nor is it to be forgotten, that the *Arian* Historian ^o turns the Tale quite the other way, affirming that *Athanasius* complotted with the Woman, and that by his direction she charg'd her great Belly upon *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, his chief Enemy in the Synod, who by a much like Stratagem brought it to light. But how much stress is to be laid upon his Relations, especially when levell'd against the Catholick Party, the judicious Reader needs not be told. And perhaps it might not be the least encouragement to the *Arian* Faction, to shift the Scene, and turn it upon *Athanasius*, that they knew that these Proceedings were not entered amongst the Acts of the Synod, and that there was nothing extant upon Record to disprove them.

IV. BUT that which of all others gave the most pleasant Diversion to the Synod (those only excepted who had contriv'd it) was the Tragy-Comick Scene of *Arsenius* the *Meletian* Bishop, the Murdering of whom was charg'd ^p upon *Athanasius*, for proof whereof they produc'd a Box, out of which they took a dead man's Hand, dried and salted, which they affirm'd to be the Hand of *Arsenius* whom *Athanasius* had made away; and to make the wickedness still more enormous, added, that he had done it to Magical Purposes, to make

¹ *Socr.ubi sup.*
p. 66.

² *Socr.ubi p. 482*

¹ *Socr.ubi p. 479.*

^m L. 2. c. 11.
p. 474.

ⁿ *Ruffin. II.*
Ecc. l. 1. c. 17.
p. 232. *Sozom.*
loc. cit. p. 480.
Theod. ib. c. 30.
p. 63.

^o *Philost. ubi*
sup. p. 473.

^p *Socr. l. 1. c. 27.*
p. 65. *Sozom. c.*
Theod. loc. cit.

use of it in Arts of diabolick Conjurations. The Truth and Validity of which Charge, will best appear by a short Survey of the whole Matter. *Arsenius*, who styles himself Bishop of *Hypsele*, whereof *Meletius* himself had been sometimes Bishop, having fallen under some great Irregularity, had to avoid the Conviction and Censure of his Metropolitan, withdrawn himself. This opportunity *John*, the chief of the *Meletian* Party, thought fit to embrace, to fasten a most desperate Calumny upon *Athanasius*. For which end he and his Confederates find out the Man, treat him with all kindness and courtesie, perswade him still to conceal himself, lodging him to that purpose with one *Pinnes*, one of their Confidants, Presbyter of a Monastery in *Thebais*. This done, they give it out in all publick places, that *Athanasius* had privately murdered *Arsenius*, shewing about a dead man's Hand, which they affirm'd to be his. The News hereof was not long, before it was by the *Eusebians* convey'd to the Emperor, who gave order to his Brother *Dalmatius*, to enquire into it. And though upon notice given him by the *Censor*, he slighted the Matter, as a thing sufficiently improbable in it self, yet knowing the Malice and Subtlety of his Enemies, and that the Emperor had taken Cognizance of it, he thought it not prudent to be unprepar'd for his own defence. Immediately therefore he sent one of his Deacons into *Thebais* to search for *Arsenius*, whom he had not seen in many years. The Deacon by the help of *Pecysius*, *Sylvanus*, and some other Monks, understood at length where he lay conceal'd. But coming to *Pinnes* his Monastery, and entering the House, they found indeed, that he had been there, but that the Bird was flown. For upon the first News of their arrival in those Parts, *Pinnes* had clapt him aboard, and by the assistance of *Helius* a Monk, had convey'd him down into the lower *Egypt*. Missing the man, they however seiz'd upon *Pinnes* and *Helius*, whom they brought to *Alexandria*, and presented to the Governor, before whom they freely confess'd that *Arsenius* was alive and well, and that *Athanasius* was guiltless and Innocent, as *Pinnes* himself tells *John* the *Meletian* Bishop in his Letter to him. All which *Athanasius* presently certified to the Emperor, who by his answer testified how severely he resent'd the unjust Proceedings of that turbulent and malicious Party.

V. AND thus stood things till the Synod at *Tyre*, when this wretched device was again dress'd up, and brought upon the Stage; at which time the Providence of God strangely furnish'd him with an opportunity to silence the Malice of his Adversaries beyond all possibility of Evasion. The *Meletians* had strictly charg'd *Arsenius* to keep close; but he tempted with curiosity to see how things went, had privately convey'd himself to *Tyre*, intending to lye there *Inognito* all the time. It hapned that some Servants belonging to *Archelans* the Governor being then at the Tavern, heard a rumor whisper'd, that *Arsenius* was then in Town. Which they immediately told their Lord, who with equal secrecy and diligence found him out and apprehended him, giving notice of it to *Athanasius*. The man unwilling to be false to those that employ'd him, and loth that the whole frame of the Plot should be reveal'd and unravel'd in a Moment, at first denied himself to be *Arsenius*, till *Paul* Bishop of *Tyre*, who had formerly known him, convinc'd him, and beat him out of that

that refuge. The day of the Tryal being come, and the Case of the impudent Strumpet dismiss'd, this of *Arsenius* was brought on, the Prosecutors boasting, that now they should make not their Ears, but their very Eyes Judges in the Case, therewith producing the dead Hand, which they said *Athanasius* had dismembred. At which a great shout was made in the Synod, many believing it to be true, and others, that nothing could appear to the contrary. Silence being made, *Athanasius* gravely ask'd the Judges, Whether any of them knew *Arsenius*? which when several affirm'd, he commanded him to be brought into Court, and again ask'd, Whether this was the Person, the man whom he was charg'd to have kill'd, and cut off his Hand? The Case being too notorious to be denied, while men were in a strange surprize and suspense about it, *Athanasius* turns back the man's Cloak, and shews them one of his Hands; and after a little pause, to give them time to suspect it might be the other hand, he puts back the other side of the Cloak, and shews the other: And now Gentlemen (said he) *Arsenius* you see has both his hands, but where a third hand is to be had that was cut off, I leave to my Accusers to discover. Thus ended the Plot, not more to the Pleasure and Satisfaction of the Innocent, than to the Shame and Confusion of the Guilty, amongst which *John* the *Meletian* Bishop, the main Contriver of the whole Scheme, is said to have slunk away in the Crowd, though others, as *Theodorit* tells us, stood to it, railing upon *Athanasius* for a Conjuror, and affirming that by Magick Arts he had cast a Mist before the Eyes of the Council, endeavouring to exasperate the Assembly to tear him in pieces, inso much that had he not been rescued, the Comick Scene had been turn'd into a real Tragedy. While others studied to devise something that might look like a plausible excuse, saying with equal Truth, that *Plutarchus* an *Athanasian* Bishop had by his command set on fire *Arsenius* his House, tied him to a Pillar and whipped him, and then shut him up in Prison; but that escaping out of a Window, he had a long time hid himself, which caus'd them to imagine him to be dead, and being a considerable Person, they thought they could do no less than bring his Cause before the Magistrate, that it might be examin'd and sifted out. I add no more concerning this, than that *Arsenius* himself, together with his Presbyters and Deacons, wrote to *Athanasius* to be receiv'd to the Peace and Unity of the Church, renouncing all Commerce with schismatical or heretical Persons, and promising all Canonical Subjection and Obedience to him as their lawful Metropolitan; desiring him to write to them, and to give notice of their intire Agreement with the Catholick Church. Nay *John* himself repenting of what he had done, confess'd the Injuries that had been done to *Athanasius*, and reconcil'd himself to him, as himself witnessed in his Letter to the Emperor, whereof *Constantine* gives an account in his answer to him.

VI. WE have seen with what success the Charge of Vice and Immorality was manag'd against this good man; let us next see how he sped in that of Impiety and Profanation, wherein two Articles especially were insisted on. First, that he had procur'd himself to be created Bishop of *Alexandria* by undue and unlawful means, that the Persons ordaining him, were in the very Act guilty of Perjury,

⁹ *Socr. lib. c. 23.*
p. 475.

¹⁰ *Ath. Apol. II.*
p. 606.

¹¹ *Ext. ap. Ath.*
ib. p. 608.

¹² *Socr. l. i. c. 29.*
p. 66. vid. Ath.
ubi sup. p. 607.
Rufin. l. i. c. 17.
p. 231, 232.

¹³ *Ubi sup.*
p. 64.

¹⁴ *Socr. loc. cit.*
p. 431.

¹⁵ *Ext. Epist. ap.*
Ath. ubi sup.
p. 610.

¹⁶ *Ext. lib. p. 611.*

¹⁷ *Socr. ubi sup.*
p. 480.

all the Bishops having bound themselves, that no man should be ordained, 'till he had clear'd himself of what could be objected against him; that being thus deceiv'd, they had renounc'd Communion with him, who yet was so far from giving them Satisfaction, that he forcibly compell'd, and cast them into Prison. To which purpose a Libel was read in the Synod, containing some popular Exceptions, as if for his sake the People of Alexandria had forsaken the publick Assemblies. The Falseness of all which is sufficiently evident from the manner of his coming to that See, the Alexandrian Synod (many whereof assisted at his Consecration) declaring ^a before the whole World, that he was elected by common Suffrage and Consent, and ordained at the unwearied instance and importunity of the People, and that his entrance upon it was so far from being entertained with Tumults and Murmuring, that it was celebrated with popular Triumphs and Thanks to God. But that which made a louder noise, was the other Branch of the Charge, ^b viz. that his Presbyter *Macarius* at his command, and by his Authority, had forcibly broken into the Chancel, while *Ischyas* was officiating in the holy Ministrations, that he had overturn'd the Communion-Table, broken in pieces the Sacramental Chalice, and burnt the holy Books. All which *Ischyas* was there present to attest. In answer to which, besides some general Exceptions that were over-ruled, we find it alledg'd, ^c that this *Ischyas*, whom the Indictment presented in the capacity of a Priest, was really no Presbyter, nor ever so accounted by any, but his own Relations, that he pretended to no better Orders, than what *Colluthus* had confer'd upon him, who was himself but a Presbyter, and who for usurping the Office of a Bishop, had been Synodically censured, and the Persons ordained by him reduced into the Order and Class of Laicks; that when *Macarius* came thither, *Ischyas* was sick ^d in Bed, and consequently incapable of ministring at the holy Table; that it was not then the Lord's day, ^e the time of their publick Solemnity, that there was no Church in the place where *Ischyas* lived, nor in the whole Village, *Ischyas* himself dwelling in a poor Farm-house, a parcel of an Estate belonging to one *Iso* an Orphan; that by the Confession of their own Witnesses ^f whom they had examined, the *Catechumens* were then in the Church, and therefore the holy Eucharist could not then be administred, who affirmed moreover, that *Macarius* had not burnt the Books, and that ^g what *Ischyas* said was false; that the Presbyters and Deacons of that Country, who had accompanied *Athanasius* in his Visitation, were his Compurgators, solemnly protesting that there was no such matter, and that the whole of the Story was forged and fabulous; finally, that *Ischyas* himself had confessed ^h the whole Plot, for being reproached by his own Party, and much more by his own Conscience, he had with tears address'd himself to *Athanasius*, and plainly discovered the whole Conspiracy, by a Writing ⁱ under his own Hand, delivered in the presence of six Presbyters, and eight Deacons, whose names are to it, declaring that he was set on, yea by stripes forced to it by *Heraclides*, *Isaac*, and the rest of their Associates, and that he called God to witness, that he knew nothing of the things charg'd upon *Athanasius*, but that he had been compelled to give what Testimony he had done, and that he thought himself obliged to

make

make this Declaration, heartily wishing he might be admitted to Communion with him.

VII. THE Case being thus clear (most of these things being no doubt then pleaded by *Athanasius*) his Accusers were at a stand, and knew not what course to take, till those ^k who were confederate in the Council, put the Matter upon this Issue, that the Determination of the Case should be suspended, and that Commissioners should be sent into Egypt, to enquire into the true State of the Case, and to report it to the Synod, nominating to that end such as they could trust, *Theognis* Bishop of Nice, *Maris* of Calcedon, *Theodore* of Perinthus, *Macedonius* of Mopsus in Cilicia, *Ursacius* of Singidunum in Mestia, and *Valens* of Mursa in Pannonia, who together with *Ischyas* presently betook themselves to the Voyage. By this *Athanasius* perceiv'd which way things were likeliest to go, but not to be wanting to his Cause, he put in his Exceptions against the Commission, which he affirm'd ^l to be altogether needless, things being plain enough already, that the Design of it was only to gain time, and that 'twas in vain to go so far about to do what they had already resolv'd should be done. But this not being admitted, he next excepted against the Persons, alledging it to be highly unreasonable, that when *Macarius* was kept Prisoner at Tyre, *Ischyas* should be taken along with the Delegates, who themselves were all sworn Enemies, by which might be guess'd what return was like to be made. And though this Exception was infinitely equitable, yet the Count *Dionysius* suffered them to depart. This procedure gave just distast to all that were Friends to the *Athanasian* Cause, the Egyptian Bishops not long after presenting a Protestation ^m to the Synod, subscribed by XLVII. Bishops, wherein they finartly complain'd of the fraudulent and mischievous Designs of the *Eusebian* Party in the Synod, their unjust Proceedings against *Athanasius*, their unfair Attempts to engage the rest of the Council to own and subscribe their Transactions, against which they thought it their Duty to protest, and to beseech them by all that was sacred, not to concur with them, as they would answer the contrary in the great day of their Accounts. This they back'd with an Address ⁿ to the most illustrious Count *Dionysius*, representing, that the *Eusebian* and *Mekitian* Plots and Combinations being now so notorious, they could not but offer him their Protection, beseeching and conjuring him for the sake of Almighty God, not to suffer the Synod to proceed any farther in this business, but to reserve the Cause to the Emperor's own hearing, where they might freely display their Case, and where they did not doubt of a righteous Issue. This was followed with a Letter ^o to *Dionysius*, from *Alexander* Bishop of *Theſſalonica*, a man of great name and note, and one of the Synod, wherein he complain'd, that by this Deputation, it was evident what they design'd against *Athanasius*, that the thing had been acted without his privity, that he should advise them to do nothing rashly, and take care that no inconvenience might arise, nor any thing be herein acted, that might reflect upon them, and expose the Justice of the Synod to reproach. *Dionysius* alarmed with all these Addresses, sent a Note ^p to *Eusebius* and his Party, acquainting them, that things hap'n'd just as he had foretold, that *Athanasius* would complain of injurious dealing, and the Persons delegated, that he had advis'd them

them that none should be sent but by common Suffrage; that therefore they should take care, that what was done might not be liable to just Exception, or give the least shadow of occasion to any to bespatter their Proceedings, it being unfit that the Criminal Party should be suppressed and kept under any more than that of the Plaintiff; and that it would create a mighty Jealousie in this case, if *Alexander* should refuse to concur with them. Notwithstanding all which endeavours, *Athanasius* finding that he could not with safety remain at *Tyre*, where all arts were used to enrage the People, in so much, that the secular Arm was sometimes forced to be called in to his rescue, that a righteous Cause was not like there to take place, that there were small hopes either that the Delegates would be recalled, or his Cause referred to the Emperor, thought it best to shift for himself in time, and to present his Petition to a higher Power, in order whereunto he absented from the Synod, and privately withdrew himself.

^a Ath. ib. p. 619
Socr. ib. p. 68.

^b Vigil. Synod.
Alex. ap. Ath.
p. 571.

^c Ext. ib. p. 615

^d Ath. ib. p. 571
vid. p. 569.

^e Ibid. p. 571.

^f Id. ib. p. 620.

VIII. THE Commissioners in the mean while were arrived at *Alexandria*, where they carried themselves like men resolved to go through with their Work, endeavouring to extort Confessions by drawn Swords, Whips, Clubs, and all methods of Cruelty and Severity, not sparing even the devoted Virgins, whom they suffered the very *Gentiles* to strip naked, drag to the Heathen Altars, and treat with all manner of extravagant Abuses, the Infidels petulantly insulting over the Church, and doing these things in the very House where the Commissioners resided, who at the same time were Feasting and making merry within, though it was then the time of a solemn Fast. The Clergy of *Alexandria* offered themselves to attend the Commissioners, desiring they might be admitted to give in evidence, or at least to be present at the Examinations that were taken, that so they might be able to credit and to justify the Proceedings, but were refus'd, whereupon not long after they presented a Remonstrance subscribed by fifteen Presbyters, and four Deacons, to the Delegates, wherein they tell them what fair and reasonable demands they had made, professing that they looked for nothing but malicious Combinations from them, whereof this their Letter (a Copy whereof they had delivered to *Palladius* the Emperor's Officer, that they might not suppress it) would be a standing Monument, whenever the Cause came to be canvass'd over again in a lawful Synod. From *Alexandria* accompanied with *Philagrius* Governor of *Egypt*, they went into *Mareotes*, the proper Scene where the Plot was laid, where they kept Court in *Ischyrras* his House, the Governor attending them all the while with a Guard of Souldiers, that they might cite whom they pleas'd, and terrifie whom they cited, especially keep out the Ecclesiasticks; for the Clergy of the Country universally offered themselves to Examination, desiring they might be allow'd to give in their Testimonies, but were rejected and excluded, and instead of them, *Jews* and *Gentiles* summon'd, and any kind of evidence given and taken, and questions openly asked about the Sacraments and Mysteries of Religion, which ought not to have been propounded to *Catechumens*, much less to Pagans and Infidels. Besides their own Witnesses contradicted themselves in their Answers, and some of them openly denied part of the Charge, and gave *Ischyrras* the Lye. All which appear'd from the Acts and Records, taken

taken and kept by themselves, which though they suppress'd with all imaginable diligence, charging the Notaries that no Copies of them should come abroad, yet were they brought to light, *Rufus*, who drew them up, betraying them, and the *Eusebians* themselves, afterwards transmitting them to *Rome*. The *Marcotick* Clergy being not able to prevail, presented a Petition however to *Philagrius*, and the other great Officers, declaring the falshood of the Crimes charged by *Ischyrras*, and praying that the Cause might be heard before the Emperor. They wrote also to the Synod at *Tyre*, in which Letter (subscribed by fifteen Presbyters, and as many Deacons) they truly represent the Cause of *Ischyrras*, purge *Athanasius* from the Charge both from their own knowledge, and *Ischyrras* his Confession extant under his own hand, and assure them that not one word would have been spoken against *Athanasius*, had it not been extorted by the Governor's threatnings, or drawn out by the Flattery and Insinuation of the *Arians*, whereby some men had been tempted to say whatever they had a mind should be attested. All which they tell them they testified as in the presence of God, and for which they knew they must be accountable at the divine Tribunal.

^a Ext. ib. p. 618

^b Ext. ib. p. 614.

IX. THE Delegates having patch'd up what evidence they could any wayes rake together, return'd to *Tyre*, where *Athanasius* being fled, it was no hard matter to procure his Condemnation, the Synod accordingly passing Sentence upon him, deposing him from his Bishoprick, and ordering that he should no more inhabit at *Alexandria*, left his presence there should create Tumults and Factions. *John* the *Melietan* Bishop and his Party they restor'd to Communion, and to the Rights of their Ministry, sent an account of their Transactions to the Emperor, and Letters to the Bishops abroad, not to communicate with *Athanasius*, whom they had convicted of several enormous Crimes, and of which he by his flight had confess'd himself guilty. Not but that there were many in the Synod that were willing to have done him right, but were over-powered by numbers, and particularly *Paphnutius* the Confessor is said to have taken *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the hand, Let's be gone (said he) it not becoming Confessors, who have lost their Limbs in the Cause of Religion, to go along with such pernicious Company. Things were thus concluding at *Tyre*, when *Marianus* the Emperor's Secretary came with Letters commanding the Synod to adjourn to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the Dedication of a famous Church, which he had built to the honour of our Saviour. Where being met by several others, and the great Solemnity being over, a Message came from the Emperor, that they should take *Arius* his Cause into Consideration. For it seems some Designs had been of late on foot to bring *Arius* into favour at Court, at least so far as to engage the Emperor to recommend him to the Synod, which we are told, was effected in this manner.

^c Socr. ubi supr.
Sozom. loc. cit.
p. 481, 482.
Philost. l. 2.
c. 11. p. 474.

^d Socr. l. 1.
c. 23. p. 68. Socr.
l. 2. c. 26. p. 483
Theod. l. 1. c. 31.
p. 65.

^e Rufin. l. 1. c. 11
p. 228. Socr. ib.
c. 27. p. 484.
Socr. l. 1. c. 25.
p. 60.
^f Gril. c. 5. ap.
Phot. Cod.
LXXXVIII.
fol. 208.
^g Dialag. contr.
Arian. l. 1. c. 2.
p. 85.

X. AN *Arian* Priest, whose name was *Entocius*, or as *Vigilius* *Tapsensis* calls him, *Evangelus* (if at least he means it as a proper name) had subtly insinuated himself into the favour of *Constantia* the Emperor's Sister, and taking the softest seasons of address, had represented the hard Fate of *Arius*, oppress'd merely by Envy and private Emulation. She upon her Death-bed as her last request, had bequeath'd this Presbyter to her Brother's Grace and Care, expressing a great

great solicitude, lest some great Judgment should overtake either him or the Empire, while just and good men were under Banishment. The Priest after her Decease, plied the Emperor with such effectual Solicitations, that he gave his consent that he should be recalled, and his Case taken into a Re-examination. This Passage a learned man suspects ^d as groundless and improbable. And indeed it seems shrewdly to shake the credit of the Story, not only that the Priest is so obscurely mentioned, but that *Athanasius*, who is punctual in noting all the Artifices of the *Arian* Party, giveth not the least Intimation of it. 'Tis possible at first it might be nothing but a light Rumor whisper'd about (as in all Dissentions, there are Tales told on both sides, the Effects only of jealousy and surmise;) which *Rufinus* catching up, first gave it an historical Credit, and so without any scruple, handed it down to others. But however it was, (for I am not willing absolutely to reject the Story, handed to us not only by the Authority of *Rufinus*, but *Socrates* and others) the Emperor declared, that if *Arius* subscribed to the Faith established in the *Nicene* Council, he was content he should come to Court, and would honourably dismiss and send him home to *Alexandria*. In order whereunto he wrote to him this short Letter. ^e

^d *Palæs. Annot. ad Socr. l. 1. c. 25. p. 14.*

^e *Ext. ap. Socr. lib. p. 61.*

CONSTANTINE the Great, the *August*, the Conqueror, to *ARIUS*.

'TIS sometime since that I gave notice to your Gravity, that you should come to Court, that so you might enjoy the Comfort and Honour of our Presence. And strange it seems to us, that you should not immediately comply with it. Wherefore make use of the publick Conveyance, and with all speed repair to us, that having tasted of our kindness and bounty, you may return into your own Country. God preserve you dear Brother. Dated November the XXVIth.

Upon the receipt of this Letter, away posts *Arius* to Constantinople, attended with his Friend *Euzoius*, the Companion both of his Faith and Fortunes, where they present to the Emperor a new Confession ^f of their Faith, leaving out the more gross and scandalous Terms, and expressing things in more plausible Phrases, and such as were more agreeable to the Style of the holy Scriptures, which they introduce with this Preface. To our most Religious and Gracious Lord, the Emperor Constantine, Arius and Euzoius Presbyters. According to the command of your devout Piety, we have, Sir, explained the Faith we hold, and by this writing do in the presence of God profess, that both we our selves, and all that are of our Party, do believe according to the Tenor of the Confession following. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and in our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, begotten of him before all Worlds, being God the Word, by whom all things were made both in Heaven and Earth; who came down from Heaven, and was incarnate, suffered, and rose again, and ascended into Heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the holy Ghost; the Resurrection of the flesh, the life of the World to come, the Kingdom of Heaven, and in one Catholick

^f *Ext. ap. Socr. c. Soc. loc. cit.*

tholick Church of God, dispersed from one end of the World to the other. This Faith we have received out of the holy Gospel, especially that command of our Lord to his Apostles, go ye, and teach all Nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. And these things they professed they believed, and that they really owned the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, according to the Doctrine of the Scriptures, and the Faith of the whole Catholick Church; which if we do not (tis their own *Anathema* in their own Words) God be our Judge both in this World, and in that to come. Wherefore they pray that by his Mediation they might be united to the Church their Mother, and that all needless Questions and Disputes laid aside, they might peaceably accord, and unanimously pray for his Majesties Prosperity and Safety.

XI. THE good Emperor was infinitely pleas'd, that he thought *Arius* and his Party now reconciled to the *Nicene* Faith. Upon whose leave granted, *Socrates* ^g says (if he be not mistaken in his account, for *Athanasius* himself mentions it not) he return'd to *Alexandria*, where he no sooner arriv'd, but *Athanasius* stoutly oppos'd him. Whereof *Eusebius* complained at Court, beseeching the Emperor to write in his behalf. Notwithstanding whose powerful Intercession *Athanasius* absolutely refus'd to admit the man to Communion, writing back to the Emperor, that they who had once violated and denied the Faith, and had been cast out of the Church, could not easily be taken in again to an intire Communion. The Emperor was angry that his Mediation was not complied with, and sent back *Athanasius* a threatening Message, ^h that unless upon the receipt of this order he immediately submitted to it, and readily received all that were desirous to return to the Communion of the Church, he would send one that should turn him out of his Station, and send him far enough to some other Place. But this not succeeding, or the Emperor at least not yet willing to proceed to such extream Courses, he recommended *Arius* and his Friends to the Synod at *Jerusalem*, to examine their Confession, and pass a candid Judgment upon their Case. The Synod presently set the Case before them, and approving ⁱ the Declaration of their Faith, decreed, that *Arius* and his Adherents should be receiv'd into Communion, which was done accordingly; whereof they gave an account ^k both to the Emperor, and to the Church of *Alexandria*, persuading them kindly to entertain them, whose Faith the Emperor had pronounc'd to be sound and orthodox, and whose Judgment therein had been ratified by the Sentence of the whole Synod, who had received them to Communion; that therefore it would become them heartily to embrace them as Fellow-Members of the Church, and to live in Peace, especially since by the Declaration of their Faith, they had made it evident, that they kept to the undoubted and approved Apostolick Doctrine that had been delivered to the Church. The Council was not broken up, when the Wind seem'd to turn into another corner, a new Message arriving from the Emperor about the Cause of *Athanasius*. For which we are to know, that *Athanasius* finding ^l the Malice of his Enemies inflexible, and that the Count *Dionysius* was resolv'd to over-rule all against him, upon his retreat from *Tyre*, had made his address at Court, where he met the Emperor on Horseback, entering into *Constantinople*, who at first sight knew him not,

^g *l. 1. c. 27. p. 62. Socr. l. 2. c. 29. p. 488.*

^h *Ext. ap. A. b. Apol. II p. 604.*

ⁱ *Socr. lib. c. 33. p. 68.*

^k *Ext. litt. ab. Ath. de Synod. Arim. & Siltne. p. 686. Soc. rom. lib. c. 28. p. 485.*

^l *Ath. Apol. II. p. 568.*

till told who he was, and what his Case; nor after several Addreses could he get any access, till he took the Confidence freely to tell the Emperor, that he desired no more, than that he would not suffer him to be ruin'd by Malice and Violence, that his Cause might be debated and determin'd in a lawful and impartial Synod, at least that his Judges at Tyre might be brought face to face, and he have the liberty to exhibit his Complaints against them. Which the Emperor looking upon as a piece of common Justice, dispatched away a Letter ^m to the Synod at Jerusalem, commanding those of them that had acted in the Council of Tyre to appear before him, and give an account of their Proceedings therein against *Athanasius*. The Bishops were strangely startled at this Message, the greatest part of whom fearing what might be the Consequence of things, stole away and return'd home. But *Eusebius*, *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Patrophilus*, *Ursacius*, and *Valens*, resolving, if possible, to justify what they had done, went to Constantinople, where they boldly maintain'd that they had done nothing but according to rules of Justice; but however wisely way'd the insinuating upon the old Calumnies of the Cup, and the Table, and the death of *Arsenius*, which they knew were not defendable at a fair and impartial Audit, and agreed to attack him with a fresh " Accusation, charging him, that he had threat'ned to stop the Fleet, that yearly transported Corn from *Alexandria* to Constantinople, which they offered to make good by the Evidence of *Adamantius*, *Anubio*, *Arbathio*, and *Peter*, all Bishops, who heard it from his own mouth. And when *Athanasius* urged this to be highly incredible, it being altogether improbable, that so poor and inconsiderable a Person as he was, should be able to do this; *Eusebius* replied, and confirmed it with an Oath, that *Athanasius* was Rich, and had Power and Interest enough to effect what he had threatened. The Emperor giving credit to the Reporters of the Story, expressed a just Repentment at it, as Princes are never more tender and jealous, than of the Rights and Privileges of their Crowns, and forthwith commanded ^o him to be banished. Though there are that think, the Emperor did this as an expedient for Peace, knowing that while the Heads remained, the two Parties would never be brought to any tolerable Union; others more probably, that the Emperor took this opportunity, by sending *Athanasius* out of the way, to provide at present for his Security, whole life he knew to be perpetually in danger by the restless Attempts and Machinations of his Enemies; and this not only *Athanasius* himself affirms, ^p but the younger *Constantine* (who may be presumed to know as much of his Father's mind as any) expressly says so in his Letter ^q to the Catholick Church of *Alexandria*. However the good man looked upon it as a Mercy, that when his Adversaries designed his Death, the Goodness of God, and Clemency of the Emperor, turned it only into Banishment. Sentence being past, he was presently transported to *Triers*, an ancient and famous City of the Belgick *Gallia*, the place appointed for his Exile, after which he never saw the Emperor more.

XII. *ATHANASIUS* being thus rid out of the way, the *Eusebians* carried all before them without controul; by the help of a few more Bishops that were summoned ^r to Court, they held a Synod, wherein they condemned and deposed *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra* upon

pretence

pretence of some false and heretical Doctrines, ordered his Books to be burnt, and placed another in his See. But their chief Eye was upon *Arius*, ^s who after his Restitution in the Synod at Jerusalem, had returned in Triumph unto *Alexandria*, where he met not with that welcome entertainment that he imagin'd, the People generally stood off, refusing to communicate with him, which put them afresh into Disorder and Confusion, equally vexed at the return of *Arius*, and the Banishment of *Athanasius*. Notice whereof being conveyed to Constantinople, he was again summoned thither to give an account of himself to the Emperor and the Synod. *Alexander* the aged Bishop of that place, foreseeing what Designs were in hand, laboured all that he could that the Synod might be dissolved, which when he could not obtain, he set himself with an immovable Resolution to oppose whatever might subvert the *Nicene* Faith. No sooner was *Arius* arrived, but *Eusebius* openly appeared his Patron, telling *Alexander* to his face, that unless he received *Arius* within such a time, he would drive him out of the Church, and send him into Banishment, and that the Glory of it should be reserved for his Successor. To satisfy the Emperor in his doubts, *Eusebius* introduces ^t him at Court, where he again presents an account of his Faith, and when the Emperor asked him whether he heartily believed what he professed, without any secret Reservation, he assured him he did, and ratified his assurance by an Oath, to whom the Emperor replied, if thy Faith be right, thou hast sworn well, but if otherwise, thou art forsworn, and God will revenge thy Perjury. *Socrates* adds, that the Tradition went, that having written his Opinions in a Paper, which he kept under his arm, when he came into the Emperor's presence, he secretly laid his hand upon the Paper, and swore that from his heart he believed as he had written. The Emperor fully satisfied that the man meant honestly as he professed, sent command to *Alexander* to receive him to the Peace and Communion of the Church.

XIII. THE good Bishop was infinitely perplexed at what he saw was like to come upon him. But he armed himself with Patience and Courage, and by Prayers and Fasting and all the Methods of holy Devotion, solicited Heaven to come in to his assistance. And it was not without great Cause, it being a potent and an insolent Faction that he had to deal with. Elated they were with the prosperous success of their Affairs, and were scarce got out of the Court Gates, when they went directly to the " Church called *Irene*, where the Bishop then was, demanding that *Arius* might be presently brought into the Church. But *Alexander* plainly told them, he could not do it, that so arch an Heretick could not be admitted to Communion. It was now Saturday, and in Expectation of the next dayes Solemnities they parted at present with this farewell, *As against your consent we procured him to be called to Court, so to morrow in this very Church he shall joyn and assemble with us whether you will or no*. These bold words made a deep Impression upon his mind, but shutting to the Church-doors, attended with none but *Macarius*, he prostrated himself before the Altar, and sent up this Prayer to Heaven. *If, Lord, thou permittest Arius to communicate to morrow, suffer me thy Servant to depart, and destroy not the Righteous with the Wicked. But if thou sparest thy Church, as I know thou wilt, have respect to the threatenings of the Euse-*

^m Ext. ap. Socr.
ⁿ Socr. loc. cit.
Socr. lib. c. 35.
p. 71. Socr. ubi
supr.

^o Vid. Ath. ubi
supr. p. 568.

^o Socr. & Socr.
loc. cit. Theod.
l. 1. c. 31. p. 65.

^p Epist. ad Solit.
p. 653.

^q Ap. Ath. Apol.
II. p. 624.
^r Ibid. p. 568.

^s Socr. lib. c. 36.
p. 71.

^s Socr. lib. c. 37.
p. 72. Socr. ubi
supr. c. 29.
p. 488.

^t Athan. cont.
Arian. Orat. 1.
p. 130. Epist. ad
Solit. p. 522.

^u Ath. loc. ubi
supr. Socr. & Socr.
ubi sup. Theod.
l. 1. c. 14. p. 42.
Epiph. Hæres.
LXVIII. p. 308.
LXIX. p. 314.
Niceph. l. 8.
c. 51. p. 695.

bian Party, and give not over thine Heritage to ruine and reproach. Take Arius out of the way, least entering into the Church, Heresie enter together with him, and hereafter Piety and Impiety be accounted both alike. Thus he pray'd, and Heaven heard his Prayer, and signed a Warrant for the Execution. For that very Evening, or as others report, the next Morning, Arius going through the Streets with a pompous Train of his Friends and Followers, swelled with the hopes of to morrows Triumphs, was come to a place called *Sigma* in *Constantine's Forum*, famous for the *Porphyry Pillar* erected there, (whereon stood a Statue of *Constantine*, called *Ἀσπίς*, because placed opposite to the rising Sun,) when he found himself necessitated to enquire for a place of Easement, and being told there was one on the back-side of the Market-place, he went thither, where his Spirits suddenly failing, the Fate of treacherous and apostate *Judas* became his Portion, he fell head-long, and bursting asunder in the midst, immediately expired. *Socrates* and others say, that the Bowels, and all the *Intestina*, with a vast Flux of blood issued out at the Postern passage. His Friends impatiently expect his return, till it seeming longer than ordinary, some went to call him, and *Ensebins* more forward than the rest, reproached his backwardness and neglect both of his Friends and himself, but hearing no answer, they went in, and there found the Wretch wallowing in his own Filth and Blood. His Followers were strangely surprized with the Accident, which they could not but look upon as a fatal blow to their Cause, though to cover as much as might be the shame and terror of so infamous a Death, they fled to their old Refuge of Lyes and Falshood, giving it out, that his death was procured by Sorcery and Magick Arts. But the Account we have given of it is, that which *Athanasius* assures us, he received from his own Presbyter *Macarius*, then present at *Constantinople*, when the thing was done. He was buried by his own Party, who yet could not bury the dishonourable Memory of his ruine, the very place of his Death being accounted execrable, till afterwards a wealthy *Arian* purchased it of the State, and built an House upon it.

* *Palest. Observ.*
Eccles. l. 2. c. 2.
p. 183. Annot.
ad 2 Cor. l. 2. c. 30
p. 113.

* *Annal. Tom.*
III. p. 20.

† *Orat. Hist. l. 7.*
c. 29. fol. 323.
p. 2. *Ruffin. l. 1.*
c. 11. in fin. *2. 2.*
Ath. ap. Phot.
Cod. CCLVIII.
col. 1436.
aliquot.

XIV. HIS Death hap'ned *Ann. Chr. CCCXXXVI.* though a learned man ^w will have him to dye some years before, but fixes no certain time; and tells us, that the *Arians* who together with *Euzoius* was restored in the Synod at *Jerusalem*, was not ours, the head of the Faction, but another of the same Name. But as all this is said without any just ground from Story, not affirmed, not intimated by any one Writer, so he makes the Writers of those times, to proceed upon an unpardonable Mistake, who constantly speak of him as one and the same Person. As wide on the other extrem is *Zonaras*, * who makes his Death, and the Passages that immediately preceded it, to have happened several years after, in the Reign of *Constantius*. Indeed several ^y there are that tell us, that *Arius* flourished and was in great favour with *Constantius*. A Report, which if it has any thing of Truth and Solidity in it, must be meant of the other *Arius*, his Companion and Partner, who perhaps survived ours, and gave occasion to the Mistake. Thus died *Arius*, the great Incendiary of the Church, and happy had it been, had his Schism and his Principles died with him. He was a man whom Nature had furnished with acute Parts, and Industry with no inconsiderable Learning, a quick

subtle

subtle Disputant, *ἀνὴρ ὑψηλὸς κλέπωνται*, as they all confess; one that knew how to make the best of a bad Cause, and where to take advantage of an Enemy. A man of a versatile and mercurial Wit, and who could put himself into any shape, and steer any course, that might gain the Point he aimed at. He was of a daring Temper, who durst speak what he thought, and attempt what he designed; proud and conceited of himself, and as the natural Effect of that, factious and unquiet, exasperated by Opposition, and that stuck the faster to his Opinions, the more they were battered and assaulted. Books he wrote, but such only as ministered to his purposes, composing Poems ^z of several sorts, *ναυτικά*, *ἐπιμύλια*, *ἐδοπορικά*, for Sea-men, for Millers, for Travellers, fitted both for Tune and Matter, as might best suit with each man's *Genius* and way of Life; these he dispersed amongst the People, great numbers whereof he by this means drew after him. But amongst all the rest, his Book intitled *Thalia* was ^a most eminent, so often cited by *Athanasius*, and at least as to the Doctrine contained in it, expressly condemned in the Synod of *Nice*, wherein he represented his Principles, and discoursed of the most grave and venerable Mysteries in a loose and soft kind of Verses, in Imitation of *Sotades*, the *Cretan Poet* ^b, who treated of the most filthy Subjects in wanton and obscene *Jambicks*. If after all, any one desires to know in what kind of Tenement this odd Soul of his did inhabit, he was as to his outward shape ^c, very Tall, Lean and Meager, of a pale, dejected, and melancholly Countenance, careless in his Garb, his Hair long and squalid, his Coat hanging only upon one shoulder, and his whole Meen and Dress so deformed and uncomely, that he seemed *ὡς ἄλγεῖ ἡμῶν*, as one altogether half dead as he went along; so that Nature as well as Art had formed him to a great appearance of Mortification, and contempt of the World, and they who looked no farther than the outward shape, would have taken him for a man of singular Piety; whence *Rufinus* ^d says of him, that he was *Vir specie & forma magis, quam virtute Religiosus*. His Voice was shrill and sharp, but his Discourse plausible and insinuating, and his Address such, as whereby he knew how to win upon those whom he had to deal with; in short, as *Epiphanius* Characters him, he was shaped like a Serpent, and like that too crafty and subtle, and that could easily wind and skrew in himself.

XV. GREAT hopes were conceived, that upon *Arius* his death, the Schism would have expired, at least the Stream have much abated. But the Spirits of the Party were still kept up, and the Controversie fermented ^e as high as ever at *Alexandria*, where the *Arian* and *Meletian* Party studied all ways to undermine and supplant the Catholics; the People of *Alexandria* on the other side incessantly exclaiming against them, and offering up publick Supplications for *Athanasius* his Restoration; the great *S. Anthony* the Hermit, frequently also by Letters interceding with the Emperor, not to hearken to the *Meletians*, but to esteem their Accusations as no better than Slanders and Reproaches. But no Sollicitations could prevail; the Emperor wrote back to the People of *Alexandria*, upbraiding their Wildness and Disorders, commanding the Clergy and religious Virgins to be quiet, assuring them that he could not alter his mind, nor recall *Athanasius*, who in an Ecclesiastical Judicature had been condemned as Turbulent

and

* *Philost. l. 2.*
c. 2. p. 470.

* *Vid. Athan.*
contr. *Arian.*
Orat. II. p. 135.

^b *Suid. in voc.*
Σωτῆς.

^c *Epiph. Hæres.*
LXIX. p. 311.
Const. Imp. Epist.
ad *Arian.* ap.
Græg. Cyr. l. 3.
c. 1. col. 276.
Nicet. Theop.
Orth. Fid. l. 5.
c. 1. p. 437.

^d *L. x. c. 1. not*
longe ab init.

^e *See l. 2. c. 31.*
p. 491.

and Seditious. To S. Anthony he returned this answer, that he was not one that could make light of the Synodical Sentence: *For admit (said he) that some few might judge for favour or hatred, yet it cannot be thought that so great an Assembly of good men, of wise and prudent Prelates should do so too, who had condemned him for being arrogant and injurious, and the cause of Discord and Sedition.* These being the Crimes which his Adversaries had chiefly insisted upon, as knowing that the Emperor had a particular Averſation to such kind of men. But though he would not recede from his Resolution in this Case, yet to shew himself Impartial, and take off what might be the Heats on both sides, he banished John the Meletian Bishop, the main Spring and Head of the Faction, from which the Judgment and Decree of the late Tyrian Synod could not relieve and save him.

XVI. THE following year, Ann. CCCXXXVII. put a Period to the Life of Constantine the Great. Finding himself ill, he removed from Constantinople to Nicomedia, where he made his Will, and divided the Empire between his three Sons, Constantine, Constant, and Constantius; to the first he assigned Britain, Spain, Gaul, and the Alps; to the second, Italy, Africk, Greece, and Illyricum; to the third (his second Son) Thrace, Asia, Egypt, and the East. His Will being sealed up, he put it into the Custody of the Arian Presbyter (of whom before) commanding him to deliver it to none, but into the hands of Constantius, though others say Constantine, but that the Priest expressly contrary to his order, delivered it to Constantius. But it seems very unreasonable to suppose, that when he had so many great Officers of State, so many Bishops of note about him, he should choose to intrust so important an Affair with one obscure single Presbyter. More probable is the account which Philoſorgus ^e gives, that he delivered his Will to Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, by whom he is generally thought to have been baptized; and adds moreover, that fearing lest Constantine's Brothers (who, he tells us, had hastened his end by Poyſon) suspecting, (what indeed he had ordered,) that his Successors should punish the Procurers of his Death, might demand it of him, he put it into the deceased Emperor's hand, and covered it with his imperial Robe. And when the Confederates, as he suspected, came to require it of him; he told them, that he did receive it indeed, but had returned it back into Constantine's own hand. And having thus deluded them, delivered it to Constantius, who being then in the East, was the first that arrived after his Father's Death. An opportunity which no doubt he improv'd with that Prince to espouse the Patronage of the Arian Cause. This report of Constantine's being poyſoned by his Brothers, and his ordering his Son to revenge his Death, has very little warrant to support its Credit. 'Tis not once mention'd by any Gentle Writer of that age (whom we cannot suppose willing to conceal it) and by few Christians, and those ^h too (Philoſorgus excepted) of a latter date. Probable it is, that such a rumor might be spread abroad, and I am apt to think Constantius was willing to believe it, at least to lay hold of this opportunity to rid himself of those whom he was jealous of, in that we find him soon after his Father's death, dispatching his Uncle's into another World. The Death of this good Emperor was universally bewail'd, though certainly by none with greater Reason than the Catholics; for

^c Socr. l. c. 29. p. 75. Socr. l. 2. c. 24. p. 455. *Alt. Aethiop. ap. Phot. col. CCLVI. col. 1415. vit. Athan. in. col. CCLVIII. col. 1435.*

^e Lib. 2. c. 16. p. 475.

^h Philoſorg. Zonar. Cedrenus, &c.

for though the easiness of his Temper, and his passionate desire of Peace, made him liable to be impos'd upon by crafty Councils, and to be drawn to some severity against Athanasius, yet was he ever a firm and resolute Defender of the Nicene Faith, against which, while he liv'd, none durst openly appear, wherein he was more confirm'd, after he had seen the ruine of Arius, and the remarkable Vengeance that from Heaven had immediately fallen upon him.

SECT. VI.

Athanasius his Acts from his return from Exile, till the Synod at Sardica.

Athanasius his treatment at Triers. Is releas'd, and sent home with a Letter from the younger Constantine. The time of his Exile adjust'd. The Joy express'd at his return. The Faction at Court made against him. The License taken in disputing Matters of Faith. The Eusebian Party appear vigorously against him. A Synod holden by him at Alexandria, which asserts the Innocency of his Cause. His Messengers at Rome Encounter with and baffle them of the Eusebian Faction. A more general Council consented to on both sides. A Council summon'd at Antioch upon what occasion. The number of Bishops that met in it. The Confession of Faith indited by them. Some other Confessions drawn up by the same Synod, and why. Their Canons. Athanasius depos'd. His See refus'd by Eusebius Emisenus, accepted by Gregory of Cappadocia. Athanasius's retirement to Rome. Pope Julius's Message to them at Antioch, and their peremptory Answer. Athanasius absolv'd in a Synod at Rome. Julius his Letter to the Synod at Antioch. Gregory settled in the See of Alexandria, by the Secular Powers. The Cruelties and Barbarities committed at the time. Gregory's servile courting great men. The miserable end of his Patron Balacius. Gregory's Legats rejected at Rome. Athanasius how employ'd during his long stay there. The Creed that goes under his name shew'd not to be his. A new Confession of Faith drawn up at Antioch, and sent to the Court of Constantine in the West. This rejected in a Synod at Milan. Ursacius and Valens their Recantation. Athanasius his Converse with the Emperor.

I. BUT it's time now to look back, and see what became of Athanasius. No sooner did he arrive at Triers, but he sat down under the Protection of the younger Constantine, who govern'd the Western parts of the Empire, and kept his Court in that City, to whose Care as well as Jurisdiction, he had been particularly consign'd by the Emperor, and who accordingly receiv'd him with all Demonstrations of kindness and Condescension. But he was especially welcome to, and honourably entertain'd by Maximinus Bishop of that Sec. Though S. Jerom^k, who relates the Passage, places

^k Chron. ad an. chr. CCCXLV. it

ⁱ Vid. Theod. l. 1. c. 33. p. 66.

1 Ad Ann.
CCCXXIII.
Num. 21.

* Div. m. l. R.
Thom. l. 4.
c. 25. p. 251.

* P. Ath. T. I.
p. 125.

* Ext. ap. Ath.
Apol. II. p. 624.
Sacr. l. 2. c. 3.
p. 82. Sec. l. 3.
c. 2. p. 498.
Thom. l. 2. c. 2.
p. 69.

it at least seven years after, and refers it to the times of his being persecuted by *Constantine*. Which must either be a mistake, or be understood of some other coming of his to this place. For I dare not with *Baronius* ¹ for *Constantine* read *Constantine*, both because what *S. Jerom* says of his being hunted out in order to his Punishment, agrees not so well with *Constantine's* carriage towards him, and because the date under which 'tis plac'd, is incapable of being reconcil'd with the times of *Constantine*. How *Athanasius* spent his time in this place, is not certainly known, no doubt to the purposes of Piety and Religion, and to the Comfort and Establishment of the Christians there. As for the Story of his being forc'd to hide himself in a Well (which Tradition points out at this day) to avoid the fury of the *Arians*, and that there he compos'd ^m the Creed that passes under his name, they are Reports so groundless and trifling, such thick and palpable mistakes, that I think it not worth while to take notice of them. Nor indeed is *Baronius* and other grave Authors willing, that *Triers* should carry away the Glory of that Creed, and therefore stiffly contend that it was drawn up at *Rome*; while *Possesine* ⁿ loth that any place should lose the Honour of it, thinks it probable that *Athanasius* dictated and divulg'd it where ever he came. But of that Confession we shall speak more afterwards. Here he continued till the Death of *Constantine* the Great, the News whereof no sooner flew over hither, but *Constantine* being eldest Son, began to act as Heir to his Father's Power and Greatness; and amongst the first Cares of his Empire, took into Consideration the Case of *Athanasius*, whose hard Fate he pitied. Indeed *Constantine* himself design'd his Releasement before he died, yea, and took care for it they say, by his last Will and Testament; though *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, who then stood by his Bed-side, oppos'd it, and earnestly dissuaded him from it. But his Death hap'ning soon after, left it to his Son to perfect what he had design'd, who according to his Father's Will, immediately gave him leave to return, and recommended him to his People by this following Letter ^o.

CONSTANTINE *Cæsar* to the People of the Catholick Church at *Alexandria*.

I Suppose you are not ignorant, that *Athanasius*, Preacher of the venerable Law, was therefore for a time sent into Gaul, lest the fierceness of his bloody and inhumane Enemies, who struck directly at his sacred Person, might bring incurable mischiefs upon him. To prevent which, he was sent out of the reach of those who had Designs upon his Life, and was commanded to remain under my Jurisdiction, that so in this City, wherein he has sojourn'd, he might be furnish'd with all necessary Accommodations; though such his incomparable Courage and Vertue, that being supported by the Divine assistance, he made light of all the Burdens and Hardships of an afflictive Fortune. Now forasmuch as our Lord and Father of blessed Memory, *Constantine the August*, was fully resolv'd to have restor'd the said Bishop both to your excellent Piety, and his proper Station, but being prevented by the Law of Mortality, before he could put this his purpose

purpose into Execution, is gone to the place of rest, I thought my self concern'd, in pursuance of the Will of this Prince of sacred Memory, to make it good. With how much respect and reverence we have treated him, himself at his arrival will declare to you. Nor is it any wonder, that I should do this for him, since both the Reflection upon your earnest Expectation, and the sight of so excellent a Person mov'd and engag'd me to it. The divine Providence preserve you, dear Brethren.

Dated at *Triers* the XVth of the Calends of *July*.

II. THIS Letter, dated *July XVIIIth*. while *Constantine* was yet *Cæsar*, (the Division of the Empire between the three Brothers, at what time they took the title of *Augusti* ^p upon them, not being till the IXth. of *September* following) plainly shews, that it was written within two months after his Father's death, who departed this Life *May* the XXIIth. By which 'tis evident that *Athanasius* continued not in his *German* Exile much above a year and a half, the Sentence of Banishment being denounc'd against him not long after the Synod at *Jerusalem* (held towards the latter end of the year CCCXXXV.) and his Restitution hap'ning *July XVIII. CCCXXXVII*. Notwithstanding which, * *Theodorit* I know not by what Computation makes ^q the time of his Banishment to be two years and four months; and *Rufinus* ^r, that it was six years before his return to *Alexandria*, but then heedlessly confounds it with an after-Exile. But most prodigious is the account of *Epiphanius*, who speaking of this Affair, tells ^s us, that he remain'd in the Parts of *Italy* more than XII. or XIV. years. A mistake not capable of excuse any other way (and that too lame and unsatisfactory) than by saying, that he meant it of the several Banishments which *Athanasius* underwent from first to last. But we have formerly remark'd, that of all others, he is the most loose and careless Relator of these Matters.

III. FURNISHED with this royal Warrant, *Athanasius* puts himself upon his Journey, passing through *Syria*, and so to *Alexandria*, welcome we may be sure to the People of his Charge, ^t all Ranks and Orders of men, high and low, in City and Country, receiving him with all imaginable Expressions of Joy and Gladness. All this the *Arians* beheld with an envious and evil Eye, and not being able to prevent his coming back, were resolv'd to make it uneasy to him. To which end they endeavour'd to spoil the Triumphs of his return, by blowing up People into Tumults and Disorders, on purpose that hence they might have some pretext of improving it into a formal Charge and Acculation, which they did shortly after, by means of their potent Friends above. For the *Eusebian* Faction at this time rul'd all in the Court of *Constantine*, to whose share the Eastern part of the Empire fell. First ^u they gain'd *Eusebius* the *Eunuch*, great Chamberlain of the Palace, to their side, and by him the rest of the *Eunuchs*, men of greatest note and favour with the Emperor. Next they recommended their Opinions, and the Merit of their Cause to the Empress, and last of all prevail'd with the Emperor, who being a young Prince, and of an easy and credulous Temper, was without any difficulty brought over to them. And now the Cause began to run smooth, and to be freely vented without controul. The Emperor's Guards were able to tell you how the

^p Vid. Idat.
Fast. Consul. ad
An. CCCXXXVII.

* H. E. l. 2. c. 11.
p. 69.

^q L. 1. c. 18.
p. 233.

^r Adv. Milet.
Hæret. LXXIII.
p. 310.

^t Theod. l. 2.
c. 2. p. 70.

^u Sacr. l. 2. c. 2.
p. 81. Sec. l. 3.
c. 1. p. 497.

Cafe stood between *Athanasius* and his Adversaries; the Eunuchs and Court-Ladies held chat, and confidently disputed the most profound Points of Faith, nay scarce a corner in the City, where the meanest Mechanick would not take upon him to argue *Pro* or *Con* in these weighty Matters. And this License soon spread it self into other Parts, till from enquiring they fell to disputing, and that turn'd to wrangling, which ended at length in more fatal Feuds and Quarrels.

IV. HAVING thus successfully settled and secured their Interests at Court, they fall more directly upon *Athanasius*, whom they accuse to the Emperor of all the Crimes that had been charg'd upon him in the time of *Constantine*, with some few Matters of later date, of equal Truth and Credit with the rest. And not content to assault him at home, they next attempt to ruine his Reputation abroad, writing Letters * to that purpose to *Constantine* and *Constans*, the two other imperial Brothers, wherein they set forth at large all the Evils and Mischiefs which they could with any pretence heap upon him from his first entrance upon the See of *Alexandria*, enumerating those several absurd and foolish Accusations that had been manag'd against him with so much heat in the Synod of *Tyre*; to which they now add, that he had insolently taken upon him to return without leave; that having been Synodically condemn'd, and thereupon banish'd by the Emperor, he had return'd his Place without any Synodical Sentence of Absolution; that his return was so distastful to the People, that it hurried all things into a general Tumult and Confusion, whence ensued blood and slaughter, charging him with things done by the Governor of *Alexandria*, before he return'd thither, yea that he himself had commanded some to be beaten, others to be brought to Trial, and cast into Prison; and that not *Egypt* only, but *Palestine*, *Phenicia*, and the neighbour Provinces were likely to be involv'd in the same Storm and Tempest. The same they writ to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, desiring that he would ratify and confirm the Sentence which the Council of *Tyre* had given against him. The chief Actors in this Affair were *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*, *Theodore* of *Heraclea*, and (who acted all the rest) *Eusebius*, translated about this time from *Nicomedia* to the See of *Constantinople*, in the room of *Paulus*, now again ejected and banish'd by the prevalency of the *Arian* Party.

V. OF all these Transactions *Athanasius* had quick Intelligence, and finding from what Quarter the Wind blew, thought it high time to provide against the Storm which he saw coming upon him. To this end he first conven'd the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Thebais*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*, who met in Synod at *Alexandria*, to the number of near an hundred, unanimously agreeing to vindicate the Innocency of their Metropolitans, conceiving themselves most properly capable to give Testimony in this Case, as being nearest to the Stage of Action, and many of them Eye-witnesses of the most material Passages, whereof *Athanasius* stood accus'd. Immediately therefore they write an *Encyclical* Epistle * to all the Bishops of the Catholick Church, wherein they complain of the Fraud and Malice of his Enemies, solemnly declare against those Scandals and Calumnies which they had cast upon him, particularly refute the several Misdemeanors, wherewith in the late Letters to the Emperors, and the Bishop of *Rome*, he had been

* Epist. Synod. Alex. ap. Ath. Apol. II. p. 562. Eccl. vid. Theod. lib. 6. 3. p. 71.

* Ext. ap. Ath. ubi sup. p. 581.

been charg'd, concluding with an earnest Importunity that they would receive this Testimony, and stand up for the Cause of *Athanasius*, and not give credit to the wicked and fraudulent Suggestions of his Adversaries, who boggled at no wayes, how leud soever, to advance their Cause; but especially impos'd upon them in the matter of Subscriptions; the names of *Egyptian* Bishops wherein they so much gloried, not being Catholicks, but *Meletian* Schismaticks, who notoriously disturb'd the Peace of the Church, and were Guilty of worse things than they were willing to commit to writing, an account whercof they might receive from those who should deliver their Letter to them. Thus prepar'd, he forthwith dispatch'd away Messengers * to the Courts of the *Western* Emperors, where meeting with those sent from the adverse Party, they so baffled their Reports, and plainly expos'd the Falshood of their Accusations, that they were forc'd to retire thence with shame. At *Rome* † (whither they went also to carry the Synodical Epistle) they had frequent Meetings, where they found, that before their arrival, the *Eusebian* Messengers had been pressing *Julius* to own what had been done in the Synod at *Tyre*, desiring him for his Satisfaction in the Truth of things, to write to one *Pistus* at *Alexandria*, who would give him a faithful Relation of these Matters. Which they no sooner heard, but they acquainted *Julius*, that this *Pistus* was a professed *Arian*, and as such had been branded long since by *Alexander* their Bishop, and by the Synod of *Nice*, and that he had no other Orders, than what he had receiv'd from *Secundus* of *Pentapolis*, whom that great Council had rejected as an *Arian* Bishop. And indeed at all their Meetings, they still manag'd their Cause with so much clearness, and uncontrollable Evidence, that *Julius* and all indifferent Persons were abundantly satisfied in their accounts of things, which put *Martyrius*, *Macarius*, and *Hesychius*, the *Eusebian* Legats, to such a plunge, that not well knowing what shift to make, they requested *Julius*, that a Council might be call'd about this Matter, and both Parties concern'd summon'd to appear, that so the Case might be debated and decided in a just and an impartial Way, and that then they should be ready to make good whatever they had charg'd upon *Athanasius*. This, however intended by them only as a present shift, yet seeming fair and reasonable, was assented to, and the *Eusebian* Legats dismiss'd, or indeed rather they fled away by night, though sick and indispos'd, not able to bear the shame of such frequent and publick Refutations: *Julius* resolving to give their Masters notice of the time and place by Messengers of his own. Hereof he presently advertis'd *Athanasius*, referring it to him to appoint the place of the Synod, where he thought he might best appear and answer for himself with freedom and safety; sending him withall, a Copy ‡ of the Acts of the Synod of *Tyre*, and of those that had been drawn up in *Maractis*, which the Messengers of *Eusebius* had brought with them. This good success of his was yet about this time, or soon after, a little allay'd with the News of the death of his great Lord and Patron, *Constantine* the Emperor, the eldest of the three Brothers, who invading the Dominions of his Brother *Constans*, was himself kill'd in the attempt *Ann. Chr. CCCXL.*

* Athad. Sedit. p. 631.

† Ib. & Apol. II. p. 577, 578.

‡ Ubi sup. p. 620. vid. etiam p. 581.

VI. THINGS being thus transacted at *Rome*, *Ensebius* and the rest, who had espous'd the Defence of the *Arian* Party against *Athanasius*, not knowing what would be the event of things, resolve to hold a Synod in the *East*; which they knew well enough how to pack, or at least to influence to their advantage; and for this a convenient opportunity soon presented it self upon this occasion. *Constantine* the Great, some years before he died, had begun a very stately and magnificent Church at *Antioch*^a, the oversight whereof he committed to his Son *Constantinus*, who according to the Design of so generous a Piety, carried it on after his Father's death to Perfection, with all the Advantages both of greatness and ornament, which it was capable to receive, whence it was commonly called *DOMINICUM AUREUM*^b or *The Golden Church*. And being now finished, the Bishops of the neighbouring Provinces were, by the Emperor's Letters, summon'd to the Solemnity of its Dedication; ^c this being the Pretence, while the Design at the bottom was a Synodical Convention. There met at *Antioch* ninety odd Bishops, *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* not appearing with the rest, for being sensible how much he had been impos'd upon by subtle Artifices in the Synod of *Tyre*, to subscribe to the deposing of *Athanasius*, he would not trust himself a second time, having done too much already to the prejudice of the Catholick Cause. Indeed *Baronius*^d with great confidence assures us (and which to me is strange, he is follow'd herein by a man ^e of more learning than himself) that of the whole Number, there were but XXXVI. *Arians* (which being men of Spirit and Interest, over-rul'd the whole Assembly) and that the rest were Catholick Bishops. But evident it is, that he was led into that Error, by a gross Mistake of a Passage in the Letter of Pope *Julius*^f, which being rightly understood as 'tis in the *Greek*, looks quite another way, as a learned man ^g has demonstrated beyond all Exception. Besides, that all of them with one consent, expressly disown'd themselves to be *Arians*, however otherwise partial and favourable to the Cause. As for matters of Doctrine (that we may dispatch this first, though transacted last) they proceeded herein with great Art and Subtlety, doing nothing that might openly clash with the Synod of *Nice*. And first they wrote a Synodical Epistle^h (which they sent abroad to the Bishops of the several Churches) wherein they drew up a brief Account of their Creed. The Letter (at least so much of it as is now extant) runs thus. *We are not the Disciples of Arius. For how can we that are Bishops, be Followers of him that was but a Presbyter? Nor have we entertain'd any other Faith, than that which has been publish'd from the beginning. But being constituted Judges for the Trial and Examination of his belief, we receiv'd him, rather than followed him, which you may understand from what follows. For from the beginning we have been taught to believe in one God, the Maker and Preserver of all things both intelligible and sensible, and in one only begotten Son of God, subsisting before all Worlds, and abiding together with the Father that begat him; by whom all things were made, visible and invisible; who according to the Father's will, did in these last dayes come down from Heaven, and took flesh of the Blessed Virgin, and when in all things he had fulfill'd his Father's Will, suffered, and rose again, and return'd to Heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father. He will come again to judge*

^a *Ensebius de vit. Const. l. 2. c. 50. p. 508.*

^b *Nicæm. Suppl. ad Chron. Evf. An. 329. c. Sacr. l. 2. c. 8. p. 84. Sac. l. 2. c. 5. p. 501.*

^d *Ad. An. 321. Num. IV, V.*

^e *P. de Marc. Concord. l. 2. c. 3 § 2. p. 134.*

^f *Ap. Ath. Apol. II. p. 582.*

^g *Malis. Oiserv. l. 1. c. 8 ad Calc. Sorom. p. 180.*

^h *Ext. ap. Ath. de Synod. p. 687. & Sacr. l. 2. c. 10. p. 85.*

judge the quick and the dead, and being King and God, abides so for ever. We believe also in the holy Ghost. And if it be necessary to add, we believe likewise the Resurrection of the flesh, and the life everlasting.

A Confession plausibly drawn up, and so put together that each Party might subscribe it, it consisting of Propositions own'd on all hands, but indultiously omitting the word *Consubstantial*, which they ever rejected as forreign and unscriptural. But this being thought too short and unsatisfactory, and the Sense of it obscure and ambiguous in the most important Articles, they afterwards published a larger Confession of their Faithⁱ in this Form. ⁱ *Ext. loc. cit.* According to the Faith delivered by the Evangelists and Apostles, we believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker and Creator of all things; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, being God, his only begotten Son, by whom all things are made, begotten of his Father before all Worlds, God of God, whole of whole, alone of God alone, perfect of perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the living Word, true Wisdom, Life and Light, the way of Truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Door; unchangeable and inseparable, the most express and exact Image of his Father's Godhead, Substance, Power, Council, and Glory; the first-born of every Creature; he who in the beginning was with God, even God the Word, as it is said in the Gospel, and the Word was God, by whom all things were made, and in whom all things subsist. Who in these last dayes came down from Heaven, and was born of the Virgin Mary according to the Scriptures; and was made man, the Mediator between God and man, the Apostle of our Faith, and the Prince of life, as himself says, I came down from Heaven, not to do mine own Will, but the Will of him that sent me; who suffered for us, and rose again the third day, and ascended into Heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father; and he shall come again with Glory and Power to judge the quick and the dead. And in the holy Ghost, which is given for Consolation, Sanctification, and Consummation to them that believe; even as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his Disciples, saying, go ye, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, plainly intimating the Father as truly a Father, the Son as truly a Son, and the holy Ghost as truly such: So as these are not meer simple Names, but such as accurately express each ones proper Hypostasis or Person, Order, and Glory: So that they are three in Person, but one in Consent. Holding therefore this Faith, which in the presence of God and Christ we have maintain'd from the first, and shall retain to the last, we under an Anathema condemn all perverse heretical Opinions. And if any one contrary to the orthodox Belief held forth in Scripture, shall teach and affirm, that there was any Time or Age, before the Son was begotten, let him be accursed. And if any shall affirm the Son to be a Creature, as one of the Creatures; or a Branch, as one of the Branches, and shall not hold all the things before-mention'd, just as the holy Scriptures have delivered them; or shall teach or preach any other thing than what we have received, let him be accursed. For we for our Parts do truly and religiously believe and entertain all things delivered both by the Prophets and Apostles, and that are consign'd to us in the holy Scriptures.

In this Form also, they omit the word *Consubstantial*; in all things else *Sozomen* * thinks they agree with the Decrees of the *Nicene Creed*; but wisely adds, unless some secret meaning lurk under the Words, which he was not aware of. And to gain the greater Credit to this Confession of Faith, they gave it out that they found it written with *Lucian* the Martyr's own hand, a man eminently vers'd in all sorts of Learning, especially the holy Scriptures, and who suffered under the *Diocletian* Persecution at *Nicomedia*. After this *Theophrastus* Bishop of *Tyana*, a man greatly reverenc'd by the Synod, drew up another short Confession, ¹ which was propounded and assented to; wherein I find no material difference from the former, concluding only with an explicit *Anathema* against that man (or any that shall communicate with him) that shall teach, or privately maintain any thing contrary to this Faith, or that shall favor of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, *Sabellius*, or *Paul* of *Samosata*. Nor content with this, some Months after the recess of the Council, being re-assembled in another Session, they drew up a fourth Confession ^m, though without any considerable Alteration in the substance of it, concluding those, who affirm the Son of God to be *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς*, of things not existing, or of any other substance (*σώματα*) than that of God, and that there was any time, when he was not, to be separate from the Catholick Church. This they sent to the Emperor *Constantin* then in *France*, dispatching *Narcissus* Bishop of *Neronias*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Theodore* of *Heraclaea*, *Marcus* of *Archiepiscopus*, Members of their Synod, to that purpose. It may seem strange, that in one Council, so many Creeds should be drawn up: But besides that, they sat a long time, and so had leisure enough to review and refine their Debates and Determinations, possibly they might design a Liberty to choose which they pleas'd, as the Circumstances of after-times might make most convenient; or as *Socrates* ⁿ thinks, that by making way to introduce several Forms, they might in time bring down things to downright *Arianism*. Next to Matters of Faith, they took notice of the external State and Polity of the Church, composing XXV. Canons concerning several Cases of Order and Discipline, which have place in the body of the Councils at this day, and which, whatever might be the particular Occasions, or the Designs of those that made them, are certainly excellent Rules of Church-Policy, and wisely contriv'd to prevent those ordinary Male-Administrations that are wont to invade the Government of the Church.

VII. BUT leaving these Matters, come we to what was the Subject of their first Debates, and the prime Design of the Meeting, viz. the Case of *Athanasius*. No sooner was the Council sat, but heavy Complaints were brought in, all the Accusations being reviv'd and dress'd up, which either heretofore, or of late, had been made against him, which we may be sure, wanted neither Wit nor Artifice to set them off. And the thing took accordingly, it being resolv'd on, that he should be depos'd from his Charge, and another substituted in his room. The place was first proffer'd ^o to one *Eusebius*, born of a good Family at *Edeffa*, a man of extraordinary Parts and Learning both Divine and Humane, and who had sometimes been Schollar to his Name-sake, the great Bishop of *Cæsarea*. But he wisely declin'd it, upon whose refusal, they pitch'd upon one *Gregorius*, an obscure

* L. 3. c. 5. p. 502.

¹ Ap. Ath. ubi sup. p. 688.

^m Ext. ib. p. 689.

ⁿ Lac. sup. cit.

^o Socr. l. 2. c. 9. p. 85. Socr. l. 3. c. 6. p. 503.

obscure Person born in *Cappadocia*, whom though a meer Stranger, altogether unknown both to the Clergy and the People over whom he was Prefide, they did, and at that distance too, contrary to all the Rules and Customs of the Church, consecrate Bishop of *Alexandria* (in which Capacity he subscrib'd the Decrees of the Synod) resolving to implore the Imperial Assistance, to give him Possession of the Place by force, and to suppress all Opposition that might be made against it. The News hereof quickly flew to *Alexandria*, and alarm'd *Athanasius* timely to withdraw, and get into shelter, before the Temple could arise ^r; who accordingly set Sail for *Rome*, to vindicate himself in open Synod, according to the Summons which he had receiv'd from *Julius* to that purpose; who sent also *Elpidius* and *Philoxenus*, Presbyters, with a Letter to *Eusebius* and his Party, appointing time and place, where he requir'd them as Plaintiffs to appear, otherwise they must leave the World to judge, whether the Cause they defended was not unfound, and unable to abide the Test. The Messengers arriving in the *East*, found *Eusebius* and the rest in the Council at *Antioch*, where the Letters being delivered, they were strangely surpriz'd with the Summons to a Synod at *Rome*; a place where they knew very well they had neither Interest nor Authority, where they should have no great Minister of State to govern the Assembly, no Military Guard to keep the Doors, no Secular Powers to abett their Practices, and execute their Commands. This made them while off the Matter with delays, detaining the Messengers with Expectation of an Answer, till the time appointed for the Synod was past, and then fairly excus'd themselves, pretending they durst not venture so long a Journey, the Wars with *Persia* then growing on, but indeed privately agreeing amongst themselves, that if they could not get the better by Ecclesiastical Sentence, they must betake themselves to their accustomed Arts of Force and Power. At last the *Roman* Presbyters are dismiss'd with Letters to *Rome*, drawn up with all the exquisite Arts of Eloquence, but tart and invective, wherein (as appears from *Julius* his Answer, and the sum of the Letter it self set down by *Sozomen* ^q) they complain'd that they should be cited to *Rome*, there being other Places more convenient, that they acknowledg'd the Church of *Rome* to be very venerable, as having been the Seat of the Apostles, and from the first the Metropolis of Piety, yet that it was beholden to the *East*, for those great men who had planted and propagated Religion there; that the Dignity of Bishops was not to be measur'd by the greatness of Cities, wherein if they were not equal, they were at least Superior in Virtue, in Readiness and Resolution; that the time appointed for the Synod was too short for so great an Affair, and for Persons at that distance; that he had taken upon him to examine the Acts of the Council of *Tyre*, which ought not again to be call'd in question; that he had reflected contempt upon them, writing only to *Eusebius* and some others, and taking no notice of all the rest; that he had in a manner prejudg'd the Cause, by holding a friendly Correspondence and Communion with *Athanasius* and *Marcellus*; Persons whom they had long since condemn'd, and depriv'd of Ecclesiastical Communion; in short, they offer'd to hold Peace and Communion with *Julius*, if he would ratify the Deprivation of those whom they had depos'd, and own the Ordination

^r Ath. ad Solit. p. 632. Apol. 1. p. 526. II. p. 575. vid. Theod. l. 2. c. 4. p. 71.

^q L. 2. c. 8. p. 508. vid. Socr. l. 2. c. 15. p. 91.

nation of those whom they had substituted in their rooms; but if not, they refus'd to have any thing to do with him, putting him in mind, that their Predecessors the Bishops of the *East*, never meddled with the Affairs of the *West*, when the Church of *Rome* had cast *Novatian* out of doors. As soon as the Messengers were return'd, the Synod met at *Rome*, above fifty Bishops assembling in the Church of *Peto* the Presbyter, where the Letter from the Council at *Antioch* being read, the Cause of *Athanasius* was brought before them, who opened his Case, and so clear'd his Reputation from the malicious Imputations laid upon it, by the evidence of Witnesses, and the refusal of his Adversaries to make good the Charge; that the Synod declar'd themselves abundantly satisfied in the Innocency of his Cause, and decreed that he (and together with him *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, who had been condemn'd at the same time with him by the Conventicle at *Constantinople* in the time of *Constantine*) should be held acquitted of all Accusations, and be admitted to the Communion of the Church. Hither also at this time came several Bishops out of *Thrace*, *Phoenicia*, *Palestine*, and other Parts, many Presbyters from *Alexandria* and elsewhere, complaining of the merciless Usage they and their Churches met with, from the Cruelty and Insolence of the prevailing Party in the *East*, and more had come out of *Egypt* and *Alexandria*, had not their Adversaries detain'd them by force and violence. All which inspir'd the good Bishops with a holy Zeal and Indignation, and they accordingly, before their Dissolution, order'd *Iulius* to write in the name of the Synod to the *Eastern* Bishops, in answer to the Letter which they had sent, which he did in a prolix Epistle, wherein he smartly checks their insolent and irregular Proceedings, fully answers all their vain Cavils and Pretences, refutes their Excuses for not coming to the Synod, and gives them an account of their receiving *Athanasius* and *Marcellus* to Communion. This Letter he sent by Count *Gabian*, before whose arrival in the *East*, *Ensebins* of *Constantinople* (the great Spring of Motion in these Actions) was dead, and the Synod, probably, broken up, so that what became of it is uncertain. For though a learned man ^u tells us from the Authority of *Sozomen*, that upon the arrival of this Epistle, the *Eastern* Bishops again assembled the next year, *Ann.* CCCXLIII. in Synod at *Antioch*, and wrote a sharp stinging Answer, yet is it plain, and as clear as the Sun, that this could not be no other than the Answer we mention'd before, sent by *Elpidius* and *Philoxenus*, and this himself grants elsewhere ^v, blaming *Sozomen* for making this Epistle, to have been written not in the former, but in an after-Synod at *Antioch*, but withal taking no notice of his own confident Mistake.

VIII. BUT it's time we return to *Alexandria*, and see how things were carried there since *Athanasius* his retirement, where we shall find them bad enough. The Bishops at *Antioch* having (as before was said) conferr'd the Government of that Church upon *Gregory* the *Cappadocian*, and finding the Stream in the *West* to run strong against them, were forc'd to call in the help of the secular Arm, which they had ever found the most positive way of Confutation, importuning *Constantius* ^x to interpose his Power for the support of their tottering Cause, otherwise likely to tumble to the Ground; that now, if ever, was the time for him to shew himself the Patron

^u *Ath. Apol. II.*
p. 575. ad Solit.
p. 633.

^v *Ath. Apol. II.*
p. 584.

^x *Ext. lib. p. 575.*

^y *Annot. in Sacr.*
L. 2. c. 15. p. 22.

^z *Annot. in Soc.*
L. 3. c. 3. p. 115.

^a *Ad. ad Solit.*
p. 631. &c.

of their Cause, and the Defender of their Faith, and that to this purpose he would cause *Gregory* to be forthwith seated in the Chair of *Alexandria*. And that the Work might be done effectually, they procure *Philagrius* to be again made Governor of *Egypt*. He had some years since discharg'd that place of Eminency, at what time he had done them considerable Service against *Athanasius*, when the Commissioners came from the Synod at *Tyre* to examine the Case of *Isebnus* in the Province of *Misraïm*. A man every way fitted for their turn: He was *Gregory*'s own Country-man, in his Nature fierce and cruel, for his Religion a Pagan-Idolater, and which was worse, an Apostate from the Christian Faith. With him and *Aspicius* the Eunuch, attended with a strong Military-guard, and furnish'd likewise with the Emperor's Letters, *Gregory* sets forward for *Alexandria*, where they no sooner arriv'd, but they endeavour'd to strengthen themselves, by joining to their Party all the most rude and profligate Rabble about the City, men of mean Conditions, and desperate Fortunes; who arming themselves with Clubs and Swords, broke into the Church dedicated to *Quirinus* (where great numbers of Catholics were assembled) killing some, and trampling others under foot, others were first beaten and wounded, and then banish'd; no Order, Sex, or Age escap'd their Savage hands, they offered violence to Presbyters, and those who had more immediately devoted themselves to the Service of Religion, abus'd Virgins beyond all bounds of Modesty, dragg'd Matrons before publick Judicatures, treating them with the highest Instances of rudeness and incivility; nay, so far did they persecute the Aunt of *Athanasius* (if we may so understand his *ἡδὲ τὴν ἐμπατρίαν* *ἑταίραν*; of some Bishop however) that their Malice reach'd beyond her Life, not permitting her, when dead, to have the Conveniency of a Grave, which she had wanted, had not those who undertook to bury her, carried her out, as if it had been their own Relation. Some mens Estates were seiz'd, others had their Food and Provisions taken from them, nay, the holy Sacrament it self was profan'd by *Pagans*, and scornfully thrown to the ground. The Bishops were spoil'd, beaten, imprison'd or banish'd, and us'd without any reverence either to their Age or Order; and amongst the rest, *Sarapammion* an ancient Confessor, after all other hardships, was sent into Banishment, and *Potamo* the aged Bishop of *Heraclea*, who had suffer'd Imprisonment, and lost an Eye for his constancy to the Truth under the *Dioctrian* Persecution, was now so miserably scourg'd and beaten, that they gave not over, till they left him for dead; and though, by the means that were us'd, he after some time recovered life, yet he died shortly after of his Wounds and Pains, carrying to his Grave the honour of a second Martyrdom.

IX. THESE bloody and violent Proceedings, so distastful to all peaceable and sober Minds, *Gregory* knew well could not hold long, unless strongly back'd by the civil Power. Accordingly he set himself by all plausible Insinuations, to court the favour of those in Authority, without any regard to Persons of his own Rank and Order. If a Letter came from a great man, the Messenger should be carelessly and dismiss'd with a Reward; if from a Clergy-man, it should be scorn'd and slighted. Amongst others whom he oblig'd to his side was *Bilaxius*, General of the *Egyptian* Forces, who espous'd and pur-

Id. item
Apol. II. p. 583.

fued his Cause with a furious Zeal, and sitting with him upon the Bench of Justice, would command the Bishops, and sometimes the Professors of Monastick life, to be brought, and to be unmercifully beaten and whipt before them; *Gregory*, after all, perswading and inviting them to joyn in Communion with him. But the divine Vengeance soon after overtook this potent Assessor. For nothing mollified by the Letters and Warnings given him by *S. Anthony*, the great Father of the Heremital Institution, (venerable in those times for the incomparable Strictness and Austerity of his Life in the *Egyptian Solitudes*) he still went on, till riding out one day, to the first Stage from *Alexandria*, his Horse threw back his head, and catching him by the Thigh, tore off the flesh, withall casting him to the ground, so bruised and wounded, that being carried back into the City, within three dayes he ended his miserable life. *Gregory*, though thus busily employ'd at home, was not yet altogether unmindful of his credit and interest abroad; for knowing how many both Bishops and Presbyters were fled to *Rome*, where they were likely to make a tragical Representation of Affairs, he dispatch'd away *Carpones* ^y a Presbyter (one that had been convicted long since by *Alexander* of too much Familiarity and Correspondence with *Arius*) as his Legat to *Rome*, (where the Synod then sat about the Case of *Athanasius*) to mollifie Reports, and beget a favourable Construction of what had pass'd at *Alexandria*. But the man was rejected, neither he nor his Message finding entertainment.

X. WE left *Athanasius* in the Synod at *Rome*, purging himself, whereupon he was absolv'd by the Council of the Crimes charg'd upon him. Indeed he made that City the main Seat of his Exile, having been there a year and an half already, and continuing some years longer, kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by all. We cannot imagine that so good a man, and one of so active a *Genius*, would lye idle so long a time, though how he spent his time there, is unknown to us. *Baronius* ^z in the general, finds him this employment, (though without any other Authority than his own conjecture) diligently and solemnly to visit and adore the Shrines and Memories of the Martyrs, the *Crypte* and the *Cameteria*, those venerable *Subterranean* Monuments, especially those of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, expressing a more peculiar Devotion towards *S. Peter*, for having sent thence his Disciple *S. Mark* to plant and propagate Christianity in *Egypt*. All which we are bound in good manners to believe, though not one Syllable of any warrant is produced to make it good. More particularly he tells ^u us, that he first introduced into *Rome* the monastick Discipline of *Egypt*, publishing to that end, the Life of *Anthony* the Great, then living, and that this Institution was embrac'd, not only by others, but also by the noble Matrons of *Rome*. Though *S. Jerom* (upon whose Authority he builds all this) says ^b no more, than that *Marcella* a *Roman* Lady, had from *Athanasius* and his Successor *Peter* (who fled thither in the time of the *Arian* Persecution) receiv'd an account of the Life of *Antony*, and of the Discipline of the Monasteries of *Pachomius*, and of the Virgins and Widdows that were in the Country of *Thebais*; but was followed herein by none for many years after, till *Sophronia* reviv'd the Institution. But (what is most considerable) now it was (they tell us ^c) that *Athanasius* compos'd the famous Creed, that commonly passes under

^y *ibid.* p. 578.

^z *Al. Ann.* 342. *Nam.* XLII.

^u *Al. Ann.* 340. *Nam.* VII.

^b *Epist. ad Princip.* p. 119.

^c *Id. ib.* N. XI. & *seq.*

under his name; that being cited to *Rome*, and charg'd as Criminal, he could not expect a favourable Reception without giving an account of his Faith, that therefore he drew up in *Latin* this Confession, which he repeated before *Julius* and the rest, which being approv'd, was, together with the Acts of the Synod, laid up amongst the *Archives* of the Church of *Rome*, whence it was published many Ages after. This is pretended for its Birth and Pedigree, which being said without any shadow of proof, may with the same reason be rejected. Indeed so far is it from being probable, that he made it at this time at *Rome*, that no evidence appears that he ever made it all. For not to insist upon other Arguments, there's this unanswerable prejudice lies against it, that *Athanasius* himself (who is very punctual in setting down all the material Passages of his Life, that concern these Matters) does not so much as once in all his Writings, give the least Intimation of it; nor is it mention'd by any Historian or Writer of that or the following times, no not by the Writers of his Life, that liv'd in the middle Ages of the Church. Nor indeed was it ever heard of in the World, till above six hundred years after *Athanasius* was dead; but barely mention'd then, and not urg'd with any confidence, till above CC. years after that, when the Legates of Pope *Gregory* the IXth. produc'd and pleaded it at *Constantinople*, in their Disputations with the *Greeks*. And can it be imagin'd, that so famous a Confession, made by a Person, for whom the World had so just a reverence, whose Writings were so highly valued, and so diligently sought after in all Parts of the World, should lye *Inognito* for so many Ages, when it might have been of so much use and importance to the Church, to have ended several Controversies then on foot, especially being pretended to lye no farther out of reach, than the Records of the *Roman* Church, which there was daily occasion of searching, and to which there was frequent resort from all Parts. But by whomsoever compil'd, having entituled it self to so great a name, and bearing so express an Image of his Doctrine, so stoutly maintain'd by him both by Writing and Suffering, and being vouch'd and asserted by the supereminent Authority of the Church of *Rome*, it soon gain'd Credit and Reputation amongst all the Churches of the *West*.

XI. BUT whether or no *Athanasius* was busied in the drawing up a Confession of his Faith at *Rome*, 'tis certain his Adversaries were hammering one in the *East*. About four years since they had compos'd several Forms in the Council of *Antioch*, where they now again met in Synod, more accurately to examine, and fully to declare their Sense concerning the Controversies that at this time so much distracted and disturb'd the Church. And in pursuance of this, they compos'd *πιστις ἡμεῶν πολλῶν ἡραφῶν* (as *Athanasius* ^d tells us) a very long Explication of their Faith, thence commonly call'd *μεκερσιν*, or the *Large Confession*, drawn up (as ^e one truly observes) with great Learning and Elegancy; wherein having first set down the Symbol made in their last Session at *Antioch*, they add a prolix Explication of the principal Articles, with a particular Antithesis to the Errors and Heresies of *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Marcellus*, *Photinus*, *Sabellius*, the *Patripassians*, and some others. It will be too tedious to set down the whole, 'twill be enough to remark some few of the things which

^d *De Sent.* p. 690. *ubi text.* & apud *Socr.* l. 2. c. 19. p. 97. ^e *Id. ib.* *Auth.* in *Socr.* p. 24.

place conveniently situate in the Confines of the Eastern and the Western Empire, and in that regard equally fit for both. Hither out of both Empires met to the number of CLXX. Prelates, as *Athanasius*¹ expressly tells us. *Socrates*^m indeed, and those who follow his account, affirm, that there were no less than CCC. Bishops out of the West only, and for this cite the Testimony of *Athanasius*. But the mistake is gross and palpable; for *Athanasius*^{*} in that place says, not that so many met at *Sardica* (though his Translator indeed makes him say so) but that his Cause had been adjudg'd and ratified by so many, partly in that Synod, partly by the Suffrages of those, who both before and after it had subscrib'd in his behalf, the whole number amounting to about CCCXLIV. Amongst which we find mention of the Bishops of *Britain*, whence 'tis generally taken for granted, not only by common Writers, but even by thoseⁿ who see farther than ordinary into such Matters, that our British Bishops were present at this Council; when yet the most that can be infer'd from that place is, that they only ratified and subscrib'd what the Synod determin'd in the Cause of *Athanasius*, the Synod sending their Decision into several Provinces for the Approbation of those who could not be present at the Council. And indeed in the Title of the Synodical Epistle (as 'tis extant in *Athanasius*ⁿ, but more intirely in *Isidore*^p) where all the Provinces are reckon'd up, from whence they came, no mention is made of *Britain*. Which I have therefore noted, not being willing that the honour of our Country should be built upon uncertainties and mistakes. So that the number of the Bishops must be reduc'd to almost one half, not above LXXVI. coming out of the East, and out of above XXXV. Provinces of the West (for out of so many *Athanasius*⁴ tells us, this Synod was collect'd) not full an hundred, who yet could not agree when they came together.

II. FOR the Eastern Bishops arriving at *Sardica*, kept themselves in a separate Assembly, refusing^r to join with the Bishops of the West, and though there were some amongst them, men Orthodox in their Judgments, and of peaceable Tempers, yet were they so influenc'd by the Major part, either by Promises or Threatnings, that they durst not stir from them, two only excepted, *Arius* a *Palestine* Bishop, and *Asterius* Bishop of *Arabia*, who got away by stealth, and came over to the Catholick Party. The Truth is, they found a quite other face of things, than what they look'd for: they came with a confident Perswasion, that *Athanasius* durst not appear and abide a Trial, and were strangely surpris'd, not only to find him here, but that he was prepar'd, and openly challeng'd them to a Tryal, they perceiv'd that things would be manag'd here according to the strict Rules of Ecclesiastick Discipline, that no force could be put upon the Synod, no Guards set at the Doors, no great men of their Party admitted from Court, who might awe and direct Proceedings; the usual Arts by which they had hitherto prevail'd, and for which end they had now brought with them Count *Masonianus*, and *Hesychius* an Officer of the imperial Palace, by whose Authority and influence they doubted not but they should be able to carry the day; they were amaz'd to see so many there, whom they had depos'd and banish'd, and treated with all kinds of barbarous Inhumanity, some having brought

brought along with them the Chains and Instruments of Cruelty, wherewith they had been tortured, others shewing the Wounds and the Scars which they had received. The Friends and Kindred of those whom they had put to death, appear'd to exhibit their Complaints, and Messengers came in the name of whole Churches to represent the Injuries and Sufferings which they had undergone from the Rage of the *Arian* Party. Nor did it a little sensibly touch them, that *Arius* and *Asterius* were gone over to the Synod, who had come along with them, and were privy to their most intimate Councils and Transactions. These things prophesied to them no good Success, they saw 'twas no purpose to let their Cause come to a fair open Trial, that *Athanasius* had all Acts ready that concern'd his Cause, which would sufficiently blast and expose their Cause, and that they had no potent Friends in the Synod to support it: That therefore it was most advisable to breakup and be gone, to prevent their being condemn'd upon the Place; that if they departed, they should find one means or another to propagate and uphold their Cause; and if the Synod should condemn them after their departure, they had a sure Friend of the Emperor, who, they doubted not, would protect and assist them.

III. HEREUPON they shut themselves up in the Palace, where they were lodg'd, and where they dayly held their Consults. They were several times cited by the Synod to appear, and that with smart Provocations; if they came with a design to try the Merits of the Cause, why did they decline it? Either they should not have come at all, or being come, they could not without just disparagement to their Cause refuse it. *Athanasius* and his Brethren, whom they had so heavily charg'd, were there present, if they had any thing to object against them, they were requir'd to do it; if they had not, the Synod must proceed against them as false and unjust Accusers. *Athanasius* also, together with *Marcellus* and *Arsenius* his Fellow-sufferers, publicly challeng'd them to it, assuring the Synod they would not only refuse their Slanders and Calumnies, but make it fully appear what Mischiefs and Miseries they had brought upon their several Churches. *Protogenes* Bishop of *Sardica*, and *Hosius* the aged Confessor, and venerable Bishop of *Corduba*, and now President of the Council, address'd themselves to them in a more private way, endeavouring by all fair means to persuade them, *Hosius*^r promising them a most candid and impartial Hearing; or if they would not have the Matter canvass'd in open Synod, that they would at least make him Judge and Umpire in the Case, engaging, that if *Athanasius* was prov'd guilty of the Crimes charg'd upon him, they would universally reject him, nay, although he should be found Innocent, and they false Accusers, if notwithstanding all this, they should persist in their dislike of him, he would, to avoid offence, persuade him to go along with him into *Spain*. To which *Athanasius*, who stood by, gave his assent. An offer so infinitely reasonable, and fair beyond all Expectation, that nothing but obstinacy and a bad Cause could have the face to refuse it. However, they resolv'd not to appear upon any Terms, nor submit to a Sentence, which they had too much reason to suspect would go full against them.

IV. BUT

¹ *At. Solit.*
p. 634.

^m L. 2. c. 20.
p. 101. *Soc. 13.*
c. 12. p. 514.
It. Pauli ap.
Plat. ad. 257.
col. 1424. *It.*
Ath. in. de. col.
1441. *It. que*
plurim.

^{*} *Ap. 119. p. 560*
præcipue vtr.
p. 596. 597.
ⁿ *Usser. de*
prim. Eccl. Brit.
c. 8 p. 1658. *It.*
in. Euseb.
p. 122. *It.*
Conc. in. p. 85.

^p *Uss. Hist.*
v. 11. *Eccl. 1. 2.*
c. 8. p. 74.

⁴ *At. Solit.*
p. 635.

^r *Ath. At. 11.*
p. 587. *Epist.*
Syn. Sard. 1b.
p. 592. *It.*
Epist. ad. Solit.
p. 634.

^r *Offi. Epist. ad*
Const. ap. Ath.
ad. Solit. p. 649

* *Epist. Oriental.*
ap. *Ullrich*, in
fragm. col. 441,
442.

IV. BUT that they might give some colour to their Non conformity, they pretended ¹ in the first place, that *Athanasius* and his Accomplishes had been heretofore convicted of notorious Crimes, and accordingly condemn'd and depos'd by several Councils, and that they could not joyn with the Synod, till they were banish'd thence, and denied Communion; otherwise they should trample under foot the Laws of the Church, rescind and violate the Sentence of God. But the Synod was satisfied in this Matter, their Cause having been more than once maturely debated, and their Innocency adjudg'd in Councils call'd for that purpose, and themselves absolv'd, and receiv'd to Communion by almost all the Bishops of the *West*. Next they pleaded that vast numbers of Persons, guilty of the most enormous Villanies, of Blood and Murders, of Rapine and Violence, of Sacrilege and Impiety, and what not? both against God and Man, had at this time flock'd hither from *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, and were entertain'd and encourag'd, advanc'd and respected by the Synod, with whom they could not communicate without manifest Impiety and Prophanation. And whereas *Athanasius* his Innocency was so much infilted on, they made this offer, that a select number of each Party might be sent into *Egypt*, to the places where the Crimes charg'd upon him, had been committed, and might be bound under the Obligation of an Oath, to take a faithful account of things; that if the Charge prov'd false, they were ready to submit to censure, promising never to exhibit any Complaints, either to the Emperors, or to any Synod or Bishop; but if true, that the other Party should silently acquiesce in what had been already done. This Proposal was made by those five Commissioners, who had been, many years since, deputed by the Council of *Tyre*, to go into *Macedonia* to examine and report the State of things; and they now renew'd the same Motion probably, either to gain time, not knowing but some emergent accident might intervene, or because they knew they should be able there successfully to manage the Cause to their own Advantage, as they had already done heretofore. But the Synod rejected the Motion, having ² already by them Authentick Copies of all those Acts and Records, and Witnesses ³ to attest the Truth of things. Being thus beaten out of all other Refuges, they fell upon one more absurd and weak than all the rest, pretending ⁴ that they had receiv'd Letters from the Emperor concerning his triumphant Victories against the *Persians*, and that there was a necessity of their departure to assist at those Solemnities. This they intimated to the Synod by *Eustathius* Presbyter of the Church of *Sardica*, to whom *Hosius* in the name of the rest, sent back this short preumptory Message, that either they should stand to, and make good the Charge which they had exhibited, and answer that which others had given in against them, or they might assure themselves, that the Synod would take the Matter *pro Confesso*, and proceed against them as Criminals, and acquit *Athanasius* and his Party. A Message which serv'd only to quicken their departure thence.

V. SOME time it was, that they had now staid at *Sardica*, which we cannot suppose they spent merely in Wrangling and Contention. No, they held frequent Assemblies, and though in a private and clandestine way, kept up the Formalities of a Synod. They plainly

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* *Epist. Syn. ap.*
Athanas. Apol. II.
p. 592. & ad
Solut. p. 634.
* *Hilar. in*
fragm. col. 409.
* *Ath. ad Sol.*
ubi sup.

saw what measure they were like to expect from the Council, and therefore resolv'd not to be behind-hand with them. Hereupon they Synodically proceeded against the Heads of the Party, condemning ⁵ and deposing not only *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, *Asclepias*, and *Pasylus* of *Constantinople*, as the prime Criminals, but as Accessories by communicating with them, *Hosius* Bishop of *Carduba* President of the Council, *Maximinus* of *Triers*, *Protogenes* of *Sardica*, *Gaudentius* of *Nessus*, and especially *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, whom they style the Prince and Captain of all the *Mischiefs*, ⁶ he who had first set open the door to Communion with wicked and excommunicate Persons, and had made way for others to violate the Laws of the Church. At this *Baronius* is out of all Patience. What! excommunicate the Head of the Church? Depose the Prince of the Apostolick See? A piece of Insolence, he tells us, never before attempted in any Age by the most execrable Heresie. But the Privilege of the infallible Chair, was not, it seems, then understood, nor these bold men frighted with the noise of, *Thou art Peter*. Next they drew up a Confession of Faith, wherein they particularly condemn some of the *Arian* Propositions; a Confession wherein the most Critical of the *Catholicks* found nothing to complain of, but that the word *Consubstantial* was left out; and accordingly it was own'd by *S. Hilary*, ⁷ and is expounded by him into a very Orthodox sense. This done, they wrote a very prolix *Encyclical Epistle*, ⁸ which they publish'd in the name of the *Sardican* Synod, wherein they give an account of what they had done, and of the Bishops whom they had depos'd, whom they expose with all contempt imaginable, and load with the bitterest Reflections they could heap upon them, charging the Governours of the Church, as they valued Peace, Order, and Ecclesiastick Discipline, to abstain from all Communion with them, either by word or writing, not to send Letters to them, or receive any from them, or so much as have to do with any that did communicate with them, subjoining to the Epistle, the Confession of their Faith. This decretal Letter they dispatch'd abroad to the Bishops of several Countries, and amongst the rest, to *Donatus* the Head of that schismatical Faction at *Carthage*, hoping that the *Donatists* who stood at such open defiance to the *Catholicks*, might by this means be brought over to their Party. And indeed we find the *Donatists* glorying in their Communion with the *Eastern* Bishops, and insisting upon this Epistle of the *Sardican* Synod, (for as such it pass'd) as the evidence of it; and the truth is, it seems, that for some time after, no other *Sardican* Synod was known in *Africa*, but this clancular Convention, which may seem the stranger, in that *Gratus* Bishop of *Carthage* was at this time a Member of the Council.

VI. THAT all this was done by the *Eastern* Prelates, during their stay at *Sardica*, I am strongly tempted to believe. I know the report passes current, uncontradicted, that I know of, by any writer, that in their return from *Sardica*, they staid at *Philippopolis*, a City of *Thrace*, where they held a Synod, and pass'd the things we have but now mention'd, which, that they might be swallowed more unsuspected, they gilded over with the specious title of the *Sardican* Synod. Now though I love not needlessly to swim against the stream, yet I must profess I see no reason to fix the Scene at *Philippopolis*.

* *Soc. l. 3. c. 11.*
p. 512.

* *Ad Ann. 247.*
Nam. LXX.

* *De Syn. adv.*
Arian. col. 236.

* *Ext. ap. Hilar.*
in fragm. col.
434.

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^c Lib. 2. c. 20. ^p 122. *popolis*. 'Tis founded upon the single Authority of *Socrates*^c, not mention'd by any Writer (that I know of) after him, ancienter than the two trifling anonymous Authors in *Photius*, who write with little certainty, and less judgment. Sure I am, 'tis not so much as once hinted by *Athanasius*, then whom none more exact in setting down these Affairs, nor in any of the Letters which the Synod wrote, wherein they give a most particular account of things; it being equally improbable that they should not know it, and if known, that they should omit it. Besides, the *Eastern* Bishops do not only in the front of their Epistle affirm, that they celebrated their Council in the City of *Sardica*, but in the body of it expressly say, that they did the City of *Sardica* scribere^d, write the account they there give from *Sardica*. And with what confidence can we imagine men of common Prudence should in a publick Epistle tell the World, that these things were done at *Sardica*, had it been notoriously known (as it must be, had it been so) that they were dispatch'd at a place an hundred Miles distant from it? That which perhaps led *Socrates* into the mistake, was this. The *Eastern* Bishops in their Journey to *Sardica*^e held many little Synods of their own Party by the way in several Places, (and no doubt at *Philippopolis* amongst the rest) where it was agreed amongst them (and those who seem'd backward, were threatned into compliance) that when they came thither, they should preemp- torily refuse to concur with the Synod, or to put the Affair to the issue of a Trial, but that having appear'd for fashion sake, should break up and depart. And thus indeed *Sozomen*^f plainly reports it, that before they came to *Sardica*, meeting first at *Philippopolis*, they thence wrote to the *Western* Bishops at *Sardica*, to let them know, that unless they dismiss'd *Athanasius* and his Party, and abstain'd from their Communion, as Persons already sentenc'd and depos'd, they would in no wise joyn with them; and they were as good as their word, when they arriv'd at *Sardica*; where after several Transac- tions to no purpose, but rather to the exasperating of each into a wider distance, they met (as he tells us) in separate Assemblies, and made Decrees contrary to each other; and then immediately subjoyns what they did in the deposing of the Bishops, we mention'd, and in the Explication of their Faith, and the circular Epistle which they wrote upon it; which is a just Representation of things in their due place and order. All which *Socrates* not carefully attending to, con- founds what was done at *Sardica*, with what pass'd before at *Philippopolis*, making that the Scene of their Synodical Transactions, which had been only the Seat of their preparatory Councils. Nor is it the only instance wherein he mistakes, not only in other Cases, but in this very Affair of the *Sardican* Council, as were it worth the while, I could evidently make appear.

VII. HAVING thus dispatch'd the Affair of the *Oriental* Pre- lates, let us look next, to what the Fathers in the mean while did at *Sardica*. Three things, they tell^g us, there were that lay before them, and which the Emperors by their Letters had left to them to be freely discuss'd and ventilated in the Council, the soundness of the Faith, the Case of the Persons accus'd and condemn'd, and an en- quiry into the great Evils and Mischiefs which the *Arian* Party were reported to have committed in every place. As to the first, however

Matters of Faith might be debated in the Synod, 'tis certain they made no Synodical Determination in that Matter. Indeed to the de- cretal Epistle of the Council, as 'tis extant in *Theodorit*^h, there is an Appendix containing a large account and Explication of their Faith. And it was it seems an early Addition; for *Athanasius*ⁱ him- self takes notice of it, and cautions against it, and withall assures us, that the Council defin'd no such Matter. He says, indeed, that some men were very hot that a Supplement might be made to the Faith agreed on in the Council of *Nice*, but that the Synod vehe- mently reject'd the Motion, and decreed that nothing should be farther added to the Faith, declaring that they fully acquiesced in the *Nicen* Creed, as pious and orthodox, and compleat enough, and that no other Form should be admitted, lest the *Nicene* Faith should be thought imperfect and insufficient, and a way laid open for men of wanton and petulant Wits to attempt new Creeds, as oft as hu- mour or interest should incline them. Accordingly in all ancient Copies both in *Athanasius* and S. *Hilary* this additional Appendage is left out, and it argued either in sincerity, or at least great carelessness in *Theodorit* to insert it. 'Tis mention'd also by *Sozomen*^k, who seems to make *Hosius* and *Protogenes* the principal Contrivers of it, and that they were forc'd to write to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* to excuse it, that they did not thereby intend to derogate from the *Nicene* Faith, but only more clearly to explain it, lest the *Arians* making an ill use of that short *Compendium*, should impose upon the unwary and the unskilful, by putting what fence they pleas'd upon it.

VIII. THE Persons accus'd, and who were now present that their Cause might be heard and canvas'd in the Synod, were *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and *Arselap* of *Gaza*, who petition'd the Synod that their Accusers might be summon'd to appear, which the Accusers obstinately refusing (though particularly challeng'd to't by the Defendants more than once) the Fathers proceeded to take cognizance of their several Cases. And first for *Athanasius*^l, they caus'd all the Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of *Tyre*, and the Informations that had been taken in *Marcellus*, to be pro- duc'd and read, and every particular to be thoroughly scan'd, and the Witnesses that were brought out of *Egypt* to be examin'd, and having accurately debated the whole Matter, and found it from first to last, nothing but a train of Malice and Villany, and being con- firm'd in it by the notorious Tergiversation of the adverse Party, who durst not abide the Trial, or make good the Charge they had exhibited, they pronounc'd him innocent of the Crimes wherewith he had been delam'd, restor'd him to his See, and with all the De- monstrations of Love and Kindness, of respect and honour, embrac'd and entertain'd him. Next came on the Cause of *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*. He had been long since sentenc'd and depos'd by the *Eusebian* Faction in the Conventicle at *Constantinople*, for some un-or- thodox Assertions in his Writings, tending to the Heresie of *Paul of Samosata*. These he now explain'd^m, and shew'd that his Adversaries had maliciously perverted and misrepresnted his meaning, urg- ing those as dogmatical Assertions, which he had only Problematically handled by way of Question. The Synod approv'd his De- claration, and accordingly absolv'd and restor'd him. But though

^a Epist. Syn. ad Jul. Pap. ap. Hilary in frag. col. 406.

^h Lib. 2. c. 8. p. 80. &c.

ⁱ Epist. ad Antioc. p. 443.

^k Lib. 3. c. 12. p. 513.

^l Ath. Apol. II. p. 593. ad Jul. p. 635.

^m Ath. Apol. II. p. 594.

by his subtlety and Diffimulation, he made shift a long time to blind the Eyes of the Catholick Party, yet his *Sabellian* Tenets were discovered afterwards, which that he took not up after his Synodical Absolution, but had all along craftily conceal'd them, is plain, however my Authorⁿ assures us, that *Athanasius* perceiving it, suspended him from Communion. Together with him, the Council acquitted *Aselepus* Bishop of *Gaza*, he making it appear by the Acts of the Synod of *Antioch* (which he then produc'd) that even then when his Accusers were there present to manage the Cause against him, he had been absolv'd by the Sentence of that Synod.

IX. NEXT they proceeded to enquire into the carriage of the other Party, and the intolerable Mischiefs and Injuries which they had done to the Catholick Bishops and Churches. And here they met with nothing but Blood and Smoak, and a sad Face of things: the good Fathers were entertain'd with dismal and tragical Stories^o of some that had been threatned, others condemned upon false and suborn'd Accusations, some beaten, others wounded, and some directly murdered, many loaded and almost strangled with Iron-Chains, more imprison'd, some whereof were stifled with the noysomness of the Prison, multitudes banish'd, and that into the most miserable and uncomfortable Places, where hunger and nakedness would not fail to dispatch them; Churches had been set on fire, devout Virgins stripp'd and rifled, and the common Goals filled with men of the holy Order. And this for no other reason, but because they refus'd to enter into the *Arian* Communion. All which was ready to be attested, partly by the Confessors themselves then present in the Council, partly by Deputies sent by those that were absent, whole Churches having sent Commissioners to represent their Complaints and Grievances to the Synod. Upon Consideration of the whole Affair, it was concluded, that they should proceed against the prime Heads of the Faction, those who had been chief Authors and Instruments of so many Evils and Mischiefs to the Christian World; and thereupon^p condemned and depos'd *Basil* Bishop of *Ancyra*, *Quintianus* of *Gaza*, *Theodorus* of *Heraclea*, *Narcissus* of *Hierapolis*, *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, *Stephen* of *Antioch*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum*, *Valens* of *Mursa*, *Menophantus* of *Ephesus*, *George* of *Laodicea*, banishing them from the Communion of the Faithful, it being but fit (say they) that they who separate the Son from the Father, should themselves be separated from the Catholick Church; but especially in passing sentence against *Gregory* the *Arian* Intruder at *Alexandria*, they shew'd a particular Detestation, pronouncing him not only to have been no Bishop, but not worthy the name of a Christian, nulling all Ordinations made by him, and forbidding any to bear that Character, that had receiv'd Orders from him. This done, they wrote^q to the Clergy and the Church of *Alexandria*, to receive *Athanasius* as their lawful Bishop, whom they had found, and adjudg'd Innocent of the things charg'd upon him, warning all those who had any wayes communicated with *Gregory* and his Party, to repent and withdraw, and return to the Communion of the Catholick Church. They wrote^r also to *Julius* of *Rome*, desiring him to impart what had been transacted in the Council to the Bishops of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, lest being impos'd upon by the adverse Party, they might receive communicatory

ⁿ Sever. Sulp.
l. 2. p. 145.

^o Ath. ubi sup.
p. 502. Ep. Syn.
ad Jul. ap.
Hilar. col. 407.

^p Ath. ib. p. 505
& ad Solit.
p. 535.

^q Ext. Epist. ap.
Ath. epist. II.
p. 588.

^r Ext. ap. Hilar.
in frag. col. 406

municatory Letters from them. Besides this, they drew up (as is usual in such Cases) a *Circular* or general Epistle^s to all the Bishops of the Catholick Church, giving them a particular account of what had pass'd from the first meeting of the Council, desiring them to look upon the Persons they had condemned, as under a just *Anathema*, and to have no manner of Communion with them, and that they would ratifie the Sentence and Judgment of the Synod, by adding their own Suffrage and Subscription to it. Which was accordingly done, the Synodical Determination being subscribed by at least CCCXLIV. Bishops. Lastly, having form'd and agreed upon XXI. *Canons* concerning the Rites and good Government and Discipline of Ecclesiastick Matters, and concluded upon an Address with Letters to the Emperors, to be sent by some of their own Body, the Council broke up, and the Fathers return'd home to their several Sees.

^s Ext. ap. Ath.
ib. p. 591. &
ap. alios passim.

S E C T. VIII.

His Acts from the time of the Sardican Council, till the Death of Pope Julius.

Constans his smart Message to his Brother Constantius, in behalf of Athanasius. The vigorous Persecution rais'd by the Arians against the Catholics. The cold entertainment of the Sardican Legats at the Court of Constantius. A villainous Plot against one of the Legats detected and punish'd. Constantius's Relaxation of the Severities against the Catholics, why. The death of Gregory the Arian Bishop of Alexandria. Athanasius recall'd by several Letters from Constantius. His taking leave of the Western Parts, and arrival at the Court at Antioch. What Discourse pass'd between him and the Emperor. Constantius his Letters and Rescripts in his behalf. His positive denial of a Church to the Arians at Alexandria, requested by the Emperor; his Journey towards Alexandria. The first occasion of Apollinaris his starting aside from the Catholick Church. A Synod assembled at Jerusalem, which entertain'd Athanasius, and gave him Communicatory Letters. Constantius his kind Message to him upon the Death of Constans. His coming to Alexandria, and the mighty Expressions of joy for his return. His composing the State of that Church. Ursacius and Valens desire Reconciliation; their Libel of Satisfaction sent to him. His making use of a Church not yet dedicated, without the Emperor's leave. The ill use made of this by his Enemies. The fresh attempts of the Arians against him. Their Address to the Emperor to that purpose. The Crimes charg'd upon him. Letters forg'd in his name. A Synod holden at Sirmium against Photinus. A Confession of Faith drawn up in general Terms. The Disputation between Photinus and Basil of Ancyra. The mistake of Socrates and some others about this Council. Constantius's march against Magnentius. The imposture us'd by Valens Bishop of Mursa to gain favour with the Emperor.

I. **T**HE Persons deputed by the Council to carry an account of their Synodical Transactions to Constantius, were Vincentius Bishop of Capua, and Euphrasius Bishop of Colonia. Together with whom (says Theodoret, though others not improbably suppose it was not till some time after) the Emperor Constantius sent Salias, a General in the Army, a Person renown'd for his Justice and Piety. Their business was, to prevail with the Emperor to put the Decrees of the Synod in Execution, and to permit the ejected Bishops, whom they had restored, quietly to return to their several Sees. And indeed, if it be true what Socrates reports, Constantius wrote to his Brother with some smartness in this manner. Athanasius and Paulus are here with me, whose Cause having enquir'd into, I find they are persecuted upon the account of Religion. If therefore you will engage to restore them to their Sees, and to proceed against those who

* Lib. 2. c. 8. p. 83.

* Lib. 2. c. 22. p. 106.

have unjustly created them all this trouble, I will send them to you. But if you shall refuse to do this, take notice, that I my self will come thither, and restore them their Sees whether you will or no. This Letter is not mention'd by Athanasius himself, nor can it be assign'd to the time of the Sardican Synod, Paulus being at that time in quiet Possession of his See of Constantinople, and therefore must necessarily be referred to some time preceding that Council, when Paul was under his second Exile. But whatever Messages were sent to the Eastern Court, they avail'd little, their Enemies having got the start, and in all places having barr'd up the Doors against them. For immediately upon their return from Sardica, they wrought upon that Emperor's ease and credulous Temper, that he gave them leave to proceed against the Catholick Party, which they did with all imaginable Force and Cruelty, especially against the Bishops and Clergy. Some they loaded with the heaviest Calumnies, others they banish'd, others they put to death, as at Adrianople, where, with the assistance of their old trusty Friend Count Philagrius, they beheaded many, (the Monuments of which savage Inhumanity, Athanasius tells us, he himself saw without the City at his return) and when Lucius the Bishop reprov'd their impious Practices, they bound him neck and hands with Chains, and sent him into Exile, where he died. Edicts they procur'd from the Emperor for the casting them out of all Cities and Churches, and putting them to death where-ever they should be found, and that all Ports and Gates should be strictly watch'd; that if any of the Bishops restor'd by the Synod, should return to their Bishopricks, they might be immediately apprehended; and having the advantage of the publick Posts, Messengers were dispatch'd into all Parts, and where they met with any that disallow'd their Proceedings, they either scourg'd them like Slaves, or imprison'd, or banish'd them. And for Athanasius and his faithful Clergy, Edicts were particularly directed to the Governors of that City, that if any of them came thither, or did but set their foot within the Borders, they should be forthwith put to death. And of them that remain'd there, two Presbyters, and three Deacons had been already banish'd into Armenia.

II. THE Legats, in the mean while, proceeded forwards in their Journey, and arriv'd at the imperial Court at Antioch, where they met with but cold entertainment. For the Arian Faction had so block'd up all Passages, that there was little hope their Embassy should succeed. Nay, not content to ruine them by publick and open Violence, they endeavour'd by secret and hellish Arts to blast and smother the Reputation of these venerable Bishops at their first Arrival. For which end a Plot was set on foot, contrived by Stephen Bishop of Antioch, and carried on by him and his Clergy, and such lewd Persons as they had drawn into the Conspiracy, which in short was thus. An infamous Strumpet was by night introduc'd into the Bishop's Lodgings by one Onager, a Fellow of a most debauch'd and flagitious Life, he himself with fifteen of his Associates being near at hand to assist and carry on the Plot. And to mend the matter, it was the time of Easter, when this Scene was laid. Some of the Family being before-hand corrupted, the Woman is let in, and having stript her self, went directly to the apartment where the Bishops

* Ath. ad Solit. p. 635.

* Ath. lib. 2. p. 636; 637. Theod. lib. 1. Supr. c. 7. p. 84.

Bishops lodg'd. The first she entred was that of *Euphratus*, the elder Bishop of the two, whom she found asleep; but awaking with the noise, and finding by her voice that it was a Woman, he began to cry out in a great amazement, supposing it to be some *Demon* that had assum'd a Female shape. The Woman (who had been made to believe, that a young Gentleman newly come to Town had desired her company that night) perceiving that 'twas a grave ancient Bishop, was as much surpriz'd on the other side, and presently shriek'd and cryed out aloud, nor could all that *Onager* and his Party could say, still her clamour, and perswade her to go on with the Design. In short, the Family is rais'd, the Woman and seven of the Conspirators are taken, and secur'd till next Morning, when (the whole City flocking at the rumor of so strange a Passage) the Matter is heard and examin'd before the Emperor in the Pallace, where it is quickly brought to light, the Woman confessing who 'twas that had set her on, and he impeaching *Onager* as the Person that had acted him, and *Onager* casting the original Contrivance of all upon *Stephen* the Bishop. The issue was, that the Bishops then at Court, were commanded by the Emperor and the Judges to depose *Stephen*, and place another in his room. Which was immediately done: so signally did his malicious and diabolical Project return upon his own head.

III. HOW powerfully does the divine Providence many times over-rule the attempts of bad men, to an end quite contrary to their Designs and Expectations! This unfortunate enterprize not only fail'd in the main Intention, but a little awakned the mind of *Constantius*, and made him suspect that Cause could not be very good, that need'd such impious Artifices to support it. Hereupon he began to relax the severity that had been us'd, commanded the Deacons and Presbyters that had been banish'd into *Armenia*, to return, and wrote expressly to *Alexandria* to stop all Proceedings against *Athanasius* and his Party. Indeed there had pass'd of late several dispatches between him and his Brother *Constans* about this Matter, in one y whereof (as we noted before) *Constans* plainly told him, that unless *Athanasius* were suddenly restored, and his Enemies call'd to an account, he himself would come in Person, and re-settle him by force of Arms. This smart Message, together with what accidents had since ensued, turn'd the Scale with him, who calling some of his Bishops together, communicated to them his thoughts about these Matters, and especially about the rupture that was like to ensue between him and his Brother. Their Advice was, that the least of Evils was to be chosen, and that it were better *Athanasius* should be restored to his See, than the State of the Empire put to the hazards of a Civil War. And the Council at this time was very wise and prudent, *Constantius* being engag'd in a tedious and not very successful War against the King of *Persia*, an Enemy big enough alone to employ the whole Strength of the *Eastern* Empire. But nothing more contributed to this composition, than the death of *Gregory* the *Arian* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who dyed² (not murdered by the Citizens as *Theodoris*² makes him by a mistake for his Successor) ten Months after the late Trans-action at *Sardica*. And now the Chair, so much contended for, being vacant, *Constantius* might with a more plausible *Salvo* to his honour,

¹ Ext. ap. Socr. l. 2. c. 22. p. 106
vid. Theod. ubi
supra. c. 8. p. 83.
Philost. l. 3.
c. 12. p. 485.

² Ath. ubi supra.
p. 637.
³ Id. c. 12. p. 87.

honour recall *Athanasius* to repossess it. To which purpose he wrote¹ to his Brother *Constans*, desiring him that he would perswade and expedite his return, assuring him that for a whole year he had expected it, and had suffered nothing to be done to his prejudice at *Alexandria*, commanding also several of his great Ministers of State to write to the same purpose. Next he sent Letters to *Athanasius* to hasten his return, and that more than once, as we shall see by and by, when we have first remark'd *Athanasius* his Motions since the time we last parted from him.

IV. NO sooner was the *Sardican* Synod broken up, but *Athanasius*² betook himself to *Naissus*, a City in *Dacia*, in the Company (as is probable) of *Gaudentius* Bishop of that place, who gave him, no doubt, a very wellcome entertainment, where he receiv'd Letters from the Emperor *Constans*, acquainting him, 'tis like, how he had been transacting with his Brother on his behalf. Hence he remov'd to *Aquileia* in *Italy*, where Letters from *Constantius* found him, giving him leave, and inviting him to return. The first that came was in this form³.

¹ Ath. Apol. II. p. 597. ad Sc. lit. p. 637.

² Ath. Apol. ad Cor. p. 526. Apol. II. p. 598.

³ Ext. ap. Ath. Apol. II. p. 597. Socr. l. 2. c. 23. p. 107.

CONSTANTIUS the August, the Conqueror, to ATHANASIUS the Bishop.

OUR Compassion and Clemency will not suffer you any longer to be toss'd upon the Waves of a stormy and tempestuous Sea; and though in such mean and miserable Circumstances, driven out of your Country, dispos'd of your Goods, and forc'd to wander up and down in wild and desolate Places, yet has not our unwearied Piety been regardless of you. We have indeed hitherto desir'd to intimate to you this ready Declaration of our good Will, because we expected you should have come of your own accord, and have besought us to give remedy to your Troubles. But because 'tis like fear has detain'd you from this Course, we have sent you these our gracious Letters, that forthwith you may securely come into our presence, to the end, that your desires being granted, and having tasted of our kindness and benignity, you may be restor'd to your Friends, your Possessions, and Country. For the same purpose I have written to my Lord and Brother the Emperor *Constans*, desiring him to give you leave to return, that so by the mutual Consent of both being restor'd to your See, you may have an equal instance of our grace and favour.

After this, came a second Letter¹ to reinforce the security promised in the former, and to grant him the liberty of the publick carriages for his more speedy conveyance to Court. But all this assurance did not yet wholly conquer his Suspicion and Jealousie, not knowing whether under these specious pretences, some snares might not be laid to entrap him. While therefore he hovered in this doubtful uncertainty, a third² Letter came, gently taking notice of his delays, and earnestly quickning his departure. 'Twas sent by *Achillas* a Deacon, to whom the Emperor refer'd him for a more full Satisfaction in that Matter. So that now abandoning all fears, he firmly resolv'd to return.

¹ Ext. Socr. c. 11.

² Ext. Id. c. 12.

V. BUT before his departure from *Aquileia*, he receiv'd a Summons ^e from the Emperor *Constantine* to come to him into *France*. In obedience whereunto, he took his Journey by *Rome*, that he might take his leave of Pope *Julius* and his Friends there, and thank them for the Civilities wherewith he had been treated in that place. Good News it was to them at *Rome* to understand this happy turn of Affairs, they looking upon it as a hopeful Prefage, that the *Eastern* Court would now undertake the Patronage of the Catholick Cause. And to add to the joy of his coming home, *Julius* wrote ^h to the Church of *Alexandria*, to congratulate with them for the return of their beloved Bishop, a Person whose eminent Sufferings had made him illustrious through the World, and to commend them for their constant kindness and affection to him, not doubting but they would receive him with all possible joy and cheerfulness. Thus leaving *Rome*, and having dispatch'd his attendance upon the Emperor *Constantine*, he put himself upon his Journey into the *East*, and being honourably entertain'd and dismiss'd at every place, came at last to *Antioch*, where *Constantine* received him with great Humanity, and gave him leave to return quietly to his See, with Letters directed to the Governors for his safe conduct, and free passage thither. The good Bishop secure in the Confidence of his own Innocency, complain'd ⁱ of the Calamities and the Calumnies he had suffered, desiring the Emperor that his Enemies might not be admitted to exhibit any more Slanders against him behind his back, that his Majesty would be pleas'd now to call his Accusers before him, that he might refute and convince them face to face. This the Emperor would not assent to, but told him, that whatever Calumnies had been entred upon Record against him, should be abolish'd, and that for the future he would receive no slanderous Insinuations against him, wherein nothing should alter his Resolution. All which, he did not only simply promise, but Seal with the Solemnity of an Oath. Accordingly he wrote ^k in his behalf to the Bishops and Clergy of the Catholick Church, to let them know that the most reverend *Athanasius* being restor'd both by the Synodal and Imperial Sentence, he expected that all Acts and Decrees heretofore made against him and his Party, should be buried in Oblivion, and that not the least Jealousie should remain, and that the Clergy of his Party should be re-admitted to all those Privileges which they had heretofore enjoy'd. He wrote likewise to the Laity of *Alexandria* to the same purpose, that they should with all readines receive their Bishop, one universally renown'd for the Piety of his Manners, and the Integrity of his Life, that they should joy in Communion, and live in all Peace and Concord with him, and that if any should attempt to raise Tumults and Seditions, he had given order to the Judges, that they should be punish'd according to Law. A third Rescript was directed to *Nestorius* the *Augustal* Prefect, and to the respective Governors of *Augustamnica*, *Thebais*, and *Libya*, commanding, that whatever had been inserted into the publick Records of *Egypt*, to the scandal and prejudice of *Athanasius* and his Party, should be defac'd and raz'd out, and that they should be intirely re-instated in their former Privileges and Immunities. The *Arians* (who beheld all this with an evil Eye) not being able to hinder it, resolv'd however to make some advantage of these immen-

Favours,

Favours, which the Emperor had confer'd upon *Athanasius*, and thereupon prompted ^l him in consideration of so many Obligations, to request this one kindness from him, that of all the Churches of *Alexandria*, he would grant one for those that were of a different Communion from him. To whom the Bishop modestly replied, *It is in your Power, Sir, to command and do whatever you please, nor shall I attempt to contradict you, but your Majesty, I hope, will not think it unreasonable, for me to beg the like favour from you, that here at Antioch and elsewhere, one Church may be allow'd to the Catholicks, for those that are of their own Communion.* The Emperor could not deny the request to be fair and just, which the *Arians* perceiving, let fall the Motion, well knowing, that if granted, their Sect would do little good at *Alexandria*, where *Athanasius* was held in such a mighty Esteem and Veneration, that he would rather dayly diminish and drain their Party, whereas at *Antioch* the Catholicks were numerous, and though themselves govern'd there with so much Authority, yet could they not generally bring over the People to their side.

VI. ALL things running thus smooth and easie, *Athanasius* set out in his Journey towards *Alexandria*. Coming to *Laodicea* ^m, he was very familiarly attended by *Apollinaris*, a man of polite Parts and Learning, and one of the Clergy in that City, who for no other Reason, than this Civility to *Athanasius*, was instantly excommunicated by *George* the *Arian* Bishop of that place, and the Sentence being obstinately persisted in, is said to have given the first occasion to *Apollinaris* to start aside, and set up a Sect of his own. Hence he went into *Palestine*, where he was joyfully entertain'd by *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* a venerable Confessor (who under the *Maximian* Persecution had lost an Eye, and the use of his right Leg in the defence of the Faith) who assembling a Synod of neighbor-Bishops, they unanimously receiv'd him to Communion, and wrote ⁿ to the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, and to the Clergy of *Alexandria* to this Effect; "That they could never sufficiently magnifie the goodness of God, that after so dismal a face of things had so wonderfully restor'd their true Bishop and Pastor, the Fruit of their many Prayers and Tears, that they themselves had embrac'd him, and communicated with him, and as Evidences of it had sent these Communicatory Letters, and that next to their gratitude to God, they were bound to pray for the happiness of the Emperors, by whose favour he had obtain'd so honourable a Restitution. This Letter, subscrib'd by sixteen Bishops, was delivered to *Athanasius*, who took his leave and departed. But while he was thus on his way, an accident happened, that had like to have spoil'd the whole Scheme of his Affairs, I mean the death of the Emperor *Constantine*, treacherously slain by *Magnentius* in *France*; a Prince of great Zeal and Piety towards the Church, and a particular Friend and Patron to *Athanasius*. With him 'twas thought would fall the Prosperity of *Athanasius*, and indeed the *Arians* began now to think the day their own, and to conclude, that for all his haste, he should never see *Alexandria*. The loss of so great a Patron, and the terror of such potent Enemies, could not but startle the good man, when on a sudden these black Clouds that seem'd gathering about him, were dispell'd by a kind Message from *Constantine*, sent by *Palladius* Controulor of the Palace,

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and

^e Ath. Ap. ad Const. p. 526. Apol. II. p. 598. vid. Soc. l. 3. c. 20. p. 532.

^h Ext. Epist. Ath. Apol. II. c. 9. Soc. locis cit.

ⁱ Ath. ad Solit. p. 637.

^k Ext. Epist. Ath. Apol. II. c. 9. Soc. locis cit.

Ext. ubi sup.

Ext. ibid.

^l Soc. ib. p. 1111. Soc. ubi sup. Theod. l. 2. c. 12. p. 86. Rufin. l. 1. c. 19. p. 233.

^m Soc. l. 6. c. 25. p. 671.

ⁿ Ext. Epist. Ath. Apol. II. p. 601. Soc. l. 3. c. 22. p. 534.

° Ext. ap. Ath.
Apol. ad Const.
p. 526. & ad
Solit. p. 638.

and *Asterius* Governor of *Armenia*, who brought him the following Letter °.

CONSTANTIUS the August, the Conqueror to ATHANASIUS.

HOW earnestly I ever wish'd all Happiness and Prosperity to my Brother *Constans*, you are not ignorant, and with what trouble and resentment I entertain'd the News of his being cut off by barbarous and wicked hands, you may easily imagine. And because there are not wanting some, who in this calamitous time, will be ready to terrify you with frightful Rumors, we have thought good to direct these our Letters to you, exhorting and commanding you, that as becomes a Bishop, you go on to instruct and build up the People in the true Religion, and as you were wont, to attend to the Ministries of Devotion and Prayer, giving no heed to vain idle Stories. For that I am firmly purpos'd, according to my former Resolution, that you shall constantly continue Bishop of that See. The divine Providence preserve you, dear Father, many years.

VII. ENCOURAGED with this Message, *Athanasius* finish'd the remainder of his Journey, arriving at *Alexandria* Ann. Chr. CCCL. near nine years since his last departure, and more than two full years since his Restitution by the *Sardican* Council. The long time of his absence, and the many and great Calamities he had suffered in defence of the Faith, did not a little enhance the Joys and Triumphs of his return. The Bishops & and Clergy, and People from all Parts flock'd to meet him, at once glad to see their beloved Bishop unexpectedly return'd, and to find themselves reliev'd of the Yoke of those, who had hitherto cruelly lorded it over them, and exercis'd a Tyranny both over their Persons and their Consciences. Publick Feasts and Entertainments were made up and down the City, and that God also might have his share of Praise and Honour, sacred Solemnities were frequently kept, and that with more than ordinary strains of Devotion, People exhorting one another to a mighty Zeal and Constancy in Religion. And so far were even some young men and women transported, as upon this occasion to dedicate themselves to a stricter course of Piety: Alms and Charity were distributed with a liberal hand, the hungry were fed, the naked cloath'd, Widows and Orphans provided for; the great Contention was, who should express most forwardness in acts of Piety and Vertue, so that every Family seem'd to be turn'd into a little Church. In summ, that Church which of late was over-run with nothing but Disorder and Confusion, was now happily blest'd with a profound admirable Peace, and *Athanasius* not only honour'd at home, but carest'd and saluted by Bishops from abroad, Letters of Peace frequently passing between him and them. But above all others, the Case of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, the one Bishop of *Singidunum*, the other of *Mursa*, is especially remarkable. Men they were of unfeeling Principles, and of a light desultory Temper, apt to turn as the Wind blew from any Quarter; great Instruments they had been of the *Arian* Party in all their Proceedings

° Ath. ad Solit.
p. 631. Thord.
L. 6. c. 12. p. 87.

ceedings against *Athanasius*, depos'd by *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, restor'd upon their Profession of Repentance in the Convention at *Milan*; but immediately apostatizing, were again condemn'd in the Synod of *Sardia*. And finding now that *Athanasius* was likely to be received into favour in the *Eastern* Court, they again tackt about, and in the year CCCXLIX. exhibit a Libel ° of satisfaction to Pope *Julius*, wherein they openly confess, that whatever Crimes they had heretofore charg'd upon *Athanasius*, were false, and had been all forg'd by them, and were of no force and value; that they now pray'd for Pardon, and were heartily desirous to entertain Communion with *Athanasius*, expressly condemning *Arius* for an Heretick, and all those that sided with him. To *Athanasius* also, some time after, they wrote this following Letter †.

° Ext. ap. Ath.
Apol. II. p. 602.
Hilar. in frag.
col. 411. Soran.
L. 3. c. 23. p. 536.

† Ext. ubi supra

To our Lord and Brother *Athanasius* the Bishop, *Ursacius* and *Valens* Bishops.

Dear Brother,
TAKING the opportunity of *Moses* our Brother and Fellow-Presbyters coming to you, by him we heartily salute you from *Aquileia*, wishing you health, and that our Letters may come safe to your perusal. And hereby shall we be satisfied in your acceptance, if you also please to write back to us. For by these our Letters, we give you to understand, that we hold with you the Peace and Communion of the Church. God keep you, Brother.

After which they freely subscrib'd to those Communicatory Letters, which *Athanasius* by *Peter* and *Trenius* his Presbyters, and *Ammonius* a Laick, had sent up and down to the several Bishops of the Catholick Church, that they ought to testify their Communion with him.

VIII. THE first thing of note he did after his return, was to assemble † the Bishops of his Province, who confirm'd the Decrees of the *Sardican* Council, and what had been done in the late Synod at *Jerusalem*. So that all prejudices seem'd now to be laid asleep, and the *Arian* Interest in those Parts went down the Wind apace, the People flocking in such vast numbers to the publick Assemblies, that the Churches were not able to contain them. There was at *Alexandria* † a stately Fabrick call'd *Hadrianum* (probably because built by the Emperor *Adrian*) and afterwards the *Licinian* or Royal *Gymnasium*; this in the Reign of *Constantius*, was repair'd and turn'd into a Church, and call'd *Cæsarea*, or the Great Church; begun it had been in the time of *Gregory* the *Arian* Bishop, and was now brought to perfection by *Athanasius*, but yet had not receiv'd the Solemnity of a Dedication. Hither † in the *Easter* Holidayes (when the Congregations were throng'd with a more than ordinary confluence of People) it was importunately demanded, that the People might be admitted to assemble, and that Prayers and the holy Eucharist might be administred, as a place more capable of Reception, and to avoid that Crowd and Confusion that attended the lesser Churches. *Athanasius* us'd

† Socr. L. 2. c. 26
p. 119. Soz. L. 4.
c. 1. p. 938.

† Epiph. adv.
Arian. Harif.
LXIX. p. 311.

† Ath. Apol. ad
Const. p. 531.

us'd all prudent Arts to put them off, and to delay the time till leave might be obtain'd to dedicate the Church, but the People impatient, plainly told him, that if their desires were not presently granted, they would leave the Town, and assemble in the open fields, being willing rather to undergo a Journey abroad, than to celebrate the Festival with so much trouble and inconvenience at home. In the *Pentecostal* Solemnities the Conflux being still greater, and the importunities of the People more loud and clamorous, he was wearied with them, and finding that several both young and aged Persons had been almost crowded to death, he was forc'd at length to comply with their request, and to permit Congregations to be held in that place. Which how it was improv'd by his Adversaries into a formal Charge and Accusation, we shall see anon.

IX. WHILE the Church of *Alexandria* enjoy'd this serene and flourishing Season, under the conduct and influence of its venerable Prelate, another Storm began to threaten, and *the Clouds to return after Rain*. Sooner may fore Eyes endure the light of the Sun, than Envy and Malice digest the Prosperity of its Enemies. The *Arians* were not a little vex'd to see *Athanasius* live in so much Honor at home, and Estimation abroad, and the Catholick Interest prosper so in every place, and therefore resolve now upon fresh attempts against him. And first ^w they deal with *Ursacius* and *Valens*, whom they persuade to recant their Recantation, pretending their penitential Confession to have been extorted through fear of the Emperor *Constantius*. Next at a common Consult it was agreed, that they should make an Address to *Constantius*, which they did to this effect. "We told you, Sir, from the beginning, though we had not the happiness to be believ'd, what would ensue upon your recalling *Athanasius*, that thereby you would undermine and ruin our Party, he being all along our profest open Enemy, whom he ceases not to anathematize, and to inveigh against in the Writings which he disperses through the World, so that almost all imbrace his Communion; and even of those who were of our own side, some have already gone over to him, and others stand ready for it. We in the mean while being deserted on all hands, our Cause is in danger of being expos'd, and not we only, but your Majesty to be accounted an Heretick, and perhaps to be thrust down into the lowest and worst rank of them, that of the *Manichees*. Renew therefore your Proceedings against them, and undertake the Patronage of a Party, that truly owns you for their Emperor."

X. AND that they might not seem to press this without some plausible pretence, certain new Charges are fram'd against him, and exhibited to the Emperor; as ^x, that he had usurp'd upon the imperial Authority, by presuming, of his own head, to celebrate the *Encenia*, the festival Dedication of the great Church at *Alexandria*, a thing that might not be done without express Warrant from the Emperor: that ^y he had by Letters, held treasonable correspondence with the Tyrant *Magnentius*, who having murdered the Emperor *Constantius* in *France*, had invaded the imperial Dignity, and to out-face the Matter, pretended that they had a Copy of the Letters. In which there was no more Truth, no nor shadow of a Foundation whereon to build such a Story, further than that *Magnentius* sending

^w *Ath. ad Solit.*
p. 640.

^x *Ath. Apol. ad Const.* p. 551.

^y *Ibid.* p. 527.

Embassadors to *Constantius* (whereof two were Bishops, *Servatius* of *Torgren*, and *Maximinus* of *Triers*, and two of the Nobility, Counts *Clement* and *Valens*) they put in at *Alexandria*, where the Bishops as being Catholick Prelates, and his ancient and intimate Friends, were courteously treated by *Athanasius*; which was but an act of common kindness and gratitude, they being his old acquaintance, by whom, in the time of his Banishment, and at his lowest ebb, he had been generously own'd and entertain'd. And though at the same time, to the very face of the other Embassadors, and in the presence of several great Officers of *Constantius*, he declar'd his severest Detestation of *Magnentius* his Proceedings, and publicly pray'd for *Constantius* his Happiness and Prosperity, and afterwards pray'd the Emperor strictly to examine the Matter, and offered himself to undergo a thousand deaths, if but the just Suspicion of any such thing could be prov'd against him, (for the Letters pretended, how easie was it to counterfeit his, yea even the Emperor's own hand, besides that, his own *Amantes* were ready to make Oath, that he never wrote any such Letter, and he desir'd that *Magnentius* his Secretaries might be examin'd, whether any such ever came to their hands.) Yet did it serve a present turn well enough, to prejudice and exasperate the Emperor's mind against him. Nor did they stay here, but being extremely desirous to be rid of him by any means ^z, forg'd a Letter in his name to *Constantius*, begging his leave that he might go into *Italy* for the settling some Ecclesiastical Affairs. Immediately a Warrant is dispatch'd from Court by *Montanus* an Officer of the Palace, not only giving him license to go, but taking care for the Accommodations of his Voyage. The good man was greatly surpris'd with the Message, but smelling the Design, told *Montanus*, he was most ready to go at the Emperor's order, but the Letter did only give him leave, not command him to depart. This not succeeding, they turn the Design the other way, charging him with Contumacy and Disobedience to the Emperor's Authority, in not quitting his See, when he commanded it. So dextrous is Malice to improve any advantage, and to sail forwards with every Wind.

XI. IT is no wonder, if by such false and villanous Insinuations, the mind of that credulous Prince was easily inflam'd against *Athanasius*. But however at present he thought good to dissemble his Resentments, till he had compos'd the Distractions of the Empire. He was now at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, where by smooth and politic Transactions, he had brought over and secured *Petrannio*, General of the Foot, who about the same time with *Magnentius* had usurp'd the Purple, and set up for himself. While he was here, complaint was made against *Photinus* Bishop of that See, for his heterodox and unsound Opinions. He had been condemn'd in the Synodal Assembly at *Milain*, and presently after in that at *Sardica*; two years after which (as *S. Hilary* ^a expressly asserts) that is, *Ann. CCCXLIX.* the *Western* Bishops met out of several Provinces, by whom he was again sentenc'd as an Heretick, and depos'd from his Bishoprick. But the People thereupon growing into Tumults and Faction, the Synodal Sentence could not take Effect. Another opportunity now presenting it self, the Bishops that were about the Court, persuade the Emperor to convene a Synod about this Matter, which consisted chiefly

^z *Ubi seqt.*
p. 551.

^a *Frag. col. 411.*

of Eastern Bishops, the Western Parts being at this time under the Tyranny of *Magentius*. The first thing they did, was to frame a Confession of Faith, drawn up in such general Terms, as both Parties might assent to it, and accordingly 'tis approv'd and expounded by *S. Hilary*. 'Twas this^b.

^b *Ext. ap. Socr.*
l. 2. c. 20. p. 122.
9. Hilary. l. de
Synod. col. 538.

WE believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker and Creator of all things, of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named: and in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son our Lord, begotten of his Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things were made both in Heaven and in Earth, visible and invisible, who is the Word and Wisdom, the true Light and Life; who in these last times was made man for us, and born of an holy Virgin, who arose from the dead the third day, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and will come again in the end of the World, to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every one according to his Works; whose Kingdom shall have no end, but shall continue to infinite Ages. For he shall sit at the right hand of his Father, not only now, but in the World to come. We believe also in the holy Ghost, that is, the Comforter, whom our Lord promised to his Apostles, and after his Ascension into Heaven, sent down to teach and bring all things to their remembrance, by whom also the hearts of those that truly believe in him are sanctified.

To this they added many particular *Anathemas* against those that affirm'd the Son to be of things not existing, or of any other substance, and not of God, or that there was any time or Age, when he was not, or that he was of *Mary* only, according to God's Preexistence, and not born of the Father, and with God before all Worlds, and that all things were made by him; or that say the divine Essence is dilated or contracted, or that the Son makes it so, or is the Dilatation of the divine Essence; or that being born of *Mary* he was a meer man, or that being God and man, he is the unbegotten; or that the Word being made flesh, shall opine that the Word was changed into flesh, or suffered any change by that Assumption, or that by his Crucifixion, his Divinity was obnoxious to any Corruption, Passion, or Alteration, or that it sustain'd any Diminution or Separation; or that the Father, Son, and holy Ghost are but one Person, or that the holy Ghost is the unbegotten God, or that it is part of the Father and the Son, or that they three are three Gods; whoever shall affirm any of these (some whereof they more particularly explain) they denounce him accursed, and cut off from the Catholick Church.

XII. THE Confession thus drawn up, was offered to *Photinus* to subscribe, which he rejected, and was thereupon again depos'd, and *Germinius* plac'd in his room. After which, they proffered upon his Recantation and Subscription to restore him, but he refus'd it, and being a man of an acute Wit, and a voluble Tongue appeal'd to the Emperor, and challeng'd his Enemies to a Disputation. The Emperor granted his Petition, ordering *Basil* Bishop of *Ancyra* to manage the Cause against him, and appointing *Thalsius*, *Marecellinus*, *Dartian* and some others of the Senatorian Order, as Judges to see things fairly carried in the Disputation, publick Notaries also attending to take

^a *Socr. l. 1. p. 124.*
Socr. l. 4. c. 6.
p. 543. c. 12.
Epiph. adv.
Prot. Heret.
l. XXI. p. 353.

take things as they were delivered, whose notes in three Copies being severally seal'd up, one was carried to the Emperor, another was left with the Judge, and the third remain'd with *Basil* himself. The issue was, *Photinus* was baffled, and beat out of the Field, and shortly after banish'd, where he employ'd his time in writing against the Catholick Faith. This Synod was held at *Sirmium* in the year after the Consulship of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, that is, *Ann. Ch. CCCLII* as both *Socrates*^a and *Sozomen*^b positively say, though by confounding this with some later Synodical Conventions at this place, they strangely mistake both in the Persons of some of the Bishops, and in the number of the Creeds then agreed on, which they make to be three, when as one only was publish'd at this time. A mistake that so far impos'd upon *Baronius*^c, that he makes not this Synod at *Sirmium* to convene till six years after. When as the things now transacted, the Emperor's residence at this time at *Sirmium*, but especially the date of the year fixed by *Socrates* (who is wont to be most accurate in noting the years of the Consuls) do place it at this time past all peradventure. Nor must it be forgotten, that it is not one of the least Errors that *Socrates* commits in this Case, that he makes the Confession we have here set down, to have been compos'd by *Marcus* Bishop of *Arethusa*, whereas the Formula dictated by him was not agreed on and drawn up, till at least eight years after this, whereof more in its due time and place.

^b *ib. c. 29. p. 124.*
^c *ib. p. 542.*

^a *Ad Ann. 357.*

XIII. AFFAIRS being quieted at *Sirmium*, and *Vetranio* reduc'd into order, *Constantius* was at liberty to prosecute his Expedition against *Magentius*, towards which he immediately set forth. Several Skirmishes there had been already, but now both Armies were met in the Plains of *Mursa*, a City in *Pannonia*, where after a fierce and hot Engagement *Magentius* his Army was wholly routed, and himself forc'd to fly from place to place, till at length in *France* he put a Period to his own Life. *Constantius*^d not daring to venture himself in the Fight, expected the issue of the Battel in a Church dedicated to the Martyrs situate without the City, attended by none but *Valens* Bishop of that place, who above all the Prelates of the *Arian* Faction was dear to him. And 'tis not unpleasant, to remark how bold a Cheat he at this time put upon the Emperor. For having so laid his Intelligence, as to have the first account of things before the Emperor's dispatches could arrive, while *Constantius* was distracted with a thousand Cares and Fears, he brings him the joyful Tidings of an absolute Victory. And when the Emperor demanded to see the Messenger that had so speedily brought the News, *Valens* told him, that it was brought to him by an Angel, who came on purpose to impart it to him. An imposture which according to his Design, did not a little advance his credit with *Constantius*, who us'd publicly to profess, that he had gain'd that Victory by *Valens* his Merits, not by the Power and Courage of his Army. This Battel was fought, and Victory obtain'd *Ann. CCCLII* as the *Fasti Consulares*^e expressly place it, and not as *Baronius* heedlessly makes it *Ann. CCCLIII*, which was indeed the year in which *Magentius* died, as the same *Fasti* do declare. And like enough it is, he suppos'd *Magentius* both to have been overthrowen, and to have ended his life the same year, which betray'd him into that mistake.

^d *Sulp. Sev. l. 2.*
p. 152.

^e *Ibid. Fast.*
Consul. p. 55.

portant an occasion, and where the Emperor himself was present, though perhaps no more might be present at the Subscription, not to mention those who refus'd to subscribe. Hither came *Eusebius* Bishop of *Verceilles*, *Lucifer* of *Calaris* in *Sardinia*, and some others as Legates from *Rome*, where they remain'd ten dayes before they were admitted into Council, the Synod in the mean while sending *Cyprian* and *Germinius* with a Letter * to *Eusebius*, to let him know how desirous they were of the Peace and Unity of the Church, in order whereunto it was necessary that he should communicate Councils with them, and agree to that almost the whole World had determin'd in the Case of the *Sacrilegious* (so they term him) *Athanasius*; entering into the Synod, *Eusebius* † was requir'd to subscribe against *Athanasius*, who presently replied, that they ought first to be satisfied about his soundness in the Faith, and that he plainly perceiv'd there were those there present, that were infected with the *Arian* Heresie. Whereupon he laid the *Nicene* Creed down before them, promising he would comply with what they desired, if they would own and subscribe that Faith. *Dionysius* Bishop of *Milan* took up the Paper, and began to underwrite it, which *Valens* Bishop of *Mursa* perceiving, snatch'd the Pen and Paper out of his hand, saying, that that might by no means be suffered. The thing was contested with great noise and opposition, and the report of it quickly spread amongst the People, who entertain'd it with equal Grief and Indignation, insomuch that the Heads of the Party not daring to hazard the Effects of a popular Resentment, thought good to translate the Synod from the Church (where it had been hitherto held) into the Palace, where they might command with greater Authority, and be more secure from the Rage and Fury of the People. And here *Constantinus* ‡ himself sat as Judge and Moderator, though a very partial one, for no sooner did he perceive *Athanasius* his Accusers at any time to flag and falter, but he himself would interpose, and help them out, and when *Paulinus*, *Lucifer*, and others of the Catholick Bishops press'd hard upon the Witnesses, and pleaded that *Ursacius* and *Valens* had heretofore more than once solemnly disown'd and recanted the Charge, and therefore could not now again be admitted as competent Witnesses in this Case, he hastily started up and said, *I myself do here accuse Athanasius, upon my account give credit to their Testimony*. The Catholicks modestly replied, that he could not implead *Athanasius*, nor any judgment pass in the Case, the Party accus'd not being present to answer, and defend himself; that they were not now judging a civil Cause, where the Emperor's bare word might take place; but concerning a Bishop, where the accuser and accused should be equally and impartially dealt with; that if what his Majesty had to object, was only by hearsay, 'twas fit that he should also give credit to what was said on *Athanasius*'s behalf; but if he would not believe him, and yet believe the others, 'twas more than suspicious, that it was merely to please his Majesty that they had brought in that Charge against *Athanasius*.

IV. THIS answer silenc'd the Emperor, who yet was the more enrag'd for being baffled, and that what was wanting in right, might be supplied by force, he resolv'd to banish the Catholick Prelates, and for *Athanasius* himself, severe things were decreed against him, that

* Ext ap. Bar.
ad Ann. 255.
Nicom. VI.

† Hist. lib. an.
const. col. 305.

‡ Ath. ad Solit.
p. 665.

that he should be punish'd according to his Merits, that the Churches should be delivered up to the *Arians*, and that they should be left to their Liberty to act whatever might be for the Interest of their Cause. Thirty of the Bishops then present subscrib'd to his Condemnation, amongst whom *Dionysius* Bishop of *Milan* being drawn in, did presently retract his Assent, and by a wile of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Verceilles*, got his name stricken out of the Roll. Before they parted, they publish'd a pestilent Epistle * under the Emperor's name, which they did to this end, that if it took with the People, it might seem to come out with the Sanction of publick Authority, but if it met with no entertainment, the Odium of it might fall upon the Emperor, who might the easilier be excus'd, being as yet a *Catechumen*, that could not be suppos'd to be critically vers'd in the Mysteries of the Faith. But no sooner was it read publicly in the Church, but the People generally testified their abhorrence of it. *Constantinus* † sending for the chief of the Catholick Bishops, commanded them once more to subscribe the Synodal Decree, and to communicate with the other Party. Whereat when they stood amaz'd and replied, that this was not the Rule and Canon of the Church, he briskly answered, *What I command, let that be your Canon, for so the Syrian Bishops are wont to entertain my Edicts, either therefore submit, or you shall immediately into Banishment*. The good Bishops yet more astonish'd, lift up their hands to Heaven, and freely declaring their minds, told him, that the Empire was not his, but Gods, from whom he had receiv'd it, and that he should be afraid to provoke him to take it from him. They put him in mind of the day of Judgment, and advis'd him not to offer violence to the Church, not to blend the civil Power with Ecclesiastick Constitutions, nor to introduce *Arianism* into the Church of God. His anger and impatience could bear no more, but full of rage and threatening, he brandish'd his Sword at them, and forthwith commanded several of them to be banish'd, *Eusebius* of *Verceilles* to *Schythopolis*, *Lucifer* *Cataritanus* into *Palestine*, where he wrote against the Emperor, *Dionysius* of *Milan* into *Cappadocia*, where he died, and *Paulinus* of *Triers*, who in the fifth year of his banishment died in *Phrygia*.

V. BUT all this was not thought sufficient, unless Pope *Liberius* was either brought over, or remov'd out of the way. *Constantinus* ‡ therefore presently dispatches *Eusebius* the Eunuch his Chamberlain away to *Rome* with Letters and Presents to *Liberius*; whom he acquainted with the Emperor's Counsel and Command, and taking him gently by the hand, shew'd him the Presents, which, said he, are all at your Service, if you will but comply with the Emperor. But the Bishop reject'd them with a generous scorn, and told him, that he could not consent to condemn *Athanasius*, a Person, who had been once and again Synodically absolv'd from all the Crimes charg'd upon him, and whom the Church of *Rome* had entertain'd and dismiss'd with peace; that it would look strange, if he should reject him being absent, with whom when present he had maintain'd friendship and agreement, and that this was not the Canon nor Custom of the Church; that if the Emperor was concern'd for the Peace of the Church, and desirous that what had been written in defence of *Athanasius* might be raz'd and stifled, it was but fit that what had been

* S. Stev. l. 2.
p. 154.

† Ath. ubi sup.
p. 643.

‡ Id. ib. p. 644.

been written against him should be blotted out also, and such a Synod call'd, where neither the Emperor might be present, nor any of his great Ministers of State to influence and awe the Council; where nothing but the fear of God, and the Apostolick Constitution might take place, that so the Faith agreed upon at *Nice* might be first confirmed, and the Favourers of *Arianism* condemn'd, and that then the Case of *Athanasius* and his Opposers might be discuss'd and canvass'd. This had been the way of the Ancients, and with this Resolution he might acquaint the Emperor. The Eunuch was vex'd to find the Bishop not only unwilling to subscribe, but obstinately infected with what he call'd Heresie, whereupon he broke out into high words and threatnings, and taking up the Presents, went out of doors, and entering into *S. Peter's Church*, offer'd them at the Altar. Which *Liberius* no sooner understood, but he sharply chid the Guardian of the Church for suffering it, and threw the Gifts that had been offer'd out of doors. Which still more exasperated the Eunuch, who made no over-favourable Representation of these things to the Emperor. Hereupon several great Officers of the Palace were sent to *Rome*, and Letters written to *Leontius* Prefect of the City, commanding that either by fair means or force *Liberius* should be forthwith sent to Court. The rumor quickly rais'd infinite Confusion and Consternation in the City, every man thinking himself concern'd to provide for his own safety either by concealment or flight. *Liberius* was kept under strict watches, and at length by night convey'd to *Milan*. Where at his arrival he freely told the Emperor, that he should do well to leave off persecuting Christians, and not think to make him a property to introduce Impiety into the Church, and that he was ready to suffer any thing, rather than to become *Arian*; that he advis'd him to take heed how he unworthily fought against him that had made him Emperor, and that he would find it hard for him to kick against the pricks; that for his own part he was come with an expectation of being banish'd, before any thing was charg'd upon him; that so it might appear, that the rest that had been serv'd to, had been brought to it merely through malice and falsehood.

VI. THERE is a more particular account still extant, of what pass'd between them at this meeting, extract'd out of the Acts of the imperial Consistory, where this Conference was held, at which were present the Emperor, *Liberius*, *Enochius* the Eunuch, and *Epictetus* an *Arian* Bishop. The sum of the Discourse is set down by *Sozomen*, but 'tis extant intire in *Theodoret*^a, which because it chiefly concerns the Cause of *Athanasius*, we shall here insert.

CONSTANTINUS. Forasmuch as you are a Christian, and Bishop of our City, we have thought good to send for you, and admonish you to renounce Communion with the leud and wretched Cause of *Athanasius*. A thing wherein the World has consented, having by Synodal Sentence banish'd him all Ecclesiastick Communion. LIBERTUS. Sir, the Determination of Ecclesiastick Affairs, ought to be made with all possible Equity and Impartiality. If therefore it please your Majesty, let the Cause be judg'd; and if it shall appear that *Athanasius* deserves to be condemn'd, then according to the Rules of Ecclesiastick Proceedings, let Sentence pass against him.

^a Vid. Am. Marcell. l. 15. p. 1455.

^a Lib. 4. c. 11. p. 551.
^b Lib. 2. c. 16. p. 92.

him; for we cannot condemn a Person, whom we have not judg'd. CONST. The whole World has already pass'd Sentence upon his impious Cause, but he, as he has done all along, does but trifle away the time, and make light of it. LIB. They who gave this account, did not themselves see the things done, but wrote them for vain-glory, or fear, or to avoid the disgrace which your Majesty might cast upon them. CONST. What glory, what fear, what disgrace do you mean? LIB. Those I mean, who do not love the Glory of God, but preferring your bounty and favour, have condemn'd him, whom they have neither seen nor judg'd. A thing which all true Christians do abhor. CONST. Was he not present in the Synod at *Tyre*, and there judg'd and condemn'd by all the Prelates of the Empire? LIB. No, Sir, he was never judg'd where himself was present; for they who condemn'd him in that Assembly, pass'd that unjust Sentence upon him after his departure from the Council. EUSEBIUS. [In the Synod of *Nice* he was convict of being an Enemy to the Catholick Faith.] LIB. There were indeed but five of them that judg'd him, those five who were purposely sent by the rest into *Macedonia*, to forge and make Acts and Records against him. Of these five two are dead. *Theognis* and *Theodorus*, the three others, *Marius*, *Valens* and *Ursacius*, are still alive; who for this very Cause were condemn'd in the *Sardican Synod*, and who afterwards in a Synod prefer'd their Libels, and beg'd pardon for the Acts which in *Macedonia* they had fallily and clandestinely fram'd against *Athanasius*; which Libels we have now by us. And now, Sir, Judge, whom we ought rather to believe, and communicate with? those who first condemn'd *Athanasius*, and then ask'd pardon for what they had done, or those who lately condemn'd them for such irregular Practices? EPICTETUS. It is not, Sir, for the Faiths sake, or for defence of Ecclesiastick Judgments, that *Liberius* at this time makes all this stir, but that he may boast to the Senators at *Rome*, that he has been too hard for the Emperor. CONST. How considerable a part of the World, *Liberius*, do you reckon your self, that you only should patronize a vile man, and thereby disturb the Peace of the whole *Roman Empire*? LIB. Though I were alone in this Matter, yet the Cause of the Faith would not be thereby prejudic'd. There was once a time, when there were but three found that refus'd to comply with the King's Command. EUSEB. What, then you make our Emperor a second *Nebuchadnezzar*. LIB. No, I do not; but you rashly condemn a Person, whom we have not judg'd. All that I require is, that first the *Nicene Creed* may be ratified by an universal Subscription; then, that our Brethren that are banish'd may be recall'd, and restor'd to their Sees; and if then it appear, that they who now rais'd all these stirs, do embrace the Apostolick Faith, we may all Synodically meet at *Alexandria*, where both the Accusers and the Accus'd are, and the Advocates of each Party, where having thoroughly examin'd Matters, we may unanimously pronounce Sentence in the Case. EPICT. But the publick Carriages will not suffice to convey so many Bishops thither. LIB. As for that, Ecclesiastick Causes need not the assistance of the publick Carriages. For every Church may easily enough at their own Charge transport their Bishops by Sea. CONST. The things that have been already agreed

^b Nescio quid sibi voluerit hic Eunuchus, &c. Stultus frustra loquitur. Valer. in loc.

agreed on, cannot be undone; for the Vote of the Majority of Bishops ought to prevail. You are the only Person that retains the Friendship of that wicked man. *L I B.* Sir, I never yet heard a Judge lay Impiety to any Person's Charge, who was not there to answer for himself; a thing that would rather argue a private Grudge and Enmity against him. *CONST.* He has in general injured all men, but no man like me. For not content with the death of my elder Brother, he never ceased to stir up *Constans* of blessed Memory to Quarrels and Hostility against me, which must have broken out into ill Effects; if I by a most invincible Meekness and Patience had not born the powerful Inclination both of him that was excited, and of him that excited him to that attempt. And therefore I account no Victory so great, no not that which I obtain'd over *Magentius* and *Silvanus*, as I do the ejecting this wretched man out of all Ecclesiastick Administration. *L I B.* I beseech you, Sir, don't reek your Enmity upon the Bishops; for the hands of Ecclesiasticks ought to be employ'd only to bless and consecrate. May it please you therefore to command that the Bishops be recall'd to their own Sees, and if they shall be found to agree with him, who to this hour tenaciously adheres to the orthodox Faith explain'd in the Synod of *Nice*, then let them assemble and provide for the Peace of the World, that so it may not appear that an Innocent man is branded and condemn'd. *CONST.* All that require and command is, that you entertain Communion with the Churches, and return back to *Rome*. Yield therefore to Peace, and subscribe, and then go home. *L I B.* I have already taken leave of the Brethren at *Rome*; for the Laws of the Church are dearer to me, than an Habitation at *Rome*. *CONST.* I give you three dayes time to advise, whether you will subscribe and go back to *Rome*, or to consider of what other place you desire to be transported to. *L I B.* It is not the space of three dayes or months, that will make any Alteration in my mind. Send me therefore whither you please.

VII. THUS ended the Conference, wherein *Constantius* was Superior in nothing but Power and Might, which seldom fails to carry the Conclusion. Two dayes after, the Emperor again call'd for *Liberius*, and finding him stiff in his Resolution, decreed him to be banish'd to *Berea* a City of *Thrace*. The good man took his leave, and being gone out, the Emperor, either to mollifie the sharpness of the Sentence, or out of a generous Compassion, and respect to the Condition and Quality of the man, sent him five hundred pieces of Gold to bear his Charges. But he refus'd it, and bad the Messenger restore them to his Master, and desire him to give them to his Soldiers, to his Flatterers and needy Courtiers, who were always craving, and never satisfied. The Emperess also sent him the like Sum, which he return'd with the like answer, adding, that if the Emperor had no need of the Money to pay his Army, he might give them to *Auxentius* and *Epictetus* (two *Asian* Bishops that hung about the Court) who had need enough of them. When *Eusebius* the Eunuch perceiv'd that he had refused the imperial Presents, he himself brought him one. To whom *Liberius* tartly replied, you have laid waste the Churches throughout the World, and do you bring me an

Alms as to a Criminal Person. Go your way, and first become a Christian. So after three dayes he took his Journey towards *Berea*, where we leave him for a while, being likely to find him of another mind, when we shall next meet with him.

S E C T. X.

The cruel Proceedings against Athanasius and the Catholics at Alexandria.

Severe Edicts publish'd against Athanasius. Respite granted by the Governours, but not observ'd. The desperate attempts of the Arian Faction at Alexandria under Count Syrianus. The Congregation set upon by armed Multitudes; the horrible Murders, Out-rages, and Profanations committed at that time. The Persecution of the People of Alexandria. Athanasius his escape into the Wilderness. The Persecution re-inforc'd by Count Heraclius. The extrem Cruelties of that Persecution. Great encouragement and rejoicing hereby given to the Gentiles. Immediate Judgments upon some of the most forward Zealots. George of Cappadocia ordain'd Bishop of Alexandria by the Arians. This George, who; what his temper and former course of Life. The time and place of his Ordination. His arrival at Alexandria, and violent Proceedings against the Catholick Party, without distinction of Age, Sex, Person, or Profession. The prodigious Severities us'd throughout the neighboring Countries. Constantius his Letter in Commendation of the Proceedings at Alexandria, and for a farther exposing of Athanasius. Athanasius his excellent Converse with the Monks and Hermits in the Wilderness, and their just Veneration for him. What Books he wrote at that time. His several Apologies in his own defence. Persecuted into a more private part of the Desert. The fabulous report of Rufinus, of his lying hid in a Well; and of Palladius, that he dwelt six years in the House of a Virgin. The mistake of a Greek Historian of his being banish'd into England.

I. **H**AVING thus far represented the *Arbanasian* Cause, as acted upon the Stage abroad, we must now step back a little, and see how the Scene was manag'd nearer home. Long he had not quietly repossess'd his Episcopal Throne, when by subtle and malicious Insinuations, *Constantius* his mind was again alienated from him, who having procur'd him to be condemn'd in the pack'd Synods of *Arles* and *Milan*, publish'd very severe Edicts against him, and commanded ^c that he should be kill'd where-ever he could be met with. But before they proceeded to open rigors, they attempted him by secret and craty Artifices. And first *Montanus* the *Palatine* ^d was sent to him, to try if he could put a trick upon him, and draw him into a Voluntary recess from *Alexandria*. But that not succeeding, he was let alone for somewhat more than two years, when came *Diogenes*, the

Περικασίης
δοκοτίνης]
δοκοτίνης
idem proculdubio erat cum
solido auro.
Jam vero solidus aurestem-
pore Constantii
juxta calculum Brerewoodi nostri
valebat de nostro — 8 s.
— 6^d ob —
q. & $\frac{6}{7}$ q.

Secr. 4, 2, 6, 26

p. 117.

^d *Atb. Apol. ad*
Const. p. 534,

535, 536

the *Notary*, who whatever he might set on foot by private Councils, had no publick Commission to proceed against him, nor so much as once offered to speak with him. After him came Count *Syrianus*, Commander of the Army, a man according to his Profession, of a fierce bloody Temper, who yet at first attempted nothing. But the *Arian* Party bearing themselves high, and talking of what great things they would now do, the Clergy and Major part of the City came to *Syrianus*, and besought him, that no disturbance might be made, till they could send an Embassy to the Emperor. This with great difficulty he assented to, solemnly swearing to observe his Promise. And the Legation (if we may believe *Sozomen*^c) was actually sent, *Athanasius* dispatching five Bishops (the chief whereof was *Scrapius* Bishop of *Thmus*, a very Pious and Eloquent man) and with them some of the Presbyters; soon after whose departure came Letters from the Emperor, commanding *Athanasius* to repair to Court, upon whose refusal, a Messenger came the next year to force him thence. But of this *Athanasius* himself makes no mention, no not in those places where he most solemnly vindicates himself from this Charge, affirming more than once, how ready he was to have come, had he but receiv'd the least order from the Emperor.

II. IN the mean while *Syrianus* and the other Governours began to be attended with crowds of the *Arian* Faction, and Cabals were held, and entertainments made in several places, which made *Athanasius* suspect that something more than fair dealing was intended. However they rested secure in *Syrianus* his Promise, and the publick Assemblies were kept with great joy and thankfulness. When behold on a sudden within less than a Month after the security given, *Syrianus* with a Party of above five thousand Souldiers, accompanied with great numbers of *Arians*, who had never ces'd to infligate him to this attempt, broke into the Church, where the People were met at their common Devotions, in order to the holy Communion that was to be administred the next day. It was night^f, and great numbers were assembled, and were intent at their holy Offices, when on a sudden the Church was full of drawn Swords, Spears, Clubs, Arrows, and other Military Furniture, which meeting with the darkness of the Night, and the Reflection of the lights in the Church conspir'd to heighten the Amazement and Consternation. Guards were also set round the Church, that none might escape, and command given to begin the Tragedy within, whereupon followed an innumerable Slaughter, those of the holy Order being some beaten, or chain'd, others kill'd, the devout Virgins abus'd, rifled, and several of them slain, whose Bodies for shame they cast into Graves. *Athanasius*, who soon apprehended what the Matter was, sat still in his Chair, and not willing to desert his Flock in this distress, call'd to the Deacon to sing the CXXXVI. Psalm, the People answering, *For his mercy endureth for ever*. Which done, he commanded them to depart, and go to their Houses. By this time the Souldiers were advanc'd, and were coming to beset the Quire, when the Clergy and People that were about him, earnestly besought *Athanasius* to shift for himself, he on the other hand protesting he would not stir a foot, till they were all departed, and rising from his Chair, passionately intreated them to be gone, affirming it to be much better, that he himself

^a Lib. 4. c. 9.
^b 517.

^c lib. p. 538. &
Apol. de sig.
p. 557. & pro-
tist. P. p. Alex.
ad calc. Ep. ad
Solit.

himself should be expos'd to danger, than that any of them should be hurt. The People getting away as well as they could, the Clergy and Monks that were left, in a manner forc'd *Athanasius* along with them, whom (though almost stifled and crowded to death) they convey'd safe through all the Guards, and secur'd him out of their reach. All things were full of Terror and Confusion, the Church prophan'd with blood and dead Carcasses, with Swords and Arms, no reverence had either to Persons or Things, the Souldiers rushing into those places, where none but the holy Order were permitted to enter, and when any complain'd, or pray'd help of *Syrianus* against force and violence, they were rejected and soundly beaten into the bargain: Nay, he endeavoured to force the People to an acknowledgment, that no Tumult had been rais'd, nor any hurt done. Who so much the more complain'd that all this had been done without any order from the Emperor, to whom they sent an account by some that were then going to Court, beseeching *Maximus* Governor of *Egypt*, and the rest of the Governors, that they also would send dispatches concerning it to the Emperor; and that it might not fail, they oblig'd the Masters of Ships then ready to depart, to disperse the report of it in all places where they came, that so it might some way arrive at the Emperor's ear. And after all, they entred their publick ^g Protestation, wherein they give an account of the violence that had been offered, professing they were ready to suffer Persecution, if it were the Emperors pleasure: but if not, they desir'd that they might live in quiet, and enjoy their Bishop, without having any other impos'd upon them. By which Protestation it appears, that this Tragedy was on the XXVth. of February, Ann. CCCLVI.

III. *ATHANASIUS* having thus happily escap'd the hands of his Enemies, retir'd into the Wilderness, whence he determin'd to go in Person to the Emperor, and was now^h entred on his Journey, when hearing of the cruel and barbarous Usage which his Friends and Followers every where met with, and despairing of success, he return'd back to his Shades and Solitudes, where we shall again find him, and how he employ'd himself. No sooner was he departed, but Count *Heraclius*ⁱ comes with a Warrant from the Emperor to the Senate and People of *Alexandria*, commanding them upon their Allegiance, with joyn't-force to persecute *Athanasius*. The man executed his Edict with the utmost rigor, proclaiming it openly in every place, that it was the Emperor's pleasure that *Athanasius* should be ejected, and the Churches resign'd up to the *Arians*, commanding the Magistrates and respective Officers under great Penalties to see it done, and forcing even the *Gentile*-Priests and Officers to approve his Transactions, and to promise to own him for Bishop whom the Emperor should send, some for fear, others out of hopes of Advantage engaging with him, for the performance whereof, he took security under their own hands. With *Heraclius* joyn'd *Catabronius* Prefect of *Egypt*, and *Fausstinus* the Treasurer, who were followed by a Rabble, especially of the younger sort, and multitudes of *Gentiles*. Their first attempt was upon the Assembly met on Wednesday in the great Church of the City, though it hapning that the Con-

^g Ext. ad calc.
Ep. ad Solit.
sed in Edit.
Comm. loco
non suo ad fin.
Tom. 1. p. 856.

^h Apol. ad Const.
p. 539.

ⁱ Epist. ad Solit.
p. 652, &c.

^k Τετάρτη ἡν ἑξήσθην; which Baronius ad Ann. 355 Num. 32. renders quarta Sabbati ante Pentecosten; for what reason I cannot imagine, unless he thought what was now done in Lent, had hapned a little before Whitsonide.

gregation being dismiss'd, the greatest part were gone; some few Women only being left, whom as they were rising from their Devotions, they set upon with Clubs and Stones, the holy Virgins they miserably beat, tearing their Cloaths, pulling off their Head-attire, and kicking those that made resistance, and what was infinitely more intolerable to them than Clubs or Stones, grated their chaste Ears with filthy and obscene Speeches. Many young Maids they forcibly took out of their Father's Houses; others they abus'd and affronted as they met them in the Streets, stirring up the wild Rabble to pull off their Vales, and giving their own Wives leave to abuse all they met, so that grave Matrons were glad, as they met them, to step aside, and give them the way; who ran up and down like wild Furies, accounting it a hard Case, and a lost day, wherein they had not done some injury or mischief. Nor did the Clergy fare better than the rest, the Deacons and Presbyters, yea and their Friends and Followers were pull'd out, banish'd, beaten, and some kill'd and by a Savage Barbarity not commonly known amongst men, their dead Bodies torn limb from limb. So that all Humanity seem'd to be laid aside, and Hell it self to be broken loose. They took *Eutychius* a Sub-deacon, a man of approved Integrity and Fidelity, and having whip'd him, till they had even driven his Soul out of his Body, were carrying him to the Mines, and the worst part of them too, call'd *Pheno*, a place where the sturdiest Malefactor is not wont to live many dayes, not giving him so much as an hours respite for the dressing and curing of his Wounds. But the good man was soon releas'd out of their hands, for they had not gone far, when unable to hold out, he dropt down and died. The People out of common Compassion had interceded for him, but were rejected, and four of them, honest and substantial men, were apprehended for their pains, grievously scourg'd and thrown into Prison. And when the *Arians* not satisfied herewith, murmured, and threatened to complain above, the Commander, out of fear, gave order that they should be scourg'd a second time, the Innocent men saying no more, than that, "Tis for the Truth that we suffer, we cannot communicate with Hereticks; go on to beat us as much as you please, there will be a time when God will reckon with you for these things. And that they might wholly extinguish all sparks of Charity and Compassion, they suffer'd not the Poor to be reliev'd; for whereas the poor Widows and Orphans that had formerly been sustain'd by the Bounty of the Church, were yet provided for by the kindness of pious and charitable Persons, they now by a new and unheard of Cruelty indicted, prosecuted and punish'd those who receiv'd the Alms, as well as those that gave them. 'Twere endless to tell of the Houses that were broken open and rifled, the Goods and Provisions carried away, and divided amongst the Soldiers; the Tombs and Monuments of the dead violated and spoil'd, under a pretence of searching for *Athanasius*; the Multitudes that were fined, and forc'd to take up Money at Interest to pay their Ransom; others that fled from place to place, and at last were driven into the Wilderness; others choosing rather to commit themselves to the Mercy of the Sea, than to fall into the hands of such merciless and bloody People.

IV. NOR

IV. NOR did their rage extend only to the living, but even to senseless and inanimate things; they took the Benches in the Church, the Episcopal Chair, the Communion-Table, the Partitions, and whatever else they could bring away, and throwing them on an heap in the great Street before the Church-gate, set them on fire, casting Frankincense into it. A day of Triumph, of Joy and Jubilee to the *Gentiles*, who concluded, that surely the Emperor and the *Arians* were coming over to them, and were so far elevated in their Hopes and Expectations, that they were upon the Point publicly to set up their *Pagan*-Rites; for espying a Beast drawing Water for the Gardens of the imperial Palace, they intended it for a Sacrifice, and had actually done it, but that it prov'd an Heifer, which was not allow'd by their Sacrificial Laws. And certainly had they not been fatally bent upon these mischievous Proceedings, they met with some unhappy Accidents, that one would have thought should have stop'd their Career. When they first broke into the Church, a bold young Fellow rush'd into the Quire, and insolently clapping himself down in the Bishop's Throne, sung a lewd obscene Song through the Nose, and rising up, caught the Chair, with an intent to beat it all in pieces, when a large Splinter of it ran into his Belly, and pierc'd his Bowels, which presently began to flow out, and being taken up, and carried away, he died the next day. Another coming into the Church with boughs in his hands, and waving them about after the Gentile manner, was immediately struck stark blind, and became insensible where he was, and being ready to drop down, was carried out, and after a dayes time hardly recovered his understanding, being neither sensible of what he had done, nor of what had been done to him. These miraculous Interposals of the divine Providence, though they had no good effect upon the *Arians*, who *Pharoh*-like were hardened the more by every stroke, yet struck terror into the *Gentiles*, who become less forward to such prophane attempts. And indeed to such a height did the Cruelties of this Persecution proceed, that the very *Gentiles* began to be ashamed on't, and could not but abominate the *Arians* as the most merciless inhumane Butchers, Persons that offered notorious Violence to all those Principles of kindness and tenderness, that are natural and essential to Mankind.

V. WHAT had hitherto hapned was but the beginning of Sorrows, Preparatory Evils, to make way for the new-design'd Bishop. For it very much concern'd them quickly to fill up the vacancy they had made, and to fix a trusty Person in this great Station of the Church. And to this end they pitch'd upon one *George*, an inconsiderable Fellow, but a man fit for the purpose, being (as *Sozomen* ^k *Lib. 3. c. 7.* tells us) a buisie man, and a prime Stickler for the *Arian* Cause. This *George* (whom, one ^l otherwise sufficiently vers'd in Church-story, by a prodigious and almost unpardonable mistake, makes the same with his *Arian* Predecessor *Gregory*, most commonly call'd *George* in the *Latin* Translation of *Athanasius*, condemn'd and depos'd in the *Sardican* Council, and to make good one mistake commits another, by more than once confounding him with *George* Bishop of *Laodicea*, and the mistake so much the worse, because he himself ^m so smartly ⁿ *ibid. 5. 8.* and severely censures those, who having taken a conceit against *George* the *Arian*, think presently that every *George* they meet with in discourse

or reading, must be of Alexandria: This George, I said, was born in Cappadocia, a Country famous even in common Speech, for the loudness of its manners; and therefore one of the three Proverbially noted with a *μεγα Καρτια ἔχοντα*; whence *Athanasius* once and again styles him, a *man* of Cappadocia, and *Nazianzen* (himself that Country-man) calls him a *Cappadocian Monster*, that broke loose from the utmost confines of that Country, and Apologizes * for his Country for producing him, Impiety not being to be ascrib'd to the Place, but the Person, that Thorns will spring up in the Vine-yard, and that a Traytor was amongst the twelve Disciples. S. Gregory of Nyssa † calls him the *Cappadocian Tarbasthenite*, because born, I suppose, at *Tarbasthenes*, a poor Village in Cappadocia, and *Sozomen* ‡ says most expressly, that he was *τὸ πρῶτον Καππαδοκίαν*, a *Cappadocian* born. § This true *Ammianus Marcellinus* ¶ tells us, that he was born in a Fulling-Mill at *Epiphania* a Town in *Cilicia*. But besides that those contemninous Parts of *Cilicia* were anciently reckon'd under the Notion of *Cappadocia* taken at large, the Historian vouches no other security for his Assertion than meer report; when as *Nazianzen* (who liv'd also at that time) may not only be reasonably presum'd to understand better the Affairs of his own Country, but expressly declares, that he deliver'd those things not as Rumors, or vain Suspicions, but as Matters of certain and accurate Knowledge. Agreeable to his Country were his Temper and Manners; a man (as that eloquent Father goes on to decypher him) of a bad Race, and worse Qualities, of no Consideration or Account, fordidly educated, and of a rough and unaffable Conversation, one that did not so much as pretend to Religion, fit to undertake any Villany, and to disturb Affairs where-ever he came, a detestable Flatterer, that thrust himself upon great mens Tables, and compos'd all his Words and Actions to promote no other Designs than those of Gluttony and Excess. This servile Temper recommended him to an employment in the State, first to be Provisor General of Pork for the Army (an Office suitable to his fordid and swinish Temper) and then (if it were not the same employment) to be receiver † of the Stores at *Constantinople*, wherein he behav'd himself so unfaithfully to his Trust, prodigally waisting all upon his Luxury, that he was forc'd to run for't, and Vagabond-like, wand'red from place to place, till at last he was pick'd up and made Bishop of *Alexandria*, where (as *Nazianzen* adds) he left off his rambling, and began his Villanies, and whither he came like one of the *Egyptian* Plagues. And indeed the Heathen Historian † grants, that the sending him thither, was to the mischief and prejudice of a great many, and against his own as well as the common Good, as it was not like to be otherwise in a place so naturally prone to Sedition, and apt to fly out into Tumults, even when there's no just Cause to provoke them to it. He was ordain'd to this place by a Synod met at *Antioch*, ‡ *Lib. 4. c. 8.* *Ann. Chr. CCCLVI.* (for *Sozomen* §, who relates the Passage, plainly mistakes the time) where were assembled *Narcissus* of *Cilicia*, *Theodorus* of *Thrace*, *Eugenius* Bishop of *Nice*, *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, *Menophantus* of *Ephesus*, and about thirty more, who wrote an *Encyclical* Epistle to the Bishops of the several Churches, to let them know, that *Athanasius* had, contrary to the Canons, return'd to *Alexandria*, having not been adjudg'd Innocent by any Synod, nor any other

* Orig. XXI. p. 382.

† Ib. p. 381.

† C. 101. v. 1. p. 30.

‡ Ib. p. 381.

§ L. 21. p. 166.

† Athad. Solit. p. 666.

† A. Marcell. loc. cit.

‡ Lib. 4. c. 8. p. 546.

other ways, but by the contentious Proceedings of his own Party; that therefore they intreated them to hold no Communion with him, nor so much as to write to him, but to communicate with *George*, whom they had ordain'd in his room.

VI. HE arriv'd at *Alexandria* about the end of *Lent* *, introduc'd and install'd by a Military Guard, great Crowds of People flocking to the Church to behold this new and strange sight. He was attended and usher'd in amongst others by *Philagrius* (his Country-man, a trusty Friend to the *Arians*, and one who had heretofore more than once been employ'd upon the like errands) who, probably, was again made Prefect of *Egypt* to serve this turn. The *Octaves* of *Easter* being past, the Wolf began to lay aside the Sheeps cloathing, and to shew himself in his own colours. For the People generally detesting Communion with him, and assembling in the Churches as they were wont, his Friend *Philagrius* with an armed multitude of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and all the scum and refuse of the People broke in upon them, and what miserable havoc they made, 'tis easie to imagine. For now nothing could be seen but hurrying the sacred Virgins to Prison, committing Bishops to the custody of men of War, forcibly breaking open and rising the Houses of Widows and Orphans, dragging Persons out of their Houses by night, and the very Brethren of Clergy-men faring ill for their Relation-sake. On the Week immediately after *Whitsontide*, the People having ended their Fast, were gone out into the Church-yard to their Devotions, being unwilling to communicate with *George* the Bishop. Which he no sooner understood, but he sent to *Sebastian* Captain of the Guards, and by Sect a *Manichee*, to repair thither with his Company; which he did immediately, and finding that by this time of the day a great part of the Assembly was gone, he made a violent assault upon the rest. He caus'd a fire to be made, to which he brought the holy Virgins, and threatned to burn them, if they did not forthwith turn *Arians*. But when he perceiv'd them constant and resolute in the Faith, and to make light of the Flames that were ready to devour them, he strip'd them of their Garments, and beat them so cruelly on the Face, that for a long time after, it was hard to know who they were. Forty men were so unmercifully handled with Rods newly made, and the pricks yet upon them, that some of them very difficultly recovered after a tedious Cure, and others not able to bear up under it, died; the rest that were not thus severely dealt with, were banish'd. As for the Bodies of the Slain, they all along denied them to their Friends and Kindred, but keeping them unburied, hid them, lest the World should be Spectators of such barbarous Indignities. Neither Persons nor things were safe from rudeness and violence, Virgins, Priests, Laicks were drag'd up and down, hal'd before the Bench of Justice, fin'd, imprison'd, beaten, trampled on, and even trodden to death. Churches and Fonts were set on fire, Bibles burnt, and the Communion-Tables over-turn'd, and Sacrilegiously abus'd. *Jews* and *Heathens* irreverently broke into the *Baptistery*, and putting off their Cloaths, prophan'd and desil'd those Holy places by Words and Actions not fit to be related. Nor were they afraid to sacrifice Birds, and offer Fruits upon the holy Table, praising their Idols, and blasphemously reproaching the Son of God.

VII. THUS,

* *Ubi sup.* 69.
Apol. ad Const.
p. 539, &c.

* *Art. ad Solit.*
p. 660.

* *Ad An.* 256.
New. XLV.

* *Strab. l. 17.*
p. 837. *Stephen*
V. *Bagen.*

* *Cod. CCLXIII.*
col. 1444.

* *Ext. sp. Ath.*
Apol. ad Const.
p. 540.

* *Ext. loco cit.*
p. 541.

VII. THUS, and much worse it was in the City; nor * was it better in the neighbor-Countries. The aged and reverend Bishops were fure to smart for it, above thirty of them being banish'd, and near ninety turn'd out of their Churches; which were immediately fill'd with *Arians*, and those taken either from amongst the *Catechumens*, or civil Officers, a great Estate and Zeal for *Arianism* being then Qualifications sufficient to recommend any man to a Bishoprick. Together with the Bishops were banish'd many of the inferior Orders, and so cruel their treatment without any regard either to their Age or Office, that some of them died by the way, others in the Places of their Banishment. At *Barca* † (which by the way *Baronius* ‡ makes the name of the Person whenas 'tis notoriously known † it was a City of *Lybia*, but more commonly call'd *Ptolemais*, and the Greek in *Athanasius* puts it past peradventure, that 'twas the name of a City) *Secundus* Presbyter of that place, was by *Secundus* Bishop of *Pentapolis* and his Co-partner *Stephen* trodden to death, because refusing to comply with them, the poor man breathing out his Soul with this pious and innocent Charge, *Let no man revenge my death, I have a Master that will do it, for whose sake I suffer all this.* I shall wade no further in these Tragical Stories, so much to the shame and dishonour of humane nature, much more of the Principles of the Christian Faith, it being true what he in *Phetius* § observes upon this account, that the bloody Cruelties committed by this *Arian* Bishop, exceeded the greatest of the Heathen Persecutions, which were humane and merciful, if compar'd to this. While they were engag'd in these violent and barbarous Proceedings, a Letter † came from the Emperor directed to the People of *Alexandria*, wherein he commends them for what they had done, that they had reject'd and driven out *Athanasius*, a Cheat (says he) and an Impostor, a man broke loose from the very bottom of Hell, who by little Tricks and Arts is wont to deceive the People, who being convict of the most notorious Villanies, such as ten of his deaths could not expiate, durst not abide a legal Trial, but ran away into voluntary Banishment, where 'tis the Interest even of the *Barbarians* to cut him off, lest he also inveigle them with his Impieties; that they did well to adhere to the most reverend *George*, a Person most admirably vers'd in Divine things, and who would conduct them in the way to Heaven; upon whose Direction and Council they should do well to depend, as upon a sacred Anchor, to keep them safe from all Winds of Seduction and Error. This is the Sum of the Letter, the Truth whereof is evident at first sight. And that *Athanasius* might be secure in no place, he wrote to the barbarous Countries to search him out, and deliver him up to the Emperor's Officers, and that both People and Clergy should be compell'd to embrace the *Arian* Heresie, or in case of refusal be put to death. And because *Athanasius* had some time since ordain'd *Frumentius* Bishop of *Auxumis*, and sent him to convert and christianize those Nations, he dispatch'd a Letter † to *Arzana* and *Sazan* Princes of that Country, to require them to cause *Frumentius* to repair to *Alexandria* to *George* and the rest of the Bishops, that (as was fit) he might from them receive Episcopal Authority and Ordination, and be rightly instructed in the Faith and Discipline of the Church; otherwise it was evident that he still persisted in the Cause

Cause and Communion of wicked *Athanasius*, and consequently being seduc'd by his leud Discourses, not only God would be dishonoured, and the Churches disturb'd, but the whole Country in danger of being over-run and brought to ruine.

VIII. WHILE the Storm fell thus heavy round about, God had provided *Athanasius* a secure shelter in the Wilderness, where in the midst of his solitary Retirements he enjoy'd the pleasures of a very grateful Conversation, the company of those pious and devout Inhabitants of the Desert, the primitive Monks, a quite other sort of men from those who in these latter Ages pass under that name and Character; Persons who retiring from the World, lived wholly to God, and were intirely taken up in the most severe Exercises of Religion, a Course wherein they had been trained up by *Paul of Thebais*, and *Athanasius*'s kind Friend *S. Anthony* (who was still alive) the two great Founders of the Monastick Institution. There were two sorts of them, *Eremites* and *Cenobites*; the first were wholly devoted to Solitude, and convers'd with none but God and themselves, and knew no more of the World, than what they met with in the Wilderness; the other kept together in Societies, exercising mutual Love and Fellowship, and were *Hermits* in the midst of populous Cities, and led mortified lives amidst the noise and crowd, being a World to themselves, and by mutual Conversation great examples and incentives to Piety and Vertue. With these our great man spent his time, reconciling in his own Practice both the Solitary and the Cenobitick Life, shewing that the Episcopal Order could Philosophize, and that Philosophy it self needed Episcopal Direction; both the contemplative and the active Life met in him, and he convinc'd the World, that a Monastick Life consisted more in Gravity and Constancy of Manners, than in an absolute Separation from the World. And indeed with so great Reverence and Veneration did they entertain him, that whatever he commanded or dislike'd, was receiv'd by them as a Law; and when afterwards he was hunted as a Partridge upon the Mountains, they not only refus'd to tell the Messengers where he was, but so much as to speak to them, exposing their Necks to drawn Swords for his sake, and accounting it a more sublime and heroic Action to suffer for him, than to refine themselves by long fasting and abstinence, and other Religious Austerities, which yet they accounted the Pleasure as well as Duty of that place. To gratifie the desires of these devout Companions, and to do right to Truth, he wrote that large Epistle τοῖς ἀσκητικοῖς καὶ μοναχικοῖς βίον ἀσκητικόν, *To the Solitary Ascetics that every where led a Monastick Life*, wherein he gives them an account of his own and the Churches Calamities, of the malicious Arts, and bloody Practices of the *Arians*, and what he and his Friends and Followers had suffered for the Catholic Cause, especially since the time of the *Sardican* Council. He sent † also *Consolatory* Letters to the holy Virgins, to administer proper encouragements to them to undergo the Sufferings that came upon them for their Constancy to the Truth; but these are lost. And because his Adversaries heavily charg'd upon him his retirement, as an evidence of his Guilt, and the badness of his Cause, he wrote an *Apology for his Flight*, wherein he shews what cause they had given him so to do, and that his withdrawing was warranted by the Will of

* *Naz. Orat.*
XXI. p. 384.

† *Theod. l. 2.*
c. 14. p. 90.

of God, the reason of things, and the Examples of wise and good men in all Ages. This he back'd with an *Apology to the Emperor*, wherein he very particularly answers at large to all the material Crimes that had been charg'd upon him, assuring his Majesty that he was most ready and desirous personally to have done it in his presence, and had begun his Journey, when the evil Tidings, that like *Job's* Messengers came flocking in, one still worse than another, made him retreat, and look upon the attempt as desperate. Some time after he wrote a *Second Apology* for himself, wherein he justifies his Innocency from the publick Attestations and Decrees of several Synods that had been purposely held to that end in *Egypt*, at *Rome*, at *Sardica*, at *Jerusalem*, and by the Testimony both of the Emperor *Constantians*, and *Constantius*, all which he demonstrates out of publick Records, and the Epistles themselves, which he there inserts.

IX. BUT the most unpottred Innocency is not shield enough against the Assaults of Envy, nor can Rocks and Mountains afford a Refuge and Protection, where Cruelty is inspir'd by an active Malice. While *Athanasius* thus happily employ'd his vacant and retired hours, his Enemies, encourag'd by the Severity of the Emperor (who had fet a price ^a upon his Head, and commanded him to be brought either alive or dead) diligently ransack'd every place, and search'd the very corners of the Wilderness, threatening the Monks with the utmost Cruelty, if they did not discover him. This forc'd him to shift his Quarters, and to retire to a more private and disconsolate ^b place, where he had scarce Air to breath in, and where none came at him, but only one Person, who brought him Necessaries, and convey'd Letters to him. And well might it be a close place, were it true what *Rufinus* ^c reports, that for six years together he lay hid in a dry Well, where he never saw the Sun, and when at length betray'd by a Maid, who alone was privy to his concealment, the Officers came to search for him, he upon a warning from God, had remov'd that very night, which so provok'd the Officers, that they punish'd the Maid, as one that had abus'd them with a false Report. Nay we are told ^k, that upon the danger of his being apprehended in the Church at *Alexandria*, not knowing whither to retire (it not being safe for him to go to any of his Friends or Relations) he fled privately to the House of a young Virgin, then not above twenty years of Age, a Person of such incomparable Beauty, that good men were afraid to behold her, and of a Temper no less adorn'd with divine Graces and Vertues: He told her his Circumstances, and that by an Intimation from Heaven, he had been admonish'd to come thither, as the only safe and unsuspected place. She bad him welcome, performing her self the meanest Offices to him, and there he remain'd unknown to any for six years together, till the Death of *Constantius* let him out; when to the astonishment of all, he was unexpectedly found sitting in the Church. These Passages I have related, not that I give any credit to them, or advise the Reader to believe them, but because delivered by Writers, who themselves liv'd in, or near those times, nay *Palladius* Bishop of *Helenopolis* (the first Reporter that I find of the Story) assures us, that he was acquainted with this very Virgin, then seventy years of Age, when he was at *Alexandria*, and that the whole Clergy of the Church attested the Truth of her Relation. *Baronius* thinks

^a *Rufin. H. E. l. v. c. 18. p. 233. Theod. ubi sup.*

^b *Vid. Epist. ejus ad Lucif. Calar. inter Lucif. op.*

^c *Loco citat.*

^k *Pallad. Hist. x. aufac. c. 135. in Biblioth. Pp. gr. l. Tom. 2. p. 1039. Socrom. l. 5. c. 6. p. 602.*

thinks 'twas first fram'd by the *Arians*, to reflect disgrace upon *Athanasius*, and thence taken up by some unwary Catholics. Whether so or no, I cannot tell. Sure I am, were there nothing else to shake the Credit of the Story, this alone were enough, that not only *Nazianzen*, but *Athanasius* himself expressly assures us, that all that time he sojourn'd in the Desert. Perhaps thus much of it might be true; and that give Birth to all the rest, that *Athanasius* affrighted with the great bulle and danger in the Church, and not knowing where to retreat for safety, might for the present take Sanctuary in the House of this Virgin, and thence immediately escape into the Wilderness. I cannot but here remark what *Dorotheus* Arch-bishop of *Monembasia* (who wrote a *Synopsis* of History in Modern Greek) relates ^l, that *Constantius* in the XVth. year of his Reign banish'd the great *Athanasius* ^m *ἐξ Ἑλλάδος*, that is, according to the Phrase of his time, into *England*, and that one *Felix* was ordain'd in his room. Where besides the Error in Point of Chronology, two great mistakes are crowded into a few words. First, that *Felix* was ordain'd to be his Successor, no such being ever Bishop of *Alexandria*: Secondly, that he was banish'd into *England*, a thing never mention'd by any but himself. I conceive him rather by a slip of memory, to have put *Athanasius* instead of *Liberius*, upon whose Banishment (not into *England*, but *Thrace* as we have seen before) *Felix* was thrust into the See of *Rome*. As for *Athanasius*, he shelter'd himself at this present in the *Egyptian* Deserts. Where we leave him for a time to his Devotions and Studies, while we step out into the World to see how his Cause far'd abroad.

^l *Συνολ. δια- φε. ις. c. p. σνδ'.*

S E C T. XI.

The State of the Athanasian Cause from the Council at Sirmium, till the Synod at Seleucia.

A Synod call'd at Sirmium, and a Confession of Faith drawn up. Subscriptions procur'd to it. An attempt upon Hosius Bishop of Corduba. Hosius who. The Honours done him by Constantine the Great. His great Authority amongst the Catholics. Constantius his Letters to him to solicit his subscribing the Condemnation of Athanasius. His bold and impartial Answer, and Banishment. Threat'ned and tortur'd into a subscribing the Sirmian Confession. His releasement and return into Spain; the Report of his violent Proceedings against all that refus'd Communion with him, founded upon what Authority. His Age, Death, and Character. The various Divisions and Sub-divisions of the Arian Tribe, and the chief heads of the several Parties. Another Synodal Assembly at Sirmium. A second Confession agreed upon, and drawn up with the Date of the Consuls. Athanasius his witty Remarks upon it. Constantius solicited in behalf of Liberius his release. Liberius perswaded and prevailed with to sign the last Sirmian Confession. His Letter to the Eastern Bishops, testifying his consent and compliance with them. S. Hilary's sharp Reflections upon that Letter. Several other Letters written by him to the same purpose. His return to Rome, re-possession of his See, and death. The Emperor's design of convening a more general Council. Several places pitch'd upon for that Assembly. A Resolution to have two Synods at the same time, one in the East, and another in the West, and why. A Council summon'd at Ariminum for the West. The number of Bishops meeting there. The Poverty of the Brittish Bishops. The late Sirmian Confession rejected by the Catholics, who urge the Condemnation of Arianism. The Nicene Faith confirm'd, and all opposite Doctrines censur'd and thrown out. Ursacius, Valens, &c. depos'd. An account of their Synodal Transactions transmitted to the Emperor. The cold entertainment of their Legates. The Legates circumvented into a compliance by some about the Emperor, but denied Communion at their return. The Fathers at Ariminum hardly us'd, and wearied out, to force them to a compliance. Valens his notorious shuffling, when press'd home by the Synod. The Council impos'd upon by ambiguous Terms, and plausible Pretences. The Bishops afterwards severally repent, and retract their Subscriptions.

I. **C**ONSTANTIUS the Emperor departing from Rome (where he had lately been to celebrate a magnificent Triumph for his Victory over Magnentius) lay at this time at Sirmium, Ann. CCCLVII. where the Arian Bishops that were about the Court taking advantage of the Emperor's presence, convene a Synodal Assembly, and study to smooth over things with fair pretences; that they were desirous to remove those things that might give offence on either side, and shew how much they were inclin'd

to

to Peace. And to this end they fram'd a new Confession^m, wherein having premis'd, that though they acknowledge one God the Father Almighty, and one only Son begotten of his Father before all Worlds, yet they did not allow two Gods; they amongst other things declare, that because some were offended with the Word *ὁμοία* or *Substance*, therefore that neither of these Terms *ὁμοίων* (*Consubstantial*) nor *ὁμοιότητος* (*of like substance*) should be us'd in common discourse, or be treated of in the Church, both because the Terms were unscriptural, and the things themselves above any humane Comprehension; that there could be no doubt, but that the Father was greater both in Honour, Dignity, Brightness, Majesty, and in the very title of Father, the Son himself testifying, *the Father that sent me, is greater than I*; that no man could be ignorant that this was Catholick Doctrine, that there are two Persons, one of the Father, and another of the Son; that the Father was the greater, the Son Subject, together with all things which the Father had put under him; that the Father was without beginning, invisible, immortal, impassible, the Son born of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, whose Generation none but the Father could understand; and that the number of the Trinity was intire and perfect. This was the sum of their Declaration, whereto they design'd to gain the Subscriptions of some of the most eminent of the Catholick Party; and first they set upon *Hosius*, a man of renown, whom they partly insnar'd, and partly compell'd into a compliance with them.

II. THIS venerable Prelate was Bishop of Corduba in Spain, in which capacity he appeared, and subscribed in the eleventh place in the *Illiberin* Council, held about the year CCCV. He had been a noble Confessor even under the Heathen Persecutions, a Person of singular account, and who had for many years been employ'd in the most important Affairs and Transactions of the Church. He was peculiarly dear to *Constantine* the Great, who committed to his care the adjusting the Difference between *Cecilian* and *Donatus* of Carthage in the Synod of *Arles*, Ann. CCCXIV. and sent him afterwards to *Alexandria* to compose the growing Differences between *Alexander* and *Arius*; present soon after in the Council of *Nice*, where he bore a prime stroke, and had a chief hand in drawing up the Creed; call'd also to that of *Sardica*, where he was President of the Council, and stoutly defended the *Athanasian* Cause. Indeed a man of that great Reverence and Authority, that he was at every turn styl'd *Father Hosius*, counted and call'd the Father of Bishops. The *Arians* knew well of what importance it would be to them, to have so considerable a Person brought over to their Party, or at least sent out of the way, and therefore addressing themselves to *Constantius*, representedⁿ to him, that they had taken all courses that they could for the support and advancement of their Cause, that they had banish'd *Liberius*, and many other Bishops before him, and had fill'd all places with Terror and Violence, but that all this turn'd to no account, so long as *Hosius* was left in the way, that so long as he stood his ground, all others in a manner possess'd their Churches, being a Person of that eminent Ability and Authority, that he alone was able to arm the whole World against them; that 'twas he that steer'd Synods, and whose Letters were receiv'd every where with an uncontrollable

Veneration,

^m Ext. ap. Ath. de Synod. p. 695. Hilary de Synod. col. 323. Sac. l. 2. c. 30 p. 124

ⁿ Ath. ad Solit. p. 648.

Veneration, that 'twas he that had compos'd the *Nicene Faith*, and every where proclaim'd the *Arians* to be Hereticks; that therefore his Majesty should do well to set upon him also, without any regard to his Gray Hairs, a nicety which their Cause did not stick at. The Emperor easily perswaded by their Insinuations, sent for him, and as he had before done to *Libertus*, sought by fair and plausible Councils and Arguments to perswade him to subscribe, and joyn with the *Arians*. The good old man was infinitely surpriz'd, and troubled to hear the least motion made that way, for which he check'd the Emperor, and at length prevail'd with him to desist, who accordingly gave him leave to return back into his own Country. But his Enemies did not leave him so, but again solicited the Emperor, and by help of their Friends the Eunuchs at Court, so exasperated his mind, that he wrote him a sharp Letter full of Menaces and Reproaches, which yet wrought as little upon him, as Promises and Perswasives had done before. This Letter was followed by several others, the Emperor sometimes insinuating, and gently treating him as a Father, sometimes threatening, and laying before him those that had been banish'd, letting him know how ill he took it, that he only should stand out. To which *Hosius* return'd an Answer ° to this effect, that he had been a Confessor under the *Maximian* Persecution, and was ready to be so again, rather than to betray the Truth; that he might hearken to him that was old enough to be his Grand-father; that he had been present at, and privy to all the Transactions of the *Sardican* Council, where he had seen *Athanasius* openly challenge his Adversaries, who retir'd with shame; that like his Brother *Constantius*, he should lay aside force and terror, and suffer things to come to a fair and impartial Trial; that he should remember that he himself was Mortal, and ought to live under the awful sense of a Judgment to come, and reserve himself undefiled against that day, and not thrust himself upon the Determination of Ecclesiastick Matters; that for the Case in hand, his Resolution was this, that he would not joyn with the *Arians*, but would condemn their Heresie; nor would he subscribe against *Athanasius*, whom he and the Church of *Rome*, and a whole Synod had pronounced Innocent, and to which his Majesty himself had assented, having thereupon honourably remitted him to his own Sec: concluding thus, *Stop, I beseech you, Sir, and be perswaded by me; for these are things which both become me to write, and you not to despise.*

III. THIS resolute Letter did but the more provoke the Party, who told the Emperor, that *Hosius* reflected upon him as a Persecutor, and was so far from complying with his Majesties desires, that for *Athanasius's* sake he condemn'd the *Arians*, and perswaded others to suffer death, rather than betray the Truth, and that great numbers in *Spain* were of his mind. Amongst these Accusers *Potamius* P Bishop of *Odyssipona* in *Spain* was not the least, who brib'd with a rich Farm, having heretofore become an Apostate from the Catholick Party, ow'd *Hosius* an old Grudge for discovering his Villany, and reproaching him for an Heretick, and therefore took this opportunity to pay him home. Hereupon he again sent for him, and confin'd him to *Sirmium* as the place of his Banishment, where he remain'd a whole year, till *Constantius* at this time return'd thither, who caus'd him to be cited into

° Ext. Epist. ii. p. 649.

¶ Faustin. Lib. prec. p. 13. Edit. Oxon.

into the Synod °, where the Confession was offered him to subscribe, which he reject'd at first, but being threatned, and severely handled, beaten and rack'd, and not so well able to hold out by reason of his great Age (at this time an hundred years old) and a little too tender of his dying Carcass (*nimum Sepulchri sui amans*, as *S. Hilary* ° has it) and as some say, being Rich, and loth to be sent further into Banishment, he yielded at last, and subscrib'd the Confession, which, might we believe the Title put to it by *S. Hilary*, was drawn up by him: *Philostorgius* adds, that he subscrib'd not only against the *εὐσεβίων*, but against *Athanasius*; but *Athanasius* ° himself, (who certainly best knew) assures us to the contrary, that though he communicated with the *Arians*, yet he did not subscribe against him. A great instance it was of humane frailty, and how far a good man, after so many years resolute Profession, after so many noble and undaunted Conflicts both against Heathens and Hereticks, may fall, when God leaves him to himself; which yet is the less to be wondered at in so feeble and decrepit an Age, and under so much Force and Cruelty. And probable it is, he might hope by this Condescension, to mollify the stubbornness of the *Arian* Faction, who could at no rate endure the word *εὐσεβίᾱς*, especially since it was no where to be found in Scripture. Being thus releas'd, and set right by the Synodal Letters, and especially furnish'd with a Warrant from the Emperor, that all Bishops that refus'd Communion with him, should be banish'd, he return'd into *Spain*, where, say my Authors °, he first fell foul upon *Gregory* Bishop of *Ilberis*, who oppos'd him, whom by virtue of his Warrant he caus'd *Clementinus* (who at that time as the Emperor's Vicar govern'd *Spain*) to bring before him. Great Disputing there was between them, which *Hosius* perceiving would not put the Matter to an Issue, call'd to the Governor to execute his Warrant, and to banish him. *Clementinus* replied, he could not do it, till first he was depos'd from his Bishoprick, and reduc'd to a private Station. Which when *Hosius* was resolv'd to do, *Gregory* appeal'd to Heaven, O *Christ*, (said he) *thou that art God, and who art coming to judge the quick and the dead, suffer not the Sentence of man to be this day pronounc'd against thy Servant, who for thy sake am, as a Criminal, made a Spectacle to the World; but judge now thy self, I beseech thee, in thine own Cause, and vouchsafe by some instance of Vengeance to determine the Case. Which I request, not that I am afraid of Banishment, any punishment for thy names sake being acceptable and easie to me; but that others seeing the immediate Interposals of thy Vengeance, may be delivered from that Error and Prevarication, wherinto they are ensnared.* This said, *Hosius* just as he was going to pronounce Sentence, was stricken in a Moment, his Mouth distorted, his Neck drawn awry, and falling back from the Bench to the Ground, died. An Accident that struck a strong Terror and Astonishment into all the Beholders, and even into *Clementinus* himself though an Heathen Governour. This unfortunate Story I am not very willing to believe, though I must needs acknowledge it is related by *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, two Presbyters in their Supplication to the Emperor *Theodosius*, who liv'd at that time, and wrote this within less than thirty years after the thing was done, and for the truth of it, appeal to all *Spain*, as a thing notoriously known. 'Tis true they have hard words given them

¶ Ath. lib. p. 651. Faust. lib. p. 14. Socr. l. 2. c. 31. p. 126. Soc. l. 4. c. 6. p. 542. 543 & c. 12. p. 554. Philost. l. 4. c. 3. p. 493. ° Di. Syned. col. 360.

¶ Vbi supr. & Apol. II. p. 625.

¶ Faust. & Marcell. Libell. prec. ubi supr. p. 14. &c.

* Bicar. Com-
ment. in Dextr.
Civon. ad Ann.
260. p. 388.
* Ad Solit.
p. 551.

* Epist. Syn. ap.
Ath. Apol. II.
p. 552.

* Apol. ad Const.
p. 547.

* Εστ δὲ πλε-
ονεχὲς ὁ δὲ ἁ-
ποστολὴν ὅτι
αἰρέσεων λό-
γῳ ὅτι τὰς
μυῖας ὅσα
ἐκείνης ἐπι-
στῆ, πρὸς πε-
λάγειας εἰς χρι-
στὸν ἐκείνην
τῇ. Cyril. Ca-
tech. VI. p. 134.

* Syn. I. 4. c. 2.
p. 553, 80c.

them upon this account, and I am so far willing to grant, that their being of the *Luciferian* Separation (who abominated all those that had but once communicated with the *Arians*, though they return'd to the bosom of the Church, for 'tis an unpardonable mistake in them " that make *Marcellinus* to have been an *Arian*) might render them less Impartial, and apt to make the worst of things. Certain I am, *Athanasius* * expressly affirms, that *Hosius* upon his Death-bed solemnly profess'd the force that had been us'd towards him, anathematiz'd the *Arian* Heresie, and gave charge that none should embrace or entertain it. He departed this Life, as may probably be conjectur'd, Ann. CCCLXI. a little before the death of *Constantius*, after he had been above sixty years Bishop of that See. I conclude his Story with a double Character and Encomium, the one given him by all the Fathers * of the *Sardican* Council, who style him *The good Old Hosius, one who for his Age, Confession, and the infinite troubles he had undergone in the Service of the Church, was worthy of all Honour and Veneration*: The other by *Athanasius*, He was, (says he) *the great, the most illustrious Confessor, truly Osius, i. e. Holy, what Council did he not preside in, and who yielded not to his orthodox Discourses? What Churches have not admirable Monuments of his Care and Patronage? Who ever came sad to him, that went not cheerful from him? Who ever beg'd any thing of him, which he did not easily obtain from him? All these Passages we have here laid together, that we might present the account of this great man intire. Which done, we now return.*

IV. ERROR is not farther distant from Truth, than 'tis multi-farious and inconstant in its own nature, and apt to divide and separate from it self. The *Arians* all agreed in the main Point, in opposing the Catholick Doctrine concerning the Son of God, but fell out amongst themselves, and each Class divided and sub-divided from one another. One sort would not allow him to be of the same, but only of a like nature and substance with the Father; a second affirm'd him to be in all things like to the Father, but withall denied the holy Ghost to have any Communication of Nature and Essence either with the Father or the Son. Which was the Opinion of the *Macedonians*. Another decried the *dyptiston*, but yet affirm'd that he was not a Creature, as one of the Creatures: and this way went *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* and his Party. A fourth were for neither, but expressly asserted him to be *ἀνόμοιος* (thence call'd *Anomeans*) altogether unequal to and unlike his Father. And this was started by *Aetius*, made Deacon by *George* of *Alexandria*, says *Epiphanius*, by *Leontius* of *Antioch* say most others (and perhaps both truly, for being first ordain'd Deacon by *Leontius*, and after for his Misdemeanors depos'd, he might be again advanc'd to that degree by the other) and in that capacity serving at this time in the Church of *Antioch*, where he met with an opportunity to publish and propagate his Notions. For about the time of the *Sirmian* Convention, *Eudoxius* * having usurp'd the See of *Antioch*, espous'd the Cause of *Aetius*, who for his troublesome and contentious Temper had been rejected by his own Party, especially by *Leontius* the former Bishop. *Eudoxius* having got Possession, conven'd a Synod at *Antioch*, where he expressly condemn'd both the *Homoousian*, and the *Homoiousian* Terms, (as they had

had lately been in the Conventicle at *Sirmium*) and wrote to *Valens*, *Ursacius* and *Germinius*, the chief Heads of the Party in that Synod, to give them thanks for bringing over the *Western* Bishops to their side. But a Party in his own Church (whom he had thrown out) made Head against him, and having procur'd the Recommendatory Letters of *George* Bishop of *Laodicea*, went to *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, where *Basilius* the Bishop had at that time assembled many of the Neighbour-Prelates to the Dedication of a Church which he had lately built. Who being satisfied with the Letter, and the account they gave of his Actions, and the Confession he had publish'd in the Synod at *Antioch*, appointed *Basilius* and some others to wait upon the Emperor, and acquaint him with the Case, and to request of him, that all the Synodal Determinations might take place, that had defin'd the Son to be *ὁμοούσιος*, of 1ke substance with the Father. The Emperor hereupon revok'd the Letter which he had just then given to *Asphalius*, *Eudoxius* his Legate, and sent a smart Epistle * to the Church of *Antioch*, to let them know, that he had never sent *Eudoxius* to be their Bishop, nor would ever favour such, that he was resolv'd to crush *Aetius* and his Followers, and that they should thrust them out of all publick Assemblies, and that they had no other way to save themselves, but by recovering themselves out of the snare of the Devil, and by consenting to those Determinations which the wise and holy Bishops had regularly agreed upon. And by this means the *Anomean* Heresie was stop'd for the present.

V. IT was the year CCCLVIII. and the Court was still at *Sirmium*, where the *Eastern* Legats ^b together with the rest of the Bishops that were about the Court, held a Synodal Convention, wherein pretending that some went about to establish their own Errors, under pretence of the word *Consubstantial*, they pass'd and ratified a new Confession, made up of a former *Sirmian* Confession against *Photinus* ^c, and the old *Dedication*-Creed at *Antioch* blended together, and which 'tis like was the same with that which *Basilius* and his Synod had fram'd some few months before at *Ancyra* against *Eudoxius* and his Party. But nothing renderd this Confession so famous, as that in all probability it was that, which was subscrib'd by Pope *Liberius*; it being evident beyond all dispute (both from the Earthquake at *Nicomedia*, the date of *Felix* and *Liberius*'s death, and other Circumstances) that it was this year, viz. An. CCCLVIII. that *Liberius* subscrib'd at *Sirmium*, and was releas'd from Banishment. He had been now almost three years in Exile, and plain it is, from the Note written with his own Hand at the end of his Letter ^d to *Vincentius*, that he was heartily weary of his Exile, and that his desire to return, had a considerable influence upon his subscribing. And as for *Constantius*, he was pretty well dispos'd towards it. At his last being at *Rome* ^e, the noble and great Ladies had desir'd their Husbands to Petition the Emperor for his Restitution, threatening, that unless this was done, they would leave them, and go to their Bishop. But the men apprehending the danger of the attempt, put the Women upon it, as who might safely undertake it. And they accordingly, with great Pomp and Gallantry made their Address, and presented their Petition, to which the Emperor answer'd, that the City was already well provided for; *Felix*, who succeeded *Liberius*, being a moderate man, who adher'd to the *Niceene* Faith, and yet did not superciliously exclude others from Com-

* Ext. ap. Soc.
ib. 4. p. 555.

^b Soc. ib. c. 19.
^c p. 557. vid. c.
13. ^d Valis.
Annot. p. 125.
confer. Philof.
l. 1. c. 8.
^e Ket. supra
Sect. 8. Num. 14

^d Ext. ap. Hilari.
in fragm. col.
428.

* Toted. l. 2.
c. 17. p. 95.

munion. However he gave them no denial, intending to compromise the business between the two Bishops. And being now at *Sirmium*, and a plausible Confession, as he thought, agreed on, he resolv'd to send for *Liberius* ^c, and that at a time when the Legates both of the *Eastern* and *Western* Bishops were at Court, the Prelates of the *East* earnestly exciting the Emperor to make him subscribe the *Homoiousian* Creed. It seems at first he stood off, till threatenings ^d and force were us'd, and then he came over and subscrib'd, *Sozomen* expressly telling us, that 'twas part of the Confession he was forc'd to, that the Son is not *Con-substantial*, but that in substance and in all things he is like to his Father; and that *Eudoxius* and the *Actians* gave it out at *Antioch*, that he had likewise condemn'd the *ὁμοιόφωνον*, and declar'd the Son to be unlike the Father. Which they did to give life to, and to keep up the Reputation of their sinking Cause. But preparatory hereunto, and before his coming to Court, he had been dealt with by *Demophilus* and *Fortunatian*, (sent to him no doubt by the Emperor's Order) who plied him so successfully, that he gave his consent, and began now more freely to declare himself, and first he wrote a ^e Letter to the *Eastern* Bishops, which together with *S. Hilary's* Censures (thrown into the Margin) we here insert.

To my dear Brethren, the Presbyters and Bishops of the *East*, *Liberius* greeting.

I Having had the fear of God before your eyes in your Proceedings, your holy Faith is known both to God and good men, according as the Law speaks, Judge righteously O ye Sons of men. For my part I did not defend *Athanasius*, but forasmuch as my Predecessor *Julius* of happy Memory had entertain'd him, I was afraid lest anyone should judge me to prevaricate. But as soon as I understood, what it had pleas'd God should come to pass, that you had justly condemn'd him, I immediately gave my assent to your Determinations, and wrote Letters concerning him ^f, which I gave to our Brother *Fortunatian* to be carried to the Emperor *Constantius*. *Athanasius* therefore being shut out of Communion with all of us, from whom I intend not to receive any Letters, I declare, that I have Peace and Unanimity with you all, and with all the Bishops in the East, or in any other Provinces. And that you may be the better satisfied that it is the true Belief which I declare by this Epistle, our common Brother *Demophilus* has been pleas'd, according to his wonted kindness, to open to me the true and Catholic Faith, treated of, expounded, and receiv'd by all our Brethren and fellow-Bishops, that were present at *Sirmium* ^g. This Faith I freely and willingly receive without any contradiction ^h, to this I have yielded my consent, this I follow, this I maintain ⁱ. And now I have thought good to beseech your Holiness, that forasmuch as you see that I am in all things of the same mind with you, you would vouchsafe by common advice and study to promote my being releas'd from Banishment, and that I may return to the See, which Heaven has committed to me.

Next he ^j wrote particularly to *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Germinius*, whose Interest he knew sway'd much at Court, to the same purpose, declaring his Detestation of *Athanasius*, that he held Communion with them, with *Episcetus* and *Auxentius*, and others, entreating them to improve their Interest for his Restitution, concluding, that who-

who-ever dissented from this Peace and Concord, should be cut off from his Communion. Which *S. Hilary* seals up, with an *Anathema* from me to the Prevaricator of the Arians. He wrote ^k likewise to *Procennius* Bishop of *Capua*, to let him know that he had deserted the *Athanasian* Cause, and was gone over to the *Orientalists*, and that Peace being now restor'd to him, he desir'd him to assemble the Bishops of *Campania*, and to acquaint them with these Matters, and that they would dispatch some of their number with a Letter to the Emperor, that he being satisfied in the Peace and Unity between them, he might be delivered out of that uncomfortable condition wherein he was; adding this Note at the bottom, I have Peace with all the *Eastern* Bishops, and with you, I have acquitted my self to God, look ye to it, if you have mind I should end my days in Banishment. The Lord judge between me and you.

VI. ABUNDANT satisfaction being thus given, he came to *Sirmium*, and upon his Subscription was receiv'd, releas'd and restor'd, the Bishops writing ^l to *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, and to the Clergy there, that they should receive *Liberius*, and that both should quietly sit in the Apostolick Throne, and all things done in *Liberius's* absence be buried in Oblivion. Herewith *Liberius* return'd to *Rome*, which he enter'd in a kind of Triumph, and though *Baronius* ^m out of the Pontifical Book tells us, that at his return, the People of *Rome* rejected him for his *Arian* compliance, and shun'd Communion with him, and that a very severe Persecution was thereupon rais'd in the City, yet others ⁿ who liv'd in those Times, tell us another Story, that at his return the People of *Rome* went out to meet him with great joy, and when (as *Theodoret* ^o informs us) the Emperor's Letters were read in the *Circus*, commanding that he and *Felix* should joyntly carry on the Affairs of that Church, and the two different Factions of the *Circus* requir'd, that one might have one Bishop, and another the other, the People unanimously cried out, one God, one Christ, one Bishop. My Authors add, that *Felix* either by the Senate or People was driven out of the City, and a little after at the Instigation of some perjurd Clergy-man (who had sided with him contrary to their Oath given at *Liberius's* departure, that they would admit no Bishop in his room) return'd, and kept publick Meetings in *Julius's* Church beyond *Tiber*, whom the Nobility and People did immediately cast out again with infinite disgrace; that *Felix* surviv'd *Liberius* his return eight years, dying *November XXII^a Ann. CCCLXV*. After whose Death *Liberius* absolv'd the perjurd and schismatical Clergy, who restor'd them to their proper Offices, and the next year ended his own Life *September the XXIVth Ann. CCCLXVI*. Though before his Death we may hope he saw his Error, and return'd to a better Mind, which seems more than probable from the account of his Faith in these important Articles, which he sent to *Athanasius*, yet extant in *Athanasius* his Works ^p, if at least as *Baronius* ^q will have it, (for which yet he offers no convincing Argument) that Profession was made after *Liberius* his Apostacy to the *Arian* Party.

VII. HOW infinitely mutable and inconstant is Error! The Emperor by turns continuing still at *Sirmium*, the next year *Ann. CCCLIX*, the Bishops were again conven'd, where they agreed upon a new Form

^c See L. 4. c. 15. p. 557.

^d Ath. ad Sol. p. 647. vid. Soz. l. 6. c. 10. G.

^e Hist. ap. Hil. l. 5. c. 4. 5.

^f Pro diss. a. tione scribitur. Soz. l. 6. c. 10.

^g L. His Condemnation. H. 1. 1. 1. This is the perdition of the Faith. This is my Note, not the Apostate. H. 1. 1. 1.

^h I denounce an Anathema to thee, *Liberius*, and to thy Fellows. H. 1. 1. 1.

ⁱ Again and a third time an Anathema to thee, thou Prevaricator of the Faith. Hil. l. 5. c. 4. 5.

^j Ext. ap. Hil.

^k Ex. l. 6. c. 15.

^l See L. 4. c. 15. p. 558.

^m Ad Ann. 257. Num. LVII.

ⁿ Marcell. & Faust. Prefat. ad Lib. prec. vid. Hieron. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. CCCL. Lib. 2. c. 17. p. 96.

^o T. m. l. p. 395.

or Confession of Faith, drawn up by *Marc*, Bishop of *Arctusa*, and by him dictated no doubt in *Greek*, though *Socrates* says 'twas translated out of *Latin*. It ran thus^a.

^a *Ext. ap. Ath. d. 8, c. 17. 671. Soc. l. 2, c. 37. ? 132.*

The Catholick Faith expounded and publish'd in the presence of our Lord, the most Religious and Incomparable Emperor *Constantius*, the August, Eternal, at *Sirmium*, May the XXII^d. the most excellent *Flavius Eusebius*, and *Hypatius* being Consuls.

WE believe in one only and true God, the Father Almighty, Maker and Creator of all things, and in the one only Begotten Son God, begotten of God impassibly before all Ages, and before all beginning, before all time that can be imagin'd, and before any comprehensible Conception; by whom the Worlds were fram'd, and all things made; the only begotten, begotten alone of the Father alone, God of God, like to the Father that begat him, according to the Scriptures; whose Generation none knows, but the Father only that begat him. This we know to be the only begotten Son of God, who by his Fathers appointment came down from Heaven for the Destruction of sin, was born of the Virgin Mary, and convers'd with his Disciples, and having accomplish'd his whole Oeconomy according to his Fathers Will, was crucified, and a^d, and descended into Hell, where he finish'd what yet remain'd, and where the Keepers of that place trembled at his presence. He a^d rose again the third day, and convers'd with his Followers, and having spent forty dayes, was taken up into Heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again at the last day, in the glory of the Father, to render to every one according to his works. And in the holy Ghost, whom Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, promis'd to send as a Comforter to Mankind. As it is written, I go to my Father, and I will pray the Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth; he shall take of mine, and shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance. But as for the word *Substance*, it having been us'd by the Fathers in a more simple and harmless Sense, and not being understood by the People, and since it is that wherewith many take offence, as not being found in Scripture, we have therefore thought good that it should be quite laid aside, and that henceforth when any discourse is concerning God, no mention should be made of it, the holy Scripture never making mention of the Substance of the Father and the Son. As to the Son, we affirm him to be in all things like unto the Father, according as the Sacred Scriptures do assert and teach.

To this Confession of Faith they add, we see in the Inscription, (what was never before heard of in the Church of God) the Imperial Titles, and the date of the Consuls, and the day of the Month. A tacit acknowledgment to all wise and understanding men (as *Albanasius* * wittily retorts upon them) that their Faith was none of the Ancients, and took its date only from the Reign of *Constantius*. And whereas (says he) they pretended to write concerning our Lord, instead of him, they adopted another Lord, to wit, *Constantius*;

* *Idem citat. p. 671.*

and they who refus'd to own the Son of God to be Eternal, yet made no scruple to give that Title to the Emperor. As for the body of the Creed, they peremptorily declare (what in some of their late Confessions they had damn'd and rejected) that the Son is in all things like unto the Father, and that this was the plain and currant Doctrine of the Gospel.

VIII. THE Troubles of the Church still increasing, notwithstanding all the Methods that had been us'd to allay them, the Emperor (who it seems was newly remov'd to *Singidunum*, a Town in *Mysia*) was forc'd to think of composing things by a more general Council, and as *Philostorgius* ¹ tells us, by the advice of *Patrophilus* ² Bishop of *Scythopolis*, and *Narcissus* of *Irenopolis*, who were come to Court to make complaint against *Basil* of *Ancyra*, it was resolv'd that a Synod should be holden at *Nicomedia* ³. But a terrible Earthquake (wherein amongst others *Cerepius* Bishop of that place perish'd) having there shatter'd all in pieces; the Bishops who were upon their Journey were commanded to stop and go no farther, till the Emperor having advis'd with *Basil*, appointed *Nice* to be the place. A City the rather pitch'd on (as *Theodoret* ⁴ will have it) that they might take advantage of the name, and that their Assembly might be styl'd the Council of *Nice*, whereby it would be no hard matter to impose upon simple and unwary minds, as if theirs were the true *Nicene* Faith. But the Earth-quake having reach'd hither also, and left behind it sad Monuments of its Rage and Violence, spoil'd that Design: Whereupon the Emperor chang'd his mind, and wrote to *Basil*, to consult with the *Eastern* Bishops, what place was most fit for the Synod to meet at. But they not agreeing, *Basil* himself went to the Court at *Sirmium*, where he met with *Mark* of *Arctusa*, and *George* Bishop of *Alexandria*. The next place thought on was *Tarsus* a City of *Cilicia* (*S. Paul's* Birth-place) but neither did this give Satisfaction. At last a new Project is resolv'd on, that the Council should be divided, and that at the same time a Synod should be holden for the *West* at *Ariminum* a City of *Emilia* in *Italy*, and another at *Seleucia* a City of *Isauria*, call'd the *Sharp*, for the *East*. The Emperor hoping, that as by this means the Journeys being shortned, the Bishops would be more willing to come, so Councils being divided, they would the easier agree, and those Heats and Feuds be prevented, which were otherwise likely to arise between such contending Parties, and in so great a mixture of such dⁱfferent Nations. Letters of Summons were forthwith given out, with command to the Prelates of each Council, that they should first handle and agree Matters of Faith, and then proceed to discuss the Causes of the Bishops that should come before them, which being ended, they should send ten of each Party to Court, to give the Emperor an account of what was done.

IX. At *Ariminum* there met above CCCC ^b, nay if we may believe the partial Account of *Hummericus* King of the *Vandals*, in his Edict ^c against the Catholick Bishops of *Africa*, above a thousand Prelates. 'Tis certain they were a great number, being convoked *ex omni orbe Romano*, (as the Edict ^d of the younger *Valentinian* informs us) from all parts of the *Roman* Empire, though not many of the *Eastern* Bishops were there, the main body of the Council consisted of *Western* Prelates,

¹ *lib. 4. c. 14. p. 495.*

² *Soc. l. 4. c. 16. p. 558.*

³ *lib. 2. c. 26. p. 109.*

^b *Soc. l. 4. c. 17. p. 563. Sulp. Sev. l. 2. p. 156. c. Ap. Vit. l. 1. de post. A. fric. l. 4. p. 50. d. Th. lib. 16. tit. 1. l. 4.*

Prelates, *Taurus* the Governor having dispatch'd Officers with particular Summons into all the Provinces of the *West*, and was commanded not to suffer them to depart home, till they had agreed in one uniform Confession of Faith, with promise, that if he brought it about, he should be honoured with a Consulship for his pains. He had Orders also to allow the Bishops Provisions of Meat and Wine at the Emperor's Charge. Which was refus'd by them of *Aquitaine*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, who chose rather to live at their own charge. Three only of our *British* Bishops, who were poorer than the rest, accepted of the publick Allowance, refusing the maintenance which their Fellow-Bishops offered them, accounting it more reasonable to burthen the Exchequer, than private and particular Persons. Which though some quarrell'd at, yet the Historian ^e honestly makes their Defence, that it was a sign of ancient Vertue and Piety, for Bishops to be found so Poor, and that it was much better to be beholden to the Exchequer, where they would not be burdenson to any. Being met, they could not at first agree to sit together, the Catholicks assembling in the Church, the *Arians* (who were not above LXXX.) in a Chappel or Oratory, though, probable it is, they soon joyn'd, at least held Correspondence with each other. At their coming together, the *Arians* declin'd ^f all meddling with the Case of *Athanasius*, and so they proceeded to discuss Matters of Faith. And when several things were propounded and debated, *Ursacius* and *Valens* back'd by the rest of the *Arian* Party, stood up and made a Motion, that since the Minds of men were greatly distracted with Diversities of Creeds, all Forms hitherto publish'd might be abolish'd, and that the Confession that had been drawn up in the late Synod at *Sirmium*, might be receiv'd and settled as the common and universal Standard, that the Emperor had approv'd it, and that the Council could not but accept it, that curious Enquiries about these Matters begat Disputes, and they Feuds and Quarrels, and that it was better to have right Notions of God, though we arriv'd at them by more unskilful ways of reasoning, than introduce novel Expressions, of near affinity with meer Subtleties of Logick; that the Term, *Consubstantial*, was to many obscure, and wholly a Stranger to Scripture, and that it was far better, in the room of it, to say with the holy Scriptures, *that the Son is in all things like his Father*. This said, they caus'd the Confession (which they held in their hands) to be read before the Council, which the Catholicks had no sooner heard, but they cried out, " We came " not hither because we wanted a Form of Faith, we have one " which we have received from our Ancestors, and which we pre- " serve entire. If you have compos'd this, as now only beginning to " believe, you are not yet within the holy Order, nor having yet " learn'd the Rudiments of your Faith; but if these things have no- " thing novel in them, then openly anathematize *Arianism*, as it has " been the ancient Rule and way of the Church, to reject other Heresies " as Impious; for that this blasphemous Doctrine of *Arius* has done " nothing but raise Seditions and Confusions, from its first Com- " mencement to this day, is too manifest to the World. If therefore " ye be come with the same Minds that we are, let us unanimously " agree, let us condemn and accurse Heresies, and adhere to the " Constitutions of our Fore-Fathers, that so we may cut off all occa- " sions

^e S. Sever.
loc. cit.

^f Socr. l. 2. c. 37.
132. Socr. ubi
supr. Ath. de Syn-
nod. p. 674, &c.

sions of future Synods upon this account, the Fathers of *Nice* having " done all that is necessary in this Case for the Catholick Faith.

X. BEFORE they had proceeded any further, a Letter ^e came to them from the Emperor, commanding to define nothing concerning the *Eastern* Bishops, who were assembled elsewhere, and that if they did, it should signify nothing, for that he would not suffer it to take place. This Order they complied with, till perceiving the Falsehood and Treachery of the other Party in their Conventions, they found it necessary to confirm the *Nicene* Creed, which they did, by publishing a definitive Sentence ^h, which they all subscrib'd, wherein they profess'd that they ought not to recede from the *Nicene* Faith (which contain'd the ancient Faith dictated by God to the Prophets and Apostles, and from them successively handed down by the Fathers) to which nothing should be added, from which nothing should be diminish'd, and the word *Substance*, both as to name and thing should remain unshaken. Next they explicitly condemn'd the *Arian* Doctrines in several Propositions ⁱ, wherein they particularly struck at the very Root and Vital parts of the *Arian* Heresie. Lastly, they censur'd ^k and depos'd *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, and *Cains*, as obstinate Hereticks, as Corrupters of, and implacable Enemies to the Council, and the Faith of *Nice*. This being done, they wrote an account ^l of all to the Emperor, beseeching him that no Innovations might be made in the Faith, but that things might remain as they had been settled in the time of his blessed Father, and that he would please to give the Bishops (many of whom were Poor and Aged) leave to return to their several Churches, to take Care of the People committed to their Charge, and to joyn with them in Prayers for the Happiness and Prosperity of his Reign. This Letter they sent by ten of their own body, men of honest Minds, but unexperienc'd in the Arts and Subtleties of business, especially in the Affairs of Courts, and as many the *Arians* sent on their Part, Persons of Age and Experience, of Wit and Dexterity, and who had been train'd up in the Methods of Craftiness and Deceit. But *Ursacius* and *Valens* having got the start, and coming to Court before the rest, had so possess'd the Emperor's mind with prejudices against the Proceedings of the Council, that when the Legates arriv'd, they were not admitted to the Emperor's presence, but were wearied with delays, the Courtiers pretending the Emperor was taken up with more important Affairs. But that he might not seem wholly to neglect them, he wrote ^m to them to excuse his not having convers'd with the Legates, that Matters of that nature requir'd a mind free from the Distractions of publick business, which he could not have at this time, being ready for an Expedition against the barbarous People, that therefore he had commanded them to stay at *Adrianople* till his return, when he would take an account of their Message, and send them back, and that they should not think much in the mean time to wait their coming back. The Synod little satisfied with this Message, writ back an ⁿ Answer to the Emperor, that they could by no means recede from what they had done, and that they had given the same in Charge to their Legates, that they once more besought his Majesty to let them go home, that they might depart before the Winter grew too far upon them, which would render their return ex- tremely difficult and uneasy to them.

^e Ext. ap. Hil. in frag. vol. 457

^h Ext. at. Illar. in.

ⁱ Ext. loc. cit.

^k Ext. Sententia Synod. ap. Ath. de Synod. p. 678.
^l Ext. Epist. ap. Ath. ib. p. 676.
^m Socr. ib. p. 136.
ⁿ Ext. l. 2. c. 19. p. 97. Hil. ib. col. 451. Socr. l. 4. c. 18. p. 593

^o Ext. ap. Socr. l. 2. c. 27. p. 130

^p Ext. ap. Socr. ib. & Theod. l. 2. c. 20. p. 100

* Sup. Scd. l. 2.
p. 159. &c.

XI. THE Emperor being now at leisure, the Legates ° are call'd for, and being circumvented by crafty but fair pretences, were told, that the Difference was not great, consisting only in one word, a thing not worth contending about, that the word *Substance*, which was the great bone of Contention, was ambiguous, and had been rashly taken up by the Fathers without any Authority from the Scripture, and that the true Faith was, that the Son was like the Father (though therein lay a pernicious Fallacy, they owning him to be like indeed, but not equal to the Father.) With these and some other Artifices, the Legates were prevail'd with to consent to them, and to communicate with the *Arians*; after which they were dismiss'd, and Orders sent to *Taurus* the Prefect, not to suffer the Synod to break up; till they had all yielded to the prescribed Form, and that they who stood out, should be all banish'd, till there were not above fifteen left. The Legates returning, were deny'd Communion, though they pleaded the force that had been put upon them. But the *Arians* growing more confident by this success, the Catholick Fathers, partly not seeing to the bottom of things, partly tir'd out with their tedious stay, came over to an agreement with the *Origenists*, of whom *Phœbadus* Bishop of *Agen* in *France* was chief. These *Taurus* besought with the most passionate Importunities to yield; they had been now seven Months shut up in the City, that they were almost starv'd by the scarcity and hardship of the Winter, and that otherwise there could be no hopes of their departure; that they should follow the Example of the most, whom they ought to think wiser than a few. *Phœbadus* for a while could not be wrought upon, till at last a Temper was found out, that he and his Party should have liberty to add their Explication to the Confession, which they did, and therein condemn'd *Arius*, and some of his main Propositions, though after all their Caution herein, they were craftily overreach'd and impos'd upon. Indeed the whole Affair was transacted and carried by the Artifice and Disimulation of *Valens* of *Mursa*, who ° before the whole Council, publicly profess'd that he was no *Arian*, and that he abhor'd their Blasphemies. Whereupon *Masjunius* Bishop of *Byzacium*, a man reverenc'd by all for his Age, mov'd the Synod, that the impious Assertions charg'd upon *Valens* might be read and censur'd by the Council. Which was accordingly done by *Claudius* of the Province of *Picenum*. Upon reading the Paper *Valens* storm'd, and declar'd the Assertions were none of his, and to clear himself cried out, whoever denies that Christ the Son of God was begotten by the Father before the World, let him be accur'd. Whereto the Council unanimously added their *Placet*. He goes on, whoever denies the Son to be like the Father according to the Scriptures; or that affirms the Son of God not to be Eternal with the Father; or that shall say, the Son of God is a Creature, as are the rest of the Creatures; or that he arose out of nothing, and not of the Father; or that there was a time when he was not a Son, let him be accur'd. To all which Propositions he denounc'd a particular *Anathema*, the Synod also adding their Suffrage to each of them. Several other Questions *Claudius* put to him, whereof he purg'd himself, and this amongst the rest; whoever shall affirm that the Son of God

° Hieron. adv. Lucif. Tom. II. p. 143 ix. All. Synod. Arim.

God was indeed before all Ages, but not before all time, (this being a Fallacy under which the *Arians* us'd to shelter themselves) let him be accur'd. Which was universally assented to, and all were pleas'd with his candid and full Confession, so that they extoll'd him to the Skies, and blam'd themselves that they had suspected him. And yet all this while there was a Snake in the Grass, which they saw not, he having cunningly shuffled in this Proposition amongst the rest, *that the Son of God was not a Creature like the rest of the Creatures*: the sting whereof (though they did not then discern it) lay in this, that the denying the Son to be like the rest of the Creatures, did however necessarily infer him to be a Creature, though in a more sublime and excellent capacity than the rest. And as for the word *Substance*, it being cried out against as an unscriptural Term, and that which by its novelty had given great offence, the unwary Fathers consented to lay it aside, not reckoning it worth while to contend about words, so long as they thought themselves secure of the Sence. The Issue was, both Parties rested satisfied, the *Arian* Confession carried the day, and was publish'd abroad as the Determination of the Council of *Ariminum*. And plain it is throughout the whole course of the Story that the *Arians* mightily bore up themselves upon the Reputation and Authority of this Synod, which at every turn they oppos'd ° to the great Council of *Nice*, and thought it weighty enough to be laid in the ballance with it. The Synod being ended, *Ursacius* ° and his Party going for the *East*, staid a while at *Nice* a City in *Thrace*, where they Synodically conven'd, and translating the Confession pass'd at *Ariminum* into *Greek*, ratified it anew, and publish'd it, giving out that this Faith publish'd at *Nice*, was dictated and drawn up by an *Oecumenical* Council; that so unwary People being impos'd upon by the name of *Nice*, might think this to be the Creed compos'd by that great Synod of *Nice*. But the Imposture was soon found out, and the attempt exploded by all as Foolish and Ridiculous. Nor did the Triumph of the Conquest which they had gain'd at *Ariminum* last long. For the Catholick Fathers °, however impos'd upon at present, were no sooner return'd home, but they saw their Error, and retracted what they had agreed to in that Council, confessing with Tears, they had been overreach'd by Fraud and Subtlety, and that they little suspected but mens Minds and Tongues had agreed together. I shall remark nothing further concerning this Synod at *Ariminum*, than that they took upon them not only to discuss Matters of Faith, but to settle Privileges upon the Clergy and their Churches, particularly ordaining ° that the Carriages belonging to any Church should be exempt from publick Service, and should be liable to no Molestation. But this *Constantinus* soon after took away, and perhaps was not well pleas'd that they had taken so much upon them.

* Vid. Aug. contr. Max. Arian. l. 3. c. 14. col. 733. T. VI. p. Socr. ib. p. 144 Soc. ib. c. 19; p. 568.

° Vid. Epist. Synod. Damas. ap. Theod. l. 2. c. 22. p. 103. Soc. l. 6. c. 23. p. 668. Hieron. nōi sup. Ambros. Epist. XXXII. p. 123.

* Vid. C. Th. l. 16. Tit. II. l. 15.

S E C T. XII.

The Acts of the Synods at Seleucia and Constantinople.

The time and place of the Council at Seleucia. Things propounded to be transacted in the Synod. Two different Parties in the Council. The Acacians contend for the abolishing the Nicene Creed. Oppos'd by the other Party, who dislike nothing but the word Consubstantial. Leonas the Emperor's Lieutenant sides with the Acacian Faction. Acacius surprises the Synod with a Confession of Faith, subscrib'd by all the Bishops of his Party, which Leonas commanded to be read. This Confession canvass'd and debated. The Creed of Antioch resolv'd on. The Acacians refuse to come any more to the Council, and are depos'd by the Synod; but fly to Constantinople, and make an Interest at Court, before the Arrival of the Synodal Legates. A Synod procur'd in the imperial City. Basil of Ancyra challeng'd by Actius to a Disputation. The Semiarrians press hard upon the Opinions of Actius and Eudoxius at a hearing before the Emperor. Actius banish'd. His Doctrine unwillingly condemn'd by Eudoxius. Sylvanus and his Party condemn'd and banish'd. A Synodal Epistle sent to George of Alexandria concerning the Condemnation of Actius. This subscrib'd by the Followers of Actius in a Convention at Alexandria. The Confession of Ariminum, with some few Additions ratified by the Synod at Constantinople. Constantius's removal to Antioch; a Synod holden there to damn the Consubstantial Doctrine. Meletius chosen to the See of Antioch. The good opinion all Parties had of him. He heartily declares himself for the Catholic Faith, to the great vexation of the Ariens. His Sermon at Antioch to that purpose. His Banishment. Another Synod at Antioch procur'd by Acacius against Eudoxius. Constantius his Resolution of having Controversies once more decided in a more publick Council, but is prevented by death. His Sickness, Death, and Character.

I. **B**UT it's time we should look towards the East, and enquire what was done in the Synod at Seleucia, contemporary with that of Ariminum, were in the Church dedicated to S. Tecla the Virgin-Martyr, where assembled to the number of about CLX. Prelates (though others make it less by ten) all the Bishops of the East, and of the Asian and Pontick Diocess being summon'd to the Council, whither also the Emperor sent Leonas Treasurer of the Palace, to be present at all Debates in Matters of Faith, and Lauricius President of Isauria, to be assistant to the Fathers in what they needed. Socrates from Sabinus his Collections of Synodal Transactions, has given us a particular account of the Acts of this Council, whose Foot-steps we shall briefly follow. On the XXVII. of Septemb. Ann. CCCLIX. the Council was opened, when Leonas told them, that every one had liberty to propound what he pleas'd, but they refus'd as yet to enter upon the most important Matters, pretending that several whom they expected, were not yet arriv'd, as indeed

S. Ioh. 2. c. 35.
p. 146. & c. 302.
I. 4. c. 22. p. 573.
Theod. l. 2. c. 26.
p. 109.

Macedonius

Macedonius of Constantinople, Basil of Ancyra, and some others had upon pretence of Indisposition or the like excus'd themselves, not knowing what might be moved in the Synod against them. And when notwithstanding Leonas urg'd they should proceed, they answer'd, that they could propound no Questions, till first they had examin'd the Case of those Bishops that were accus'd. So that they could not agree what first to discuss, whether Matters of Faith, or the accus'd Bishops, and to this Confusion the Emperor's Letters did not a little contribute, sometimes commanding the one, and sometimes the other. The Issue was, the Council divided into two parts, the one headed by Acacius Bishop of Casarea, George of Alexandria, Uranus of Tyre, and Eudoxius of Antioch, to whom about thirty others join'd themselves; the other manag'd by George of Laodicea, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, Eusebius of Cysicum, followed by the far greater part of the Synod. It being determin'd that Matters of Faith should be handled first, Acacius and his Party contended that the Nicene Creed should be abolish'd, and another Form drawn up. The other side were in all things for adhering to the Synod of Nice, only that the word Consubstantial should be left out. The Dispute held till night, when Sylvanus Bishop of Tarsus stood up and spoke aloud, that no new Confession should be made, but that that which had many years since been agreed on at Antioch, in the Synod assembled for the Dedication, should be ratified. Which said, the Acacians withdrew, and the others producing the Antiochian Confession, read it in the Synod, and so ended that Session.

II. THE next day being met in Council, they shut the doors, and subscrib'd the Confession of Antioch, Deputies subscribing for those Prelates that could not attend the Council. This furnish'd Acacius and his Followers with a plausible Objection, who said that those doings must needs be nought, that were forc'd to seek Privacy, and could not bear the open light. The Truth is, they had themselves drawn up another Confession, which they had privately shew'd to Leonas and Lauricius, and which they were passionately desirous should take place. The third day Leonas took great pains to persuade both Parties to meet together in the Synod, at what time Macedonius of Constantinople, and Basil of Ancyra were come, who join'd with the moderate Party. At this the Acacians were afresh offended, (they being the chief Persons excepted against) and refus'd to come into the Council, till they who had been depos'd, and all that were accus'd, were first dismiss'd. Which being granted for quietness-sake, they came in; when Leonas acquainted the Synod that Acacius had given him a Paper (which he did not tell them was a Confession of Faith, nor did they suspect it) which he commanded to be read together with the Preface to it, wherein they set forth, "that having according to the Emperor's command come to the Synod, they had made it their business, that the Peace of the Church might be preserv'd, and Matters of Faith fairly and orderly debated, and that nothing might be obtruded upon the Faith of the Church, but what was contain'd in the holy Scriptures. But so far as some in the Council had affronted several of their Party, silenc'd others, excluded others, when as they themselves had brought some into the Synod that were depos'd, and others unduly and uncanonically

* Ext. ap. Socr.
ib. c. 40. p. 149.
& Ath. de Syn.
p. 696. Epiph.
Hæres. LXXIII.
p. 371.

"ordained, so that the Council was fill'd with Tumult and Confusion; for this Cause they were forc'd to declare, that they did not decline the Confession agreed on, and promulgated in the *Dedication at Antioch*, which they own'd and produc'd at every turn, but "because these words *ὁμοιούσιον* and *ὁμοιότητος* had heretofore, and did "still disturb and trouble many, and that some had lately introduc'd "a novel term, *τὸ ἀνέκδοτον*, importing the Son to be unlike the Father; therefore they reject'd both the *ὁμοιούσιον* and the *ὁμοιότητος*, as "Expressions unknown to Scripture, and expressly condemn'd the "ἀνέκδοτον, and denounc'd all that held them to be separated from "the Church. For that they did openly profess the Son to be like "the Father, according to the Apostles Doctrine, who sayes of him, "that he is the Image of the invisible God. Then follows the Confession it self, conform neither to the *Nicene* or *Antiochian* Creed, but warily couch'd in such Terms, that both the *Arian* and *Actian* Party might safely subscribe to it. It ran in this Form.

WE confess and believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of things visible and invisible. We believe likewise in his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, begotten of him without any manner of Trouble or Passion before all Ages, being the Word which is God, the only begotten of God, the Light, the Life, the Truth, the Wisdom, and the Power; by whom all things were made both in Heaven and in Earth, whether they be visible or invisible. We believe that in the end of the World he took flesh of the holy Virgin Mary for the abolishing of Sin, and that he was made man, and suffered for our sins, and rose again, and was taken up into Heaven, and there sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again with glory to judge the Quick and the Dead. We believe also in the holy Ghost, whom our Lord and Saviour spake the Comforter, and whom he promis'd to send to his Disciples after his departure, and whom he sent accordingly; by whom he sanctifies all those in the Church that believe, and are baptiz'd in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. And whosoever shall teach any thing besides this Faith, the Catholick Church does utterly reject such Persons.

Subscrib'd as followeth.

I *George* Bishop of *Alexandria* have thus declared my Faith, and do profess my self to believe as is above written.

I *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* have thus declar'd my Faith, and profess my self to believe as is above written.

Uranus Bishop of *Tyre*.

Eutychius Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*.

Zoilus Bishop of *Larissa* in *Syria*.

Seras Bishop of *Paratonium* in *Libya*

Paulus Bishop of *Emisa*.

Eustathius Bishop of *Epiphania*.

Irenæus Bishop of *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*.

Eusebius Bishop of *Seleucia* in *Syria*.

Eutychianus Bishop of *Patara* in *Lycia*.

Eustathius Bishop of *Pinara* and *Didyma*.

Basilus Bishop of *Cannia* in *Lydia*.

Peter Bishop of *Hippus* in *Palestine*.

Stephen

Stephen Bishop of *Prolema* in *Libya*.

Endoxius Bishop [perhaps of *Antioch*.]

Apollonius Bishop of *Oxyrinchus*.

Theoclistus Bishop of *Ostracene*.

Leontius Bishop of *Lydia*.

Theodosius Bishop of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*.

Phabus Bishop of *Polychalanda* in *Lydia*.

Magnus Bishop of *Themisa* in *Phrygia*.

Evagrius Bishop of *Mitylene* in the *Islands*.

Cyron Bishop of *Doliche*.

Augustus Bishop of *Euphratesia*.

Polydices Bishop of the second Province of *Libya*.

Pancratius Bishop of *Pelusium*.

Philicadus Bishop of *Angustade* in the Province of *Phrygia*.

Scrapion Bishop of *Antipyrgum* in *Libya*.

Eusebius Bishop of *Sebasta* in *Palestine*.

Heliodorus Bishop of *Sozusa* in *Pentapolis*.

Ptolemæus Bishop of *Thmuis* in *Augustonice*.

Augurus Bishop of *Cyrus* in *Euphrasia*.

Exerefus Bishop of *Gerasa*.

Arabion Bishop of *Adraa*.

Charisius Bishop of *Azotus*.

Elisæus Bishop of *Diocletianopolis*.

Germanus Bishop of *Petra*.

Barochius Bishop of *Arabia*.

To these Subscriptions there is a Note added in *Epiphanius*, importing the whole number to be XLIII. whereas being reckoned by particulars, they amount to no more than XXXIX. To supply this, a man might be apt to suspect that the four Bishops, viz. *Basil*, *Marc*, *Pancratius*, and *Hypatianus* (whom *Epiphanius* but just before mentions as present and subscribing) should be taken in. But that Passage (as 'tis judiciously corrected both by *Petavius**, and *Valesius*† with little or no Alteration) plainly refers to their subscribing the Confession of Faith at *Sirmium*. It remains therefore that that Note was not originally put down by *Epiphanius*, but added by some later hand, which heedlessly reckoning upon those four Bishops, summ'd up the whole number into XLIII. But omitting that, come we to the thing it self. The Synod was not a little surpriz'd at the Matter, *Sophronius* Bishop of *Pompeopolis* crying out, if for any man that will, every day to declare his Opinion, be to be accounted a Confession of Faith, we shall soon be left destitute of a measure and rule of Truth. In the fourth Session held the day after *Acacius* told them, that it could not be inconvenient to draw up now a new Confession, seeing the *Nicene* Creed it self had been oft chang'd and altered. *Elenus* of *Cyzicum* replied, that the Synod was now met not to learn what it had not learn'd already, nor to receive a Faith which it had not before, but that insisting upon the Faith deriv'd to them from their Fathers, (meaning that of the Synod of *Antioch*) they should not suffer either Life or Death to part between them and it.

III. AFTER this they began to examine the *Acacian* Confession, and ask'd in what sense they held the Son to be like the Father; the *Acacians* answered, that they affirm'd him to be like in Will only, not in Substance; all the rest affirming him to be so in Substance and Essence. The day was spent in this Dispute, several confuting *Acacius* out of his own Books, wherein he had maintain'd the Son to be like in all things to his Father, asking how he had face now to deny it. He replied (and it was it seems the best answer he had at hand) that

* *Animadu.* in *Epiph.* p. 325.
† *Annot.* in *Socr.* p. 35.

that none either of the Ancients or Moderns was to be judg'd out of his Writings. The wrangling, as in such Cafes is usual, grew higher, and the Dispute grew more warm and hot, till *Eusebius* stood up and spake to this purpose, whether *Basil* and *Mare* have done any thing between themselves, and whether they and the *Acacians* do mutually charge one another about private Matters, the Synod is not concern'd to enquire, nor is it necessary curiously to examine whether their Confession be good or bad; but it becomes us to embrace the Faith agreed upon by our Elders, the XCVII. Prelates that conven'd at *Antioch*; and that if any dare to introduce any other besides this, he be accounted as cast out from Religion and the Church. This Discourse was receiv'd with general Acclamation, and the Synod for that time dismiss'd. The next day the *Acacians* refus'd to come to the Council, and so did *Leonas*, who now openly declar'd on their side, and the Messengers that came from the Synod found them assembled in his House. He sent them word that the Synod was divided, and that he was commanded by the Emperor, not to be present, unless they could all agree, that therefore they might go and prate together in the Church. The *Acacians* were often cited, but they sometimes requir'd that certain Bishops might be sent to *Leonas* his House to confer with them, sometimes affirm'd that the Emperor had impowr'd them to judge others. So that nothing further could be done, whereupon the Synod proceeded to censures, deposing *Acacius*, George of *Alexandria*, *Uranius* of *Tyre*, *Leontius* of *Tripoly*, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, and some others; and excommunicating *Asterius*, *Eusebius*, *Abgarus*, and six more, till they had purg'd themselves of the Crimes charg'd upon them. An account of all which they sent in Letters directed to the several Churches, and so the Synod dissolv'd, ten of them being appointed to wait upon the Emperor, to acquaint him what had pass'd in that Council.

IV. BUT the *Acacians* were too nimble for them, and got first to Court, where they told their Tale enough to their own Advantage, casting Reproaches upon the Synod, which they affirm'd to have been an Assembly of lewd wicked men, met together to the Destruction and Ruine of the Church. Besides partly by Pretexes of Truth, partly by Bribes, partly by Flattery and subtle Insinuations they had made the great men of the Court on their side; amongst whom *Acacius*, who was a man of quick Parts, well-spoken, and infinitely active and diligent, and not a little regarded for his eminent Station in the Church, and his Relation to the great *Eusebius* his Predecessor, had a considerable Interest. The Emperor was lately return'd from the Western Parts to *Constantinople*, where they met him, who was so incens'd at the Suggestions which *Acacius* and his Party had made, that he resolv'd to crush the opposite side, and turn'd out all of that Party out of all publick Offices. And the better to effect their purpose, they perswaded the Emperor to convene a Synod; which consisted partly of *Western* Bishops, to w^{it}, the Legates of the Council of *Ariminum*, lately come to wait upon the Emperor, partly of *Libyan* Bishops, *Serras*, *Stephanas*, and some others, but the Major part were the Bishops of the *East*, especially they of the Province of *Bithynia*, as being next at hand, the chief of whom was *Maris* of *Chalcedon*. There met to the number of fifty Bishops, or as

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the *Alexandrian Chronicle* * reports it, seventy two. The Synod was divided into two principal Factions, the one of the *Semarian* or *Homionian* Party, under the conduct of *Basil* of *Ancyra*, and *Eustathius* of *Sabaseta*; the other of the *Heteronians*, who held the Son to be of a quite different nature from the Father. The chief Heads of this Party were *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, and *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, and with them sided *Acacius*, not so much out of kindness to their Opinion, as out of spite to *Basil* for shewing respect and honour to *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, whom he had depos'd. But they who appear'd most in the business were *Actius* and *Eunomius*, who though they were but Deacons, yet being bold forward men, and quick nimble Disputants, were made choice of to enter the Lists as Champions on this side. Which when *Basil* and his Party perceiv'd, they declin'd the Contest, saying, 'twas an indecent thing for Bishops to dispute with Deacons about Matters of Faith. The other side replied, that the Dispute was not now about Dignity and Precedence, but to search and find out the Truth. So *Basil* unwillingly condescended to the Debate, wherein (if we may believe my Author, a Favourer of the *Acetian* side,) he was so utterly and irrecoverably baffled by *Actius*, that he not only confess'd that the Son was wholly of a different Substance from the Father, and had no manner of Communication with it, but at *Actius* his request ratified this Confession with his own Subscription. However *Constantius* finding the Distractions that were in the Council, and that he might not seem altogether to slight the late *Silencian* Synod, at the instance of the Legates, (the Principal whereof were *Eustathius* of *Armenia*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Sylvanus* of *Tarsus*, and *Eusebius* of *Cyzicum*) first refer'd the Matter to the Hearing and Judgment of *Honoratus* (whom he had then newly made Prefect of the City) and some others of the *Senatorial* Order, and then recall'd it to his own hearing, whereat when *Basil* presuming upon his wonted Freedom with the Emperor, took upon him to reprove him for undermining the Apostolick Doctrine, the Emperor commanded him to hold his Peace, as being become a Disturber of the Church. Hereupon *Eustathius* took up the Argument, And since, Sir, (said he) you desire Matters of Faith should be determin'd, behold what Blasphemies *Eudoxius* has vomited up against the only begotten Son of God. And with that presented him a Confession, wherein were these words: Those things that are produc'd after a diverse manner, are dislike in substance. There is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things. But of whom, and by whom are things unlike; therefore the Son is unlike God the Father. The Emperor was startled at this, and ask'd *Eudoxius* whether this was his Writing, who disown'd it, and cast it upon *Actius*, who being sent for, and shew'd the Confession, was ask'd whether he was the Author of it. He not knowing how things stood, and hoping that it made for his Credit and Advantage, own'd it to be his; whereat the Emperor immediately sentenc'd him to be banish'd to *Pepusa* a Town in *Phrygia*, and he was disgracefully turn'd out of the Palace. Then *Eustathius* charg'd *Eudoxius* to be of the same Opinion, and that *Actius* had written this by his direction, as appear'd in, that none but he could tell *Actius* to be the Author. But Judges (said the Emperor) ought not to proceed by Conjectures, but accurately to examine Matters of Fact. If it be not so (replied the Bishop)

* *Al. in. conq.*
XXIII. p. 622.
ubi LIV. no-
mina recensio-
tur.
† *Philos. l. 3.*
c. 12. p. 455.

* *Socr. l. 4. c. 23.*
p. 572.

* *Troad. l. 2.*
c. 27. p. 111.

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let *Eudoxius* convince us of the contrary, by denouncing an *Anathema* to this Confession of *Actius*; which the Emperor judging reasonable, commanded him to do it. But the man began to baffle, and fought to elude it by Arts and Tricks: Which the Emperor perceiving, threat'ned to send him after *Actius*, if he did not do it, which he then did, condemning that Doctrin which both then and afterwards he constantly maintain'd. And when he urg'd, that *Eustathius* also ought to condemn the word *Consubstantial*, as not found in Scripture, *Sylvanus* answer'd, that the ἀπόριος was not the only thing excepted against, that they had invented a great many other Expressions (such as τὸ ἐξ ὧν ὄντων, τὸ κτισμὸς, & τὸ ἐκπέριον) not to be found in Scripture, nor in any Prophetick or Apostolick Writing, which they should do well to condemn, and to banish out of all Christian Assemblies. Which the Emperor granting, commanded the *Eudoxians* to condemn them. This at first they refus'd, till perceiving the Emperor to resent their obstinacy, they unwillingly did it, but ceas'd not still to urge the condemning the word *Consubstantial*. Whereupon *Sylvanus* turning to the Emperor, press'd them with this Argument, if God the Word be neither made out of nothing, nor be a Creature, nor of any other Substance (these being the Expressions which they had but just now condemn'd) then he must be *Consubstantial* with God the Father, as being God of God, and Light of Light, and have the very same Nature with him that begat him. (Though how *Sylvanus*, who sided with the *Semiarrians*, could so strongly plead for the *Consubstantial* Doctrin, *Theodorit* must answer for it.) The Argument was unanswerable, but had no success; yea, the *Acacian* and *Eudoxian* Party rais'd a great Noise and Clamour, insomuch that the Emperor was angry with the other side, and threatned Banishment. *Sylvanus* and the rest resolutely told him, that he might appoint what punishment he pleas'd, but it belong'd to them to determine concerning Matters of Piety and Impiety, and that they would never betray the Doctrin of their Ancestors. Upon which the Emperor gave Sentence of Banishment against them, and commanded their Churches to be anew supplied.

V. THIS Contest being ended, the Emperor ordered the Synodical deposing and Condemnation of *Actius*, which his Friends and Partners durst not contradict, but for fear of the Emperor, were forc'd to dissemble, and subscribe the Sentence, only *Serras* and the *Libyan* Bishops stood out. Whereupon a Letter^b was written in the name of the Synod, and sent to *George* Bishop of *Alexandria* to let him know what they had done in the Case of *Actius*, that for his impious and scandalous Writings, they had depriv'd him of his Deaconship, and excommunicated him, and had forbid that his impious Epistles should be receiv'd or read, and that if he persisted in this Course, both he and all his Followers should be put under an *Anathema*: that the *Libyan* Bishops that came to the Synod, had obstinately refus'd to concur with the rest in this Sentence, nor would yield after all the Methods that had been us'd to prevail with them, whom therefore they had denounc'd excommunicate, if within six Months they did not comply with the Vote and Decision of the Council, and had ordered, that being depos'd, others should be substituted in their room. In this Letter we find *Serras*, one of the *Libyan* Prelates, though he refus'd to subscribe to his Condemnation, yet giving in this Testi-

^b Ext. ap. Theod. lib. c. 28. p. 114.

mony against *Actius* before the Council, that he had dar'd to say, that God had reveal'd those things to him, which he had conceal'd from the very Apostles, and from all others to that day. Which agrees with what his great admirer *Philostorgius*^a reports of him, that he had a Vision from Heaven to confirm and comfort him, and which miraculously convey'd to him an insuperable and irresistible Wisdom, so that from that time he had this peculiar Gift, that he should alwayes get the better in Disputation. No sooner had *George* received the Synodal Epistle, but in a Convention of Bishops, which he had summon'd to that purpose (though plac'd by my Author^b out of due time) he caus'd the Followers of *Actius* (who were numerous in those Parts) to subscribe the Decree of the *Constantinopolitan* Council made against him. In short, the Conclusion of the Council at *Constantinople* was this, they pitch'd upon the Confession, which had the names of the Consuls prefix'd to it, and that had been lately publish'd in the Synod at *Ariminum*, which they now again confirm'd^c, with some few Additions made to it, wherein they condemn'd the word *Substance*, as unknown, offensive, and unscriptural, and made it unlawful to make any mention of the *Hypostasis* of the Father, Son, and holy Ghost. The main Spring of all these Motions, was *Acacius*, who by the Power of his Interest, and the Dexterity of his Wit, manag'd all Affairs in the Synod, all the Acts and Dispatches whereof, were dictated and digested by him; he steer'd the Emperor which way he pleas'd, so that he depos'd and banish'd *Basil*, *Eustathius*, *Macedonius* of *Constantinople*, and all others that stood in his way, whose vacant Sees he fill'd up with such Persons as were agreeable either to his Humor or his Interest.

VI. THE Synod at *Constantinople* breaking up, and the great Church of *S. Sophia*, which the Emperor had lately re-built, being anew dedicated by *Eudoxius* (who upon *Macedonius* his Banishment had invaded that See) *Constantinus* in the Spring of the year *Ann. CCCLX*. began to set forward in his Expedition against *Persia*, and having unfortunately spent the Summer, return'd to keep his Winter-Quarters at *Antioch*. Where they again took the opportunity of establishing their Cause by another Synod^d, and of damning the word *Substance* under any Relation, declaring the Son to be in all things unlike the Father, both in Substance and in Will, and that he was made out of nothing, whence they gain'd the Title of *Anomaeans*, and of *Exoconians*, or those that affirm'd that the Son was made out of nothing. And when the Catholics ask'd them, how they who acknowledg'd the Son to be God of God, durst contrary to their own declar'd Form, assert him to be unlike, and made of nothing, they replied, they herein followed the Apostle, who says, that all things are of God; in which number the Son is also comprehended; and in this sense they meant what they had so oft insert'd into their Confessions, that he was so according to the Scriptures. At last the Form agreed upon in the late Synod at *Constantinople* was again approv'd and ratified. The See of *Antioch* by *Eudoxius* his removal to *Constantinople*, was vacant at *Constantinus*'s coming thither, and upon a nice enquiry *Meletius* (who upon *Eustathius*'s Deposition, had been not long before made Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, but liv'd at this time at *Berea*) was judg'd the fittest Person for the place; a man in whom

^a Lib. 3. c. 15. p. 487.

^b Il. l. 7. c. 2. p. 502.

^c Ext. ap. Ath. de Synod. p. 697. Sacri. l. 2. c. 41. p. 153.

^d Ath. de Synod. p. 698. Sacri. l. 4. c. 29. p. 588. Theod. l. 2. c. 31. p. 119.

all Parties consented, each concluding him of their side. He was it seems a prudent and moderate man, that had not mix'd himself with the Squabbles and Controversies of the Age, but had preach'd plain, honest, moral Doctrine to the People (as ^c *Socrates* and *Sozomen* expressly say) so that not having critically declar'd himself, each Party hop'd to find him theirs. But no sooner was he settled here (where he was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy, and with an universal Confluence and Acclamation of the People) but he put all out of doubt, openly declaring himself for the Catholick Doctrine. For the Emperor having desir'd the chief of the Prelates to preach upon that Text, *Κύριε. ἐκάρη με ἀρχαῖς ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ*, *The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways for his Works*, that so they might be more accurately expounded to the People (Notaries also being appointed to take their Sermons) first *George* Bishop of *Laodicea*, then *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* preach'd, who delivered themselves according to their Notions and Sentiments in that Matter. After them came up *Meletius*, who discours'd & upon the Words according to the Sence of the *Nicene* Faith, and stoutly establish'd the *Constantin*al Doctrine. The People were infinitely pleas'd to hear him, and intreated him to give them some short Memorial of his Doctrine, which he did by shewing them three of his Fingers, and then contracting two, one only was left, adding, to declare his meaning, there are three which are conceiv'd in the mind, though we seem to speak but of one. Which his Adversaries stretch'd, as if he had meant it in the *Sabellian* fence. *Sozomen* says, that while he was preaching, the Arch-Deacon (who was of the opposite Faction) ran to him, and with his hand stop'd his Mouth, who thereupon made the Signal with his Fingers which we mention'd, and when the Arch-Deacon laid hold upon his hand to hinder him, he declar'd his meaning with a loud voice, and exhorted his Auditory to stand to the *Nicene* Faith, protesting that all others were erroneous and false. But however it was, his Adversaries were enrag'd, and procur'd him to be banish'd, and *Euzoius*, an old Companion of *Arian's*, and who, when Deacon, had been depos'd by *Alexander* to be ordain'd Bishop in his room. Which was one thing that occasion'd the Schism in that Church, those who had hitherto mutually communicated, now flying off, and separating from one another. These things were transacted at *Antioch* about the latter end of the year CCCIX. The year following another Synod ^h was call'd there upon occasion of *Acacius's* complaint to the Emperor against *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, for having, without common consent, ordain'd *Eunomius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*, one that was profess'd Disciple of *Actius*, and a more fiery and zealous Heretick than his Master. The Emperor hereupon sent for *Eunomius* to *Antioch*, and summon'd an Assembly of Bishops, whom he commanded to examine the Case. The Synod calling the Case before them, demanded the Prosecutor and Accuser; but none appear'd. For *Acacius* who thought to carry his Design by his Power and Interest with the Emperor, and never intended it should come under a Synodal Discussion, declin'd the Process, and would not appear. For which the Emperor began to suspect him, as one that had acted herein rather out of Malice, than any good intent, and therefore commanded him to be immediately gone to his own See.

^c *Zib. 2. c. 44.*
^{p.} 158.
^{p.} 154 *supr.*
^{p.} 587.

^e *Ext. sermo ejus ap. Epiph.*

^h *Philost. l. 6. c. 4. p. 501.*

VII. *CONSTANTIUS* was greatly disquieted with these Contentions, and found the Sub-divisions of the *Arian* Tribe designing little more than to undermine one another, for the compelling whose Differences, he resolv'd upon a more general Synod, which he intended to convene at *Nice*. But while engag'd in these Designs, he was unexpectedly taken off, whereupon ensued great Revolutions both in Church and State. He had some years since taken his Cousin *Julian* to be his Colleague in the Government, having created him *Cæsar*, and sent him into *France*, to defend those Parts against the Inroads of the *Germans*, where he manag'd the Province with great Success, till partly by his own Ambition, and partly by the request of the Army he was mov'd to take upon him the Imperial Name and Dignity, and was now marching with his Army towards the *East* to justify what he had done. The News hereof infinitely disturb'd *Constantinus*, but he trusting to the prosperous Successes that had all along attended him against the Usurpers of the Empire, and having shuffl'd up a Truce with the *Persians*, turn'd his Forces, and march'd to meet his Nephew. At *Tarsus* he fell into a Fever, (caus'd partly by his making too much haste, partly by the inward Trouble and Vexation of his mind) which together with his Journey increas'd upon him, till his flesh became so hot, that it burn'd like Fire. Being come to a place call'd *Mopsacrene* in the Confines of *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, his Spirits fail'd, and he expir'd, having first been baptiz'd by *Euzoius*, and having ordain'd (at leastwise it was so given out) *Julian* to be his Successor in the Empire. He died *October* the *Vib. Ann. CCCLXI.* in the *XLVth.* year of his Age, and *XXXVIIIth.* of his Reign, having ruled *XIII.* years with his Father, and *XXV.* alone. His body was brought to *Constantinople*, and after some time buried with a pompous Solemnity, *Julian* himself walking before the Corps in a mournful Posture, having put off his Crown, and without any other ensign of Majesty upon him, than the Imperial Cloak. He was a Prince of a lofty Mind, careful to preserve the *Decorum* of State and Empire, a rigid Exactor of Discipline, especially in Military Matters, fortunate in vanquishing intestine Divisions, and home-bred Usurpations, unsuccessful in foreign Expeditions. A great Master of those private Vertues that adorn a Prince, sober, chaste, and temperate, kind and bountiful to his Friends and Followers, but of a Temper inclin'd to Cruelty, especially where there was the least Suspicion of attempting the Empire, (seen above others in putting to death so many of his nearest Relations) which yet he sought to cover with a smooth plausible Carriage. He was greatly Uxorious, and wholly given up to the conduct of Eunuchs and Flatterers, who stood about him, and admir'd all his Sayings as Oracles, and made his affirmation or denial the Measure and Rule of Truth; they fill'd all great Offices in the Palace, and were the Springs that steer'd all publick Affairs, oppressing in the mean time and fleecing the People, and doing innumerable Mischiefs under the shadow of his Authority. These were the quick-sighted Beasts about this many-headed *Hydra* (they are *Julian's* own words both concerning him and them) that exasperated and made him fiercer, who was not over-mild in his own nature, whatever he pretended to be to others. Neither his natural nor acquir'd Parts were extraordinary, though he affected to be thought learned, but miscarried, when ever attempting any

ⁱ *Ad Hieron. Epist. XXIII. p. 141.*

* Am. Marcell.
lib. 21. in fin.

any thing that way. In sacred things he was Superstitious rather than Religious, corrupting Christianity, in it self a most simple and absolute Religion (as the very Heathen Historian ^k acknowledges upon this occasion) with vain and trifling Superstition. He understood little of the Controversies then started, which yet he curiously enquir'd into, and vigorously endeavour'd to compose, by striving to draw all Parties to be of his mind and way, convening Synods for that purpose at every turn, (the Expences whereof were commonly born at his cost) so that his whole Reign seem'd nothing but so many several Sessions of one Ecclesiastick Diet. This laid him open to all the Impostures and Insinuations of the Arian Party, who fed his humor, and abus'd his Power, whereby they stain'd his Reign with the Blood and Ruine of more Catholick Christians, then perhaps had suffered under any one Heathen Emperor. But it seems he saw his Error when it was too late, there being three things, which S. Gregory of Nazianzum (who by the way in his zealous Transports against Julian, elsewhere over-stretches Constantius's Commendation) ^l tells us, he repented of when he came to dye, as the great Blemishes of his Reign, that he had put to death so many of his Kindred, that he had advanc'd Julian to the Empire, and that he had so zealously promoted Innovations in the Faith ^m. And with that Protestation breath'd out his last.

* Orat. XXI.
p. 389. vid. Zon.
nar. Annal.
Tom. III. p. 19.

ⁿ Vid. Theod.
l. 3. c. 4. p. 125.

S E C T.

S E C T. XIII.

His Acts during the Reign of Julian.

Julian's succeeding in the Empire. His pretended kindness to Christians. His restoring all Parties from Exile, and why. A Riot at Alexandria about the Temple of Mithras. The Insurrection principally levell'd against George their Arian Bishop: The miserable and ignominious manner of his Death. His Murder unpitied, he being obnoxious to all Parties. His Learning and Library. Julian's great Care to secure his Books. The Emperor's Expostulatory Letter to the People of Alexandria about his death. Athanasius his return and welcome. His Reformation of his Church. His care about the Distractions of the Church of Antioch. A Synod conven'd at Alexandria to adjust the particular Sense of those two Terms, *ὡρία* and *ἐκόςσας*, the Cause of great Mistakes amongst the Catholicks. Apollinarism and other Heresies condemn'd. An account of all given by Athanasius in a Letter to them of Antioch. The State of that Church. Paulinus made Bishop there by Lucifer Calaritanus. This the Cause of a long-continued Schism in that Church. The Original of the Luciferian Separation. Athanasius by whom oppos'd and undermin'd. The Emperor's Edict for his Banishment; and his Letter to Edicius the Governor to the same purpose. These Orders not mitigated by any Intercession. Athanasius his flight, and miraculous escaping his Pursuers upon the Nile. Julian's death made known the same day at Alexandria.

I. THE death of Constantius brought along with it great Alteration of Affairs in Church as well as State. For Julian being come to the Crown, either to sweeten his entrance upon the Government, or to reflect an *Odium* upon the Memory of Constantius, presently recall'd ⁿ the banish'd Bishops, and restor'd their confiscated Estates; and calling for some of the contending Parties into the Palace, earnestly advis'd them to lay aside all mutual Feuds and Animosities, and every one to go on securely in the way of his Profession, saying often to them in an affected Bravery, *Hearken to me, whom the Franks and the Almainns have hearkned to*. This pains he took, not out of any kindness to them (as his own Historian ^o confesses) but to throw a bone of Contention amongst them, for he knew that a general Toleration would soon set them together by the Ears. and that he should be thereby freed from the Combination of an united Multitude, whom he foresaw the Course he intended to steer, would be sure to enrage. However at first he treated the Christians with great Humanity ^p, commanding that no Force or Incivility should be offer'd to them, and that none should be compell'd against their Wills to sacrifice; only in the Church of Edessa, where the Arian Party had made a Mutiny, and offer'd violence to the Followers of Valentinus, he took away the Rents and Revenues of that Church, the Money he gave to his Army, the Rents he converted to private Uses; which he did, that being made Poor, and so eas'd of their Burden, he might

ⁿ Socr. l. 3. c. 1.
p. 168. Seq. l. 5.
c. 5. p. 600.
Theod. l. 3. c. 4.
p. 127.

^o Am. Marcell.
l. 22. p. 1612.

^p Vid. Epist.
tjus VII. ad
Artob. p. 120.

^a Epist XLIII.
p. 196.

might help them forwards in their way to the Kingdom of Heaven, as according to his Sarcastick Vein he expresses himself in his Letter to *Ecebolius* ^a. Nor was it long before he made it a general Case, depriving the Clergy of their Honours and Priviledges, and their allowance of Corn out of the publick Exchequer, and making them subject to serve in the civil Courts, yea forcing the poor Maids and Widows to refund what they had receiv'd out of the common Stock and Patrimony of the Church; he confiscated their Rents, and took away their Plate and the Ornaments of their Churches, with infinite other Cruelties, not to be related in this place.

II. AT *Alexandria* a Riot hap'n'd in the beginning of his Reign, which yet made *Athanasius* his return more easie to himself, and well-come to the People. *George* the *Arian* Bishop had been accus'd of great Misdemeanors in the Synod at *Sclencia*, and for his obstinate compliance with the *Aetian* Party had been depos'd. But being a man of Stomach and Courage, had gone on, and that with greater fierceness than before. He was become, through his Oppressions and Cruelties, extremely burdenson to the People of *Alexandria*; for he declin'd not the most sordid Acts, nor scrupled the most unjust invading other mens Rights, so he might but amass a great Estate to himself. He would rob the Fatherless, and seise Estates left by Parents to their Children, he endeavour'd to engross the Monopoly of *Nitre*, and to get into his hands the Paper-Marshes, and the sole Trade of the Salt-Pits; he invented a new sort of Biers or Coffins for the carrying out the Dead, and would not suffer a Corps to be so carried out, without a Fee first paid to him. He was obnoxious to all sorts of men; the Nobility hated him for his Pride, and his imperious Lording it over the Governors, being oftner upon the Bench at the Decision of civil Causes, than Praying or Preaching in the Church; the common People look'd upon him as a Tyrant, that ruled all at his Will; the Catholicicks fled from him as a merciless Persecutor, one that crush'd and oppress'd them where-ever he met them; the *Gentiles* were enrag'd at him for prohibiting them to exercise the Rites of their Religion, and taking away by force of Arms the Statues, the consecrated Gifts, and Ornaments of their Temples. All which rendred him universally odious, and at this time conspir'd his Ruine upon this occasion.

^a *Marcellinus*.
p. 1626.

He had been not long since at Court, where, according to his Custom, he had accus'd several as not well affected to the Government, and amongst other things had inform'd the Emperor, that all the Buildings at *Alexandria* erected by their Founder the Great *Alexander* at the publick Charge, ought to pay Rent to the Exchequer. At his return, passing one day, attended with a great Train, through a Temple dedicated to the *Genius* of the City, casting back a scornful look, *And how long* (said he) *must this Charnel-house stand?* This the *Gentiles* resented as an Affront, and look'd upon it as a Pre-sage of the Ruine that was intended it, and thenceforth set themselves to study his Destruction, which upon *Julian's* succeeding to the Empire they accomplish'd. The Church-Historians ^a relate the Matter (for that it was the same, I nothing doubt) with more particular Circumstances. There was at *Alexandria* a Temple of *Mithras* or the *Sun*, wherein they had us'd of old to celebrate the Worship of that Deity, especially by humane Sacrifices. This place being decay'd,

^a *Socr.* l. 3. c. 2.
p. 170. *Socr.* l. 5.
c. 7. p. 603. *con-*
ser. Chron. Alex.
ad Ann. Jul. l. 1.
p. 686.

decay'd, and fill'd with Rubbish, *Constantinus* had bestow'd upon the Church of *Alexandria*, which *George* at this time intended to rebuild into a Church, and had to that end given order for the cleansing of it. But when they were come to the Chancel, or innermost part of the Temple, and had cleered the Rubbish, they found a great number of dead mens Sculls, both of Young and Old, who had been slain there in order to their Charms and Magick Rites, together with certain Images, and Instruments which the Priests had us'd in their Sacrifices and impious Mysteries. These the Christians brought forth, and carrying them up and down the Streets in Triumph, expos'd them to the view of the People, deriding the Follies and Villany of *Pagan* Superstition. The *Gentiles* were provok'd hereat beyond all measure, and catching up what came next to hand, fell upon the Christians, knocking some on the head with Clubs, stoning others, or running them through with Swords, some they strangled, others they crucified, and none came in their way, but were grievously wounded. But their chief Spite and Rage was against *George* the Bishop, whom they took, and that night only put into Prison. Early in the Morning they fetch'd him out, and abus'd him with all manner of Cruelty, trampled on, and dragged up and down the City, and in the Evening having laid him upon a Camel, carried him to the Water-side, and there bur'd him, (and the Camel too for Company) and after all threw his Ashes into the Sea, lest, they said, his Followers should gather them up, and build a Church over them, as they had done for others, who had died glorious deaths, and had commenc'd Martyrs. His death was charg'd by the *Arians* upon *Athanasius's* Party ^a, and *Philostorgius* ^a says expressly, 'twas he plotted and contriv'd it; and withall intimates, it was a just punishment upon *George* for compelling the *Aetian* Party to subscribe to the Synodical Condemnation of *Aetius*, agreed upon, and sent to him by the Council at *Constantinople*. But what Interpretations will not partiality make to serve a Cause? What will not Malice say to defame an Adversary? 'Tis plain, that besides the account given of it by *Am. Marcellinus* a Heathen Writer of that time, *Julian* himself (who would have been glad of any Pretext to have shifted it off from his own side) lays it wholly upon the populace, and those too of his own Religion.

^a *Idem ibid.*
^a *L. 1. c. 2. p. 502*

III. HE was a man suitable to his Country and Education, proud and insolent, rough and intractable, fierce and bloody, sordid and covetous. But though *Nazianzen* decry him for his illiberal Education, yet must he be confess'd to have been something of a Scholar. Witness that noble Library ^a that he left behind him, replenish'd with all sorts of Books, of Philosophy, Rhetorick, History, but especially such as concern'd the Christian Religion; indeed so very considerable, that *Julian* (who had been acquainted with him heretofore in *Cappadocia*, and had borrowed several Books of him to be transcrib'd) immediately sent two Expresses to secure the Books, commanding that his *Ammanensis* should be dealt with, who if he faithfully discovered them, should be rewarded, if not, punish'd; charging the Governors under severe Penalties to use their utmost Care and Diligence in this Matter, and that if any of the Books had been purloined, they should examine suspected Persons upon Oath, and their Servants by Torture, that

^a *Vid. Julian.*
Epist. l. 3. p. 122.
&c. XXXVII.
p. 176.

that so not one of them might be conceal'd from him. But to proceed. The News of his death was no sooner brought to Court, but the Emperor seemingly resented it as an Affront to his Government, and though perhaps well enough pleas'd with the thing it self, yet thought good to take notice of it as a Violation of his Authority, and the ordinary Course of Justice. He wrote ^a therefore to the People of *Alexandria*, to let them know what a rash and unjust Action they had rush'd upon, and that although *George* had done ill things, and had deserv'd as bad, and perhaps worse things at their hands, yet there were Laws, and they should have proceeded against him in the usual course of Justice, and not taken Revenge and Reformation into their own Hands, a thing not to be endur'd in any well-establish'd Constitution; that it was well for them, that this fell out in his time, who for the Reverence that he bore to their great God *Scraps*, and for the sake of his Uncle *Julian*, who had been Prefect of *Egypt*, and President of *Alexandria*, would use no other Remedies in this Case but soft and gentle Methods, to wit, those of Argument and Persuasion, with which he doubted not but they would readily comply. This unfortunate end had this troublesome and cruel man, with whose fall his Party were not so far beaten out of heart, but they pitch'd upon a Successor, ordaining one *Lucius* a Presbyter in his room, who kept the Party together in private Conventicles.

IV. THIS uproar at *Alexandria* being over, *Athanasius* quitted his solitary Retirements, (where he had hitherto sheltered himself) and return'd home. A wellcome Guest we may be sure after so hard and tedious an Exile; the Wayes ^a and Streets were crowded from all Parts, and all places full from whence they might behold this great man; the People were divided according to their Sexes, Ages, and several Trades (as the Custom there was, when any great Person was to receive the Honour of a publick Entry) and every one strove to out-do his Neighbor in the celebrity of the Triumph, which was so great, that it became even Proverbial amongst them, when they would exprefs the Grandeur of any extraordinary Pomp, to say, that *the great Athanasius himself* was not brought in with more Honor and Solemnity. His first work was to Restore and Reform the Church, which he did with all imaginable lenity and greatness, and even to the Wonder and Approbation of his Enemies; next he endeavour'd to abolish Feuds, and to reconcile Persons both to himself, and to one another; injur'd Persons he restor'd to right without any regard to Parties or Interests; Matters of Doctrine he reduc'd to their pristine Purity, and the Faith of the holy Trinity was now again sincerely taught, employing his time in writing to, and receiving Letters from the most eminent Persons and Churches of the Christian World. Nay many of them repair'd to him in Person, partly to congratulate his return, partly to assist him in settling the Distractions of the Church. Amongst the banish'd Bishops, whose minds were intent upon this pious Design, were *Lucifer* ^b Bishop of *Calaris* in *Sardinia*, and *Eusebius* of *Vercelle* in the Confinnes of *Insurbria* in *Italy*, who of late had spent the time of their tedious Exile in the upper *Thebais*, not far from *Alexandria*. These two agreed together, the one to go to *Alexandria*, the other to *Antioch*. *Lucifer* (who sent a Deacon or two along with *Eusebius* to *Alexandria* to assist in his name) went straight

to

to *Antioch*, where he found that famous Church miserably over-run with Schism. *Euzoius* the *Arian* Bishop govern'd in chief, and for the main carried all before him, the Catholics were divided into two Parties, the one the Followers of *Eustathius* their former, the other the Followers of *Melchius* their present Bishop (not yet return'd from Banishment) who kept separate Meetings, and refus'd to communicate with each other. *Lucifer* hoping to bury this Schism by pitching upon a Person in whom both Parties might agree, unadvisedly ordain'd *Paulinus*, a Presbyter of the *Eustathian* Party, Bishop of that Church, which yet was so far from healing, that it widen'd the breach, one Party more being set up in that miserably-divided Church. *Paulinus* held his Assemblies in one of the little Churches within the City, which *Euzoius* out of courtesie and reverence to the man permitted him to enjoy.

V. *PAULINUS* thus advanc'd to the See of *Antioch*, dispatch'd *Maximus* and *Calocernus* as his Legates to *Alexandria*, where *Athanasius* with *Eusebius* and others out of *Italy*, *Arabia*, *Egypt* and *Libya*, were assembled in Council. The chief things debated and determin'd in this Synod, were concerning the lapid Bishops, who had in the late Reign of *Constantius* gone over to, and joyn'd with the *Arians*, whether they should be restor'd to their Sees. At length the milder Opinion took place, that those who had complied only out of fear or mistake, or had been impos'd upon by any specious pretence, should upon their Repentance and abjuring of their Error, be re-admitted to their Churches. But besides this, the Synod perceived that great Disputes were arisen about the true meaning of these Terms *homoousios* and *consubstantialis*, one part charging the other with maintaining three Gods or Principles, the other recriminating upon them the Charge of *Sabellianism*, or confounding the Persons in the Trinity. A misapprehension that created no little disturbance in the Church, and broke out into Heats and Feuds amongst good men, as in other places, so particularly in the Church of *Antioch*, (for whom the Council chiefly intended this Synodal Determination) where we find ^c *Flavian* a Presbyter of that Church, objecting to *Paulinus*, whom *Lucifer* had lately ordain'd Bishop there, that he denied a Trinity of *Hypostases*, whereas Pope *Damasus*, with whom he pretended to hold Communion, expressly asserted but one nature, but withall that there were three *Hypostases* in the Trinity. Both Parties were in the right, only by *Hypostasis* one meant the Essence (and so there were not three *Hypostases*) while the other understood the Persons in the holy Trinity. The Synod therefore upon a full Examination of the Matter, finding that the mistake lay only in the ambiguity of the Terms, and that they all agreed in the same thing, all held the true Faith of the holy Trinity, all abominated the *Arian* Doctrines, all detested the *Sabellian* and *Samosatenian* Heresies, decreed, that the *Nicene* Creed was the most excellent and accurate *Compendium* of Faith, and that henceforth they should rather acquiesce in, and make use of the Terms agreed on in that Council. And therefore when *Socrates* ^d affirms, that the Synod condemn'd the use of these Expressions of *homoousios* and *consubstantialis*, as applied to God; 'tis plain he mistook the Sense of the Council, which was not simply to condemn those Terms (*homoousios* being the very word us'd in the *Nicene* Creed) but to adjust the

A a

meaning

^a Epist. X.
p. 123. text. edit.
am. ap. Socr. lib.
supra. c. 3. p. 171.

^b Nazian. Orat.
XXI. p. 390. &c.

^c Socr. l. 3. c. 5.
p. 173. c. 9.
p. 180. Socr. l. 5.
c. 12. p. 612.
Rufin. l. 1. c. 27.
28. p. 236, 237.
Theod. l. 3. c. 4.
p. 127.

^c Theod. l. 5.
c. 3. p. 201.

^d Ib. 7 p. 175.

meaning of them, and because by reason of their ambiguity they were apt to create misunderstandings, that therefore they should keep to those Phrases that had been establish'd by the Synod of *Nice*. They anathematiz'd likewise those that denied the Divinity of the holy Ghost, affirming it to be a Creature, and of a different Nature and Essence from that of our Lord. Concerning the Incarnation of our Lord, (about which also there began to be some Dispute and Controversie) they defin'd, that the Son of God really took our nature upon him, and was perfect man as well as God, of a reasonable Soul, and humane Flesh subsisting, and that in that capacity he wrought out our Salvation. In this Synod the Legates from *Antioch* were receiv'd, who consented to the Acts of it, and soon after it broke up, having before their departure desir'd *Athanasius* to write an answer to them at *Antioch*. Which not long after was done^e, wherein he at large gives them an account of what had been determin'd in the Synod, earnestly presses the two dissenting Catholick Parties to Peace and Concord, and to unite upon no other Terms than that of an hearty Agreement in the *Nicene* Faith, which was abundantly sufficient to end all Disputes; and that whereas some produc'd an Explication made in the *Sardican* Council, they should take notice, that it was forg'd, and that no such Explication had been agreed upon in that Synod; that to promote these great ends of Peace and Unity, they were ready to Travel as far as *Antioch*, which they would have done, had not the present Necessities of the Church detain'd them at home. This Letter was subscrib'd by *Athanasius*, and XIII. Bishops that yet staid at *Alexandria*, besides the *Antiochian* Legates: *Eusebius* of *Percelle* subscrib'd his sentence apart in the *Latin* Tongue, but exactly agreeable to the rest; so did *Asterius*, and being carried to *Antioch*, it was subscrib'd likewise by *Paulinus*, who added an explicate Declaration of his Faith concerning three Persons, and one divine Essence, concerning the Incarnation of our Saviour, and that he anathematiz'd those who rejected the *Nicene* Faith, and denied the Son to be of the Substance, and co-essential with his Father, or affirm'd the holy Ghost to be a Creature, or that held the Principles of *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, or any other Heresie.

^e *Socr. ib. c. 9.*
p. 180. *Soc. ib.*
c. 13. p. 613.
Rufin. ubi sup.
c. 30.

VI. AFFAIRS being settled at *Alexandria*, *Eusebius* ^f hastned to *Antioch*, where with infinite trouble he beheld the lamentable Dissensions in that Church. *Melitus*, who return'd about this time, kept his residence and the Assemblies of his Party in the *Old City*, (especially in the great Apostolical Church, founded by *S. Peter*, and which is it self sometimes stil'd the *Old Church*, and stood in that part of *Antioch*.) *Euzoios* with the *Arians* had Possession of the *New*, who yet out of respect to *Paulinus* allow'd him the use of one Church. And to make the Case more deplorable, these two ancient Friends and Fellow-Confessors *Lucifer* and *Eusebius*, who were to have heal'd the breach, fell out themselves, whether because *Eusebius* resent'd *Lucifer's* rash Ordination of *Paulinus*; and *Lucifer* on the other side stomach'd *Eusebius* his refusing to approve that Act (as *Scrates* and some others think) or whether because *Lucifer* being a man of a very strict and fower Temper, was displac'd with the Determination of the *Alexandrian* Synod about the restoring of the laps'd Bishops, or whether upon both accounts, it is hard to say. Certain it is, that these

these two good men parted in great discontent, *Lucifer* returning to his own Bishoprick at *Calaris*, the chief City in the Island of *Sardinia*, where though he made a shift in some measure to suppress his Sentiments while he liv'd (being unwilling openly to disown what he had ratified by his Deputies in the Synod at *Alexandria*) yet after his death it broke out into a violent Schism, his Followers styling themselves *Luciferians*, after the name of their Master, and utterly rejecting all manner of Communion with those that had any wayes communicated with the *Arians*.

VII. WHILE *Athanasius* was taken up in managing the Affairs of his Church at home, his Enemies were busie to undermine him at Court. The *Gentiles* now enjoy'd the full exercise of their Religion, and were arriv'd to that height of Impiety, that not content with their common Ceremonies, they ran up into the most inhumane and diabolick Mysteries, killing a young Children of both Sexes, divining by their entrails, and eating their Flesh. A Barbarisin practis'd in other places, but especially at *Athens* and *Alexandria*. But in the midst of this horrid licentiousness, it vex'd them to see *Athanasius* in so much vogue and credit with the People, whose pains and presence kept them in, and secur'd his People from Apostacy. He therefore must be remov'd at any rate. A Conspiracy wherein both *Arians* and Heathens joyn'd together. The Emperor was inform'd ^h that *Athanasius* without any regard to his Government, did publicly keep Religious Assemblies, and had perverted very many *Gentiles* to his Religion, and that if he were suffer'd to go on, not one *Gentile* would be left, but that they would all flock over to him, the Tribe also of *Magicians*, *Philosophers*, *Druspiers*, and *Augurs* representing, that their Arts would signifie nothing, unless *Athanasius*, as the great *Remora*, were taken out of the way. Exasperated with these Insinuations, the Emperor dispatch'd this following Edict ⁱ to *Alexandria*.

^e *Socr. l. 3. c. 13.*
p. 185.

^h *Socr. ib. c. 19.*
p. 615. *Theod.*
l. 3. c. 9. p. 132.
Ruf. ib. c. 33.
p. 238.

ⁱ *Ext. inter Epp.*
Julian. XXV.
p. 155.

IT was but fit, that he who had been banish'd by so many Royal and Imperial Edicts, should at least have expected one to recall him, before he had ventur'd to return, and not by so mad and bold a Prejudication have affronted the Laws, as if no such had been made. And even now when we have given the Galileans that were banish'd by *Constantius*, leave to return, it was not to return to their Churches, but into their Countries. Notwithstanding I understand that that daring Fellow *Athanasius*, according to his accustomed confidence, has again repossess'd his Episcopal See, and that the thing is highly offensive to the pious and good People of *Alexandria*. Wherefore we command him to depart the City on that very day, whereon you shall receive these our Letters; and if he offers to stay, we order far greater and severer Penalties to be inflicted on him.

This Edict was attended with a Letter ^k to *Ecdicius* Governor of *Egypt* to this effect.

^k *Epist. Jul.*
VI. p. 119.

To Ecdicius Governor of Egypt.

Although you writ nothing else, you ought certainly to have given us an account of Athanasius, the Enemy of the Gods, especially when you had long since heard of our useful Constitutions. I call to witness the great Sarapis, that if this Athanasius, the Enemy of the Gods, depart not the City, or rather all Egypt, before the first of December, the Regiments under your command shall be fined an hundred pound of Gold. You know how backward I am to condemn, and how much more backward, when I have done it, to remit and Pardon. It is no small trouble to me, that by his means all the Gods should be set at naught. Of all your Services, none would be more acceptable to me, than to see or hear that Athanasius is driven out of all parts of Egypt, a wretch that has dar'd under my Reign to force many honourable Greek Ladies to be baptiz'd.

And when, to mollify these rigorous Proceedings, some Addressees were made to the Emperor in his behalf, he wrote back to them, wherein he Expostulates with them for their Faction and Novelty, and their great degeneracy from the Religion of their Ancestors, it being a shame that any in that City should dare to profess himself a Galilean; that they should do well to hearken to him, who having for twenty years been a Christian, had by the assistance of the Gods, chang'd his opinion, and had now for twelve years been of the other Religion; that however they should retain mutual Concord, and give over desiring *Athanasius*, there being enough of his Disciples, and they nothing inferior to him, who might tickle their itching Ears with pleasant but impious Discourses; that if upon any other account they were desirous of him, for that very reason he would expell him, a busy and factious man, being of all men the most unfit to govern others; if yet he might be call'd a man, and not rather a piteous and contemptible Rascal, for whose sake it was not worth while to hazard a publick Disturbance; which that it might be prevented amongst them, as he had some time since commanded him to quit the City, so now he commanded him to depart all Egypt.

VIII. *ATHANASIUS*, who foresaw the Storm arising, upon the first News of the imperial Edict, prepared to depart, and when his Friends burst out into the most mournful and passionate Resentment, he said to them, Be of good cheer, Sirs, let us give way a little, 'tis but a little Cloud, and 'twill soon blow over. Which said, he presently took Boat, and went down the Nile towards Thebais. He was no sooner gone, but the Officer came to apprehend him, who having learn'd which way he went, followed after. But having advice here of forthwith sent him, his Friends that were with him in the Boat, perswaded him to go on shore, and to betake himself to the Desert; No, replied he, let's rather go and meet our Executioner, that he may know that greater is he that's with us, then he that is against us. And with that commanded the Steers-man to turn the Boat, and row back to Alexandria. By this time the Officer and his Company were come near, who never suspecting them that were going that way, only enquir'd of them, whether they saw *Athanasius*; they answered, he

was

was hard by, and that if they made haste, they might quickly overtake him. So they parted, and by this means the good man escap'd, and came safe to Alexandria, where he conceal'd himself, till the Storm was over-past, which hap'n'd soon after. For Julian engaging in a War against the Persians, was slain in the Engagement, and his death miraculously made known the very same day at Alexandria. There was in that City one *Didymus*, a devout and severe Ascetic, or (as *Sozomen* styles him) an Ecclesiastical Philosopher, who while taken up according to his custom with over-long Fasting and Prayer, fell into a Trance, and saw men upon white Horses galloping through the Air, and crying, tell *Didymus*, and let him acquaint *Athanasius*, that this very hour Julian is slain, and now let him break his Fast.

lib. 6. c. 2;
p. 638. vid.
Pallad. Hist.
Lanf. c. 3. in
vit. Didym.
p. 505.

S E C T. XIV.

His Acts from the death of Julian till that of Jovian.

Julian's death infinitely resented by the Gentiles. The kindness of his Successor Jovian to the Christians. His Letter to Athanasius to give him an account of the true Catholick Faith. A Synod at Alexandria on that occasion; their Epistle to the Emperor concerning the Catholick Doctrine, and the Nicene Creed. This Letter sent by Athanasius to Antioch, who is heavily complain'd against by Lucius and the Arian Party from Alexandria. Their Petitions frequently rejected by the Emperor, and their Favourers at Court check'd and punish'd. Several Parties of Sectaries endeavour to make their interest at Court, and to undermine each other. The Emperor's Declaration against Dissention in the Church. The Acacians subtly comply in a Synod at Antioch. An Address presented to the Emperor by the Synod concerning their Agreement in the Faith. The great sickling of the Anomæan Faction at Constantinople. Their frequent Ordinations of Bishops in all places. Quarrels between Eudoxius and Actius.

I. JULIAN's death cast so great a damp and discouragement upon the Gentiles, that *Libanius* himself upon the News of it grew weary of his Life, and casting his Eye upon his Sword, resolv'd to have dispatch'd himself, which he had done, but that seasonably reflecting upon the Principles of his own Philosophy, he remembered that the disposal of life was in no mans Power, and that in this Case we are to await the Decrees of God, the Violation whereof he could not answer in another World. But his death did not more disanimate the Gentiles, then it gave a new Life and Spirit to the Christian Cause, which but a little before was in danger to be stifled with the vigorous Efforts of antiquated Paganism. For *Jovian* (or *Jovianus* as others call him) who had not long since been Captain of the Guards, but discharg'd for his resolute Profession of Christianity, being proclaim'd Emperor in the Field, and having upon the Spot profess'd himself a Christian, no sooner return'd to Antioch, but

gave

Socrat. lib. 6. c. 14.
p. 185. Socr. lib. 4.
c. 10. p. 549. &
L. 5. c. 15. p. 615
Theod. lib. 3. c. 9.
p. 132. Rufinus
lib. 1. c. 34.

de vit. sua
p. 45.

* Sacrd. 3. c. 23.
p. 202. Soc. 1.6.
c. 3. p. 640.
Throd. 1.4. c. 2.
p. 152.

* Est. ap. Ath.
p. 398. & Pled.
16. c. 3. p. 152.

gave order ° to the Governors of the Provinces, that they should go to Church, and worship God according to the Rules of the Christian Religion, and that the banish'd Bishops should be call'd home to their former Sees, and that all Dissentions (if possible) being removed, the Nicene Faith might universally take place. To this end he directed Letters to *Athanasius*, (whom all the World beheld as the great Champion of the Catholick Cause) requiring him to send him an exact account of what was the true orthodox Faith. The good man was glad of the occasion, and a Synod of the neighboring Prelates being conven'd for this purpose, an Epistle was drawn up to be presented to the Emperor in this Form °.

To the most Religious and Gracious Prince *Jovian*, the *August*, the Conqueror, *Athanasius* and the rest of the Bishops, who come in the Person of all the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Thebais*, and *Libya*.

A Mind act'd with an earnest desire after the knowledge of divine things, is a Temper highly becoming a Religious Prince; for so shall your heart truly be in the hand of God. Forasmuch therefore as your Piety desires to learn from us the Faith of the Catholick Church, we, having for this first rendred our thanks to God, have resolv'd above all things to lay before your Devout and Religious mind, the Faith publish'd by the Fathers at Nice; which some having reject'd, and thereupon endeavour'd by a thousand Artifices to undermine us, because we went not along with the Arian Sect, have introduc'd Schisms and Heresies into the Catholick Church. But the true and holy Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest unto all, being both known out of, and to be read in the holy Scriptures. In which Faith holy men have suffered Martyrdom, and being dissolv'd, are now at rest in the Lord, and which had for ever remain'd pure and intire, if the wickedness of some Hereticks had not presumed to corrupt it. For a certain Person named Arius, together with his Followers, made it his business to deprave it, and to bring in Impiety in its room, asserting the Son of God to be made out of nothing, to be a Creature and a Workmanship, and to be mutable; with which Discourses they seduc'd many, so that some who seem'd to be of greatest account were led aside with their blasphemous Intimations. But our holy Fathers being assembled, at was said, in the Synod at Nice, condemn'd the Arian Heresie, and consign'd to writing a Confession of the Faith of the Catholick Church, which being every where publish'd, extinguish'd that Heresie, which the Founders of it had brought in. And this Faith is every where known and preach'd throughout all the Churches. But forasmuch as some being still desirous to renew the Arian Heresie, have dar'd to reject the Nicene Faith; others pretend indeed to confess it, but in truth deny it, perverting the meaning of the word Consubstantial; and moreover blasphemously affirming concerning the holy Ghost, that he is a Creature, made by the Son; we taking into Consideration the danger arising to the People by these blasphemous Assertions, have thought it necessary to offer to your Majesty the Faith consented

to at Nice, that you may understand with how much accuracy it was drawn up, and how widely they err from the Truth, who maintain any other Doctrine. Know therefore, most Religious Emperor, that this is the Faith which was preach'd from the beginning, agreed upon by the Nicene Fathers, and afterwards own'd and subscrib'd by all the Churches in the World, by those of Spain, of Britain, Gaul, by all Italy, Campania, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mysia, Macedonia, and all Achaia; by all the Churches of Africk, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia and Ilauria; all Egypt and Libya, Pontus and Galatia, and the Regions round about, and in short, by all the Churches of the East, a few only excepted, who embrace the Sentiments of Arius. The opinion of all these Churches in this Case we have known upon Trial, and have their Letters to produce. And though some few dissent from this Faith, yet we know, Sir, that a few cannot pre-judge the consent of the whole World; and being long since infected with Arianism, they do at this time most pertinaciously oppose the Truth. Now that your Piety may know the Faith publish'd by the CCCXVIII. Fathers at Nice, though a thing sufficiently known, we have here set it down. It runs thus, We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, &c. In this Faith, Sir, we ought to continue, as being Divine and Apostolical, nor may any man alter it by plausible pretences, or sophistical Reasonings, as the Arians have done all along, who affirm the Son of God to be made of nothing, that there was a time when he was not, that he was made, created, and is mutable. For this Reason the Council of Nice, as we said before, condemn'd that Heresie, and explained the true Faith. For they did not affirm the Son to be simply and absolutely like the Father, that so he might not be believed to be simply like to God, but to be true God of God. Moreover they affirmed him to be Consubstantial, which is the Property of a true genuine Son begotten of a true natural Father. Nor did they separate the holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, but rather glorified him together with the Father and the Son, in the one Faith of the holy Trinity, there being but one God-head in the holy Trinity.

II. THIS Letter was delivered to *Athanasius* and a Committee of the Council, who in the name of the Synod were to wait upon, and present it to the Emperor, for that it should be by them drawn up at Antioch, I can scarcely believe. And indeed it was time for them to hasten thither. For upon the first Intimation of the new-created Emperor, the Arian Party at Alexandria had dispatched away *Lucius*, *Bernician*, and some others to Court, to exhibit a Charge against *Athanasius*. At their arrival they met the Emperor riding through the Roman Gate to the Artillery-ground, whom they petitioned for Audience; being asked who they were, whence, and for what they came, they told him, and that they desired a Bishop might be set over them. The Emperor answered, that he had given order that *Athanasius* their former Bishop should possess that See. They replied, that he had been impeached and banished many years ago. Whereat an Officer of the Army standing by, cried out, I beseech you, Sir, enquire your self who, and whence these are? for these are the Dregs and Reliques of that wretched *George the Cappadocian*, who have wasted Alexandria and the whole World. Which the Emperor hearing, spur'd on his Horse, and rid away for that time. At the next opportunity

* Vid. libell.
prec. & varia
torum colloquia
ap. Ath. Tom. 2.
p. 34. &c. vid.
etiam Soc. 1.6.
c. 5. p. 642, 643

tunity they acquainted the Emperor that they had several Crimes to lay to *Athanasius's* charge, and that he had been banished near thirty years since, by the ever-memorable *Constantine* and *Constantius*, and after them by the most Religious and Wise Prince, *Julian*, late deceased. The Emperor answered, that Accusations made ten, twenty, or thirty years ago, were past and laid aside, that they should lay nothing to him of *Athanasius*, for that he knew wherefore he had been accus'd and banish'd. The men were not discourag'd with this ill success, but told the Emperor at the next meeting, that they had other Charges against *Athanasius*, and requested that they might have any man but him to be their Bishop, and that if he come amongst them, the whole City would be infested, and no man would joyn in his Religious Assemblies. To this the Emperor answered, that he had already told them, he had settled *Athanasius's* Affairs, and that upon strict enquiry he had found him Orthodox, and to teach true Catholick Doctrine. They replied, that he spake well indeed, but dissimled in his heart. That, said the Emperor, is enough, which your selves testifie of him, that he speaks well, and preaches truly; and if with his Tongue he teaches right, but believes amiss in his heart, he is in that Case answerable only unto God. For we that are men, can but hear what is spoken, 'tis God only knows what is in the heart. And when they complain'd that he declar'd them to be Hereticks and Innovators in Religion, the Emperor said, that in this he did but his Duty, and that it was the part of all Catholick Preachers. After this, and some other trifling Requests, the Emperor dismiss'd them for that time, commanding them to meet together and consult the next day; and after their breaking up told them, that the Bishops were there ready, that each of them should draw up the Confession of his Faith; that *Athanasius* was there too (for by this time he and his Company were come to *Antioch*) and that whoever was ignorant, or unsatisfied in the Faith, might learn of him. The Issue of the several Addresses and Conferences was, that *Euzoius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch*, who improv'd all his Interest to settle *Lucius* in the See of *Alexandria*, lost his labour, *Lucius* himself was commanded to be gone, and quietly to behave himself; *Probatius* Lord Chamberlain, and the other Eunuchs (who at *Euzoius's* Instigation had stickled hard for *Lucius* and the *Arian* Cause) chastis'd and punish'd, the Emperor proclaiming, that whoever should dare to undertake any such Cause against Christians, should be serv'd in the same manner. After this, *Athanasius* was honourably dismiss'd by the Emperor, with great Commendations of his Vertue and the Integrity of Life, his Wisdom and Prudence, as well as his orthodox Belief.

III. BUT we must not leave *Antioch*, before we have seen what became of the Attempts that were made by some other Parties at that time. The Emperor's sweet and excellent Temper being known, the Principals of every Sect flock'd about him, hoping to establish their particular Interests, and to suppress their Adversaries. Amongst these the *Macedonian* Party appear'd very forward, *Basil* Bishop of *Ancyra*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeopolis* and some others, presented a Petition in behalf of the *Homoioussians*, and against the *Anomeans*, wherein they set forth, that they blest'd God for advancing his Majesty to the *Roman* Empire, desiring him either that those things

things might be ratified, which had been concluded in the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, and those things cancell'd, which by some mens Power and Interest had been effected; or else that the breach remaining in the Churches as it was before those Synods, the Bishops from all places might meet together in what place they pleas'd, and freely debate things amongst themselves, none else being admitted into their Society; and that the attempts of any who had a mind to act clandestinely, and to impose upon others, (as had been done in the time of the Emperor *Constantius*) might not be suffered to take effect. That they had not themselves come to Court, lest their Numbers might give offence; but if commanded, they were most ready to do it at their own Charge. The Emperor taking their Petition, gave them no other answer, but that he hated Contention, but lov'd and honour'd all that were Studious of Peace and Concord. Much about the same time a Synod was held at *Antioch*, wherein the *Acacian* Party tack'd about, and made it appear that they could at any time be of the Emperor's Religion, and therefore readily joyn'd with the rest in confirming the *Nicene* *Consubstantial* Doctrine, which they represented to the Emperor in this following Address.

To our most Pious and Religious Prince JOVIAN, the *August*, the Conqueror, the Synod of Bishops assembled at *Antioch* out of several Provinces.

WE are not ignorant, most Pious Emperor, that it is your Majesties chief Care and Study, to promote the Peace and Concord of the Church; nor are we ignorant that you very rightly apprehend a Form of the true orthodox Faith, to be the Foundation of this Unity. Therefore that we may not seem to be of the number of those that corrupt the true Doctrine, we acquaint your Piety, that we embrace and firmly maintain the Faith heretofore agreed on in the holy Synod of Nice. For the word *Consubstantial*, which to some seem'd new and strange, was cautiously expounded by those Fathers, so as to signify that the Son is begotten of the Substance of the Father, and that he is in substance like unto the Father; so as neither any Passion may be understood to be in that ineffable Generation, nor the word Substance be taken according to the Use and Custom of the Greeks; but so as to overthrow what Arian presum'd to assert, that the Son was made out of nothing. Which also the *Opstert* Anomeans do with a greater Boldness and Impudence affirm, to the rending asunder the Peace and Agreement of the Church. And for this Reason we have to this our Address annex'd a Copy of the Creed compos'd by the Bishops in the Nicene Council, which we also own, and is as follows. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, &c.

This Declaration of their Faith was subscrib'd by XVII. Prelates, and by *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* amongst the rest, then whom no man had heretofore more vigorously oppos'd the *Nicene* Creed. But he knew it seems how to steer his course in all Weathers, and softly to comply with what made most for his present Ease and Interest.

B b

IV. WHILE

^c Philost. l. 7.
c. 6. p. 504. l. 8.
c. 2. p. 3. l. 4, 5, 6.
p. 510, &c.

IV. WHILE things pass'd thus at *Antioch*, the *Anomœan* Party was not idle at *Constantinople*. *Actius* ^c head of that Sect had conceiv'd great hopes from what *Euzoius* of *Antioch* with his Synod of nine Bishops had done in his behalf in the Reign of *Julian*. For at the earnest instance of *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, he had null'd the Sentence of Deposition pass'd upon *Actius*, and had drawn up a Libel in defence of him and his Doctrine. But the change of Affairs by the Succession of *Jovian* to the Crown, and the late Council at *Antioch* that had expressly condemn'd the *Anomœan* Doctrine, had broke their Measures, and *Euzoius* thought best to proceed no further in that Matter. Whereupon *Actius* and *Eunomius*, who were at this time at *Constantinople*, conceiv'd it high time to look after their own Affairs, and to strengthen and secure their Interest in all places. To which purpose they consecrated several new Bishops of their Sect; at *Constantinople* they ordain'd *Poemenius*, who dying soon after *Elerentius* succeeded in his room; *Thallus* at *Lesbus*, *Euphronius* for *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, *Julian* for *Cilicia*; *Theophilus* the *Indian* was sent to *Antioch* to persuade *Euzoius* to perfect what he had begun in the Cause of *Actius*, and upon refusal, to take the Charge of that People upon himself. In *Egypt* and *Libya*, *Serras* and his Brethren were to administer the Affairs and Interests of the Party. Over the Churches of *Lydia* and *Ionia* they set *Candidus* and *Arianus*, whom *Actius* himself accompanied home to give them Possession of their Charge. But he met with an Opposition which he look'd not for. For one *Theophilus* a Bishop of his own Faction, set himself against him, and associating with *Phebus*, and seven Bishops more, met in a Synodal Assembly, and protested against him and his Proceedings, and wrote Letters to *Eudoxius*, and *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, wherein they charg'd *Actius* his Ordination as irregular and uncanonical, and that when he had been degraded from his Deaconship, he had without the leave and allowance of his Deposers, invaded the Episcopal Office. They disown'd the Ordinations he had given to *Candidus* and *Arianus*, and any of the rest, as Acts done rashly, and without the common Suffrage. The Letter was very wellcome to *Eudoxius*, who highly resent'd *Actius* his ordaining a Bishop under his own Nose at *Constantinople*, and wrote back to *Theophilus* and his Associates, that they should go on vigorously in what they had begun, and proceed severely rather against *Actius* and the rest of the Ordainers, than against those who had been ordained by them, and perhaps he might at that time be the more tender in the Case of *Candidus* and *Arianus*, because they were near akin to the Emperor *Jovian*, and had gone to him while he lay yet at *Edeffa*, to solicit him against *Athanasius*. But he wisely concealing his own Opinion, refer'd the Matter to a more publick Assembly, which soon after met, when he arriv'd at *Antioch*. Afterwards *Eudoxius* wrote likewise to *Euzoius* to engage him against *Candidus* and *Arianus*. But he reject'd the Motion with some Indignation, and in his answer rebuk'd the Rashness and Confidence of the man, and advis'd him to let fall that design, calmly putting him in mind of his great neglect in not performing what he had solemnly engag'd to do in the behalf of *Actius*. This Opposition, and the mutual feuds of these great men gave a notable check to the *Anomœan* Faction, and made the Catholick Cause, lately espous'd by the Council at *Antioch*, run more clear and smooth.

SECT.

SECT. XV.

His Acts from the death of Jovian; with his own death and Character.

Valens in the East espouses the Arian side. A miserable Persecution hereupon rais'd against the Catholicks. Warrants particularly issued out against Athanasius. The People of Alexandria remonstrate the true State of his Case. Athanasius retires, and happily escapes the Fury of his Persecutors. The Embassy of the Alexandrians to Court in his behalf. The quiet that ensued upon it, while the Persecution rag'd in all other places. His Interposals in the Affairs of foreign Churches. His assisting Basil to compose the Distractions in the Church of Antioch. His Age, Death, and Successor. The Opposition made by the Arians against Peter his Successor, and the heavy Persecution that commenc'd thereupon at Alexandria. His admirable Character drawn by Nazianzen. His natural Parts, and acquired learning what. His great accuracy in Theologick Studies. Charg'd with skill in Magick, and why. His style and way of writing highly commended. His Writings justly held in great Esteem. His Works distinguish'd into Doctrinal, Polemical, and Historical. A general account of each. Spurious Books fathered upon him. His writings enumerated.

I. THINGS thus happily proceeded, when these hopeful beginnings of the Churches Prosperity were check'd by *Jovian's* sudden and unexpected death, after he had reign'd not above eight Months. To him succeeded *Valentinian*, a sweet and good natur'd Prince, and a great Patron of the Catholick Cause, who chose the *West* for the Seat of his Empire, assigning the *East* to his Brother *Valens*, whom he assum'd to be his Colleague in the Government, one of somewhat a more rough and intractable Temper, who being baptiz'd by *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, in order to his more prosperous Expedition against the *Goths*, soon after declar'd himself in favour of the *Arians*. They were not to be taught how to improve the Advantage of having the imperial Authority on their side. Edicts ^c were hereupon sent to the Governors of Provinces, that the Bishops who in the time of *Constantinus* had been banish'd, and restor'd by *Julian*, should be again expell'd their Churches, *Valens* hoping hereby to decline the Envy of the Fact, by insinuating that he did but revive the Law of his Predecessor. We may be sure that *Athanasius* was not without his share in the common Calamity, nay a more particular regard was had of him, very severe both pecuniary and corporal Mulcts being threatned to all Officers from the highest to the lowest, if they did not herein faithfully and diligently execute their Warrants. But the People of *Alexandria* began to remonstrate, intreating the Governour that he would not rashly force away their Bishop, that he would more considerately weigh the Tenor of the Imperial Letters, which were directed only against such as being

B b 2

banish'd

^c See l. 6. c. 12.
p. 653.

banish'd by *Constantius*, had been recall'd by *Julian*; that *Athanasius* was not within this compass, that he had indeed fled under *Constantius*, but that he was by him recall'd and restor'd to his See, and that when *Julian* restor'd all the rest, he was the only Person whom he persecuted, but that *Jovian* had again recall'd him. All would not satisfy, the Governor persisted immovable in his Resolution, which the Multitude seeing, made Head, and resolv'd to defend him from Force and Violence. And now all things openly tended to Sedition, the People threatening to burn the Corn-ships that transported Grain from *Alexandria*, and to set fire to the publick Buildings, to prevent which, the Governor prudently let the thing rest at present, till he could give the Emperor an account of it. So that the Storm seem'd to be wholly laid; but *Athanasius* foreseeing what was like to happen, and fearing to be accus'd as the Author of a Rebellion, privately in the Evening retir'd out of the City, and that he might be the more unsuspected, conceal'd himself in a Monument belonging to his Family, where he lay hid for the space of four Months. And 'twas a seasonable retirement. For that very night he withdrew, the Governor attended with the Commander of the Forces, came to the Church, whereto adjoyn'd *Athanasius's* House, hoping that the People being all asleep, they might easily apprehend him without any Tumult; they narrowly search'd all Places, ransacking the very Garrets and top of the House, but finding him not, returned. The Governor at this time was *Tatian*, a Person of great Cruelty and Inhumanity, whom the divine Vengeance not long after overtook. For being divested both of his Preferments and Estate, he was forc'd to beg his Bread, and being struck blind, led a disgraceful and uncomfortable Life, his Statues also in all parts of the City being smok'd and black'd, were every where expos'd to contempt and scorn. But to proceed.

II. THE *Alexandrians* not knowing what Representation the Governor might make, did themselves send an Embassy * to the Emperor, earnestly beseeching him that for Peace-sake *Lucius* the *Asian* Bishop might be translated to *Antioch* or some other place, and that *Athanasius* might be permitted quietly to possess his See. The Emperor either out of regard to the great Fame and Reputation of the man, (for whom the World had so just a Reverence and Veneration) and especially fearing to provoke his Brother *Valentinian*, or else apprehending the ill Consequences of a Rebellion in *Egypt* (where he knew *Athanasius* had so numerous a Party, and where the People were so naturally dispos'd to Seditions and Tumults) if things were carried with too stiff a hand, yielded to their Request, and gave him leave to return. To which the wiser Heads of the *Asian* Faction were not unwilling, foreseeing that if *Athanasius* were banish'd, he would in probability make his Address at Court, where upon a just Representation of Affairs, he might undeceive and bring over *Valens*, especially having the Emperor *Valentinian* to befriend him. But whatever the Cause was, the Effect was happy, the good man by this means enjoying henceforward a calm and serene Season, while the Storm * rag'd in the neighbor Churches round about him: some were impeach'd with false Accusations, and drawn before the Courts of Judicature, others scourg'd and beaten, some imprison'd, others

* Vit. Ath. ap. Phot. Cod. CCLVIII. col. 1449. & ap. Sim. Metaphr. gr. l. ap. Ath. Tom. 2. p. 566.

* Epiph. Mers. LXVIII. p. 310. vid. Socr. l. 4. c. 20. p. 250.

* Socr. l. 4. c. 15. 16. p. 226. & c. Socr. ib. c. 14. p. 655.

fin'd, or their Estates confiscated, and when for the redress of these intolerable Grievances, LXXX. Ecclesiastick Persons were appointed to carry a Petition to the Emperor, then at *Nicomedia*, upon the delivery of it, the Emperor who was highly enrag'd, but yet dissembled his Resentment, gave order to the Governor to put all these Persons aboard a Ship, under pretence of transporting them into Banishment, which was done accordingly, and the Ship being out at main Sea, the Mariners according to their Instructions got into the Boat, and set the Ship on fire, whereby all those fourscore innocent Persons miserably perish'd. All this while *Athanasius* sat quiet and secure at home, and was at leisure by his Councils and Interest to assist his Friends in foreign Parts. He had been lately call'd upon by *S. Basil* y to interpose his Influence and Authority for composing the Distractions at *Antioch*, and other Churches of the *East*, as being a Person whose Prudence and Piety, whose Age and Experience, and whose many Sufferings for the Faith rendred him the fittest Person to undertake such a Work; that therefore he should do well to improve his Interest with Heaven by Prayers for them, send Legates to the Bishops of the *West*, to give them an account of the calamitous State of the *Eastern* Churches; and afterwards others into the *East*, where there was the greatest Danger, and most immediate necessity of his assistance. And by his next Letter z, wherein he again presses the same thing, it appears he had some expectation of *Athanasius* his coming into those Parts, and enjoying the Company (as he calls it) of that truly great and Apostolick Soul. But Age, and the multitude of his Affairs at home, would not suffer him to undertake so great a Journey, however not to be wanting in what he might, besides others, he sent *Peter* a a Presbyter of his Church, as his Deputy and Vice-gerent, who travelled earnestly in those Matters, till he had brought them to a tolerable Composure and Agreement. After which *S. Basil* dispatch'd *Dorotheus Meletius's* Deacon at *Antioch* to *Athanasius* for his further Advice and Council, intreating him to write to the Bishop of *Rome*, that since a general Synod could not be had about this Affair, he would send his Opinion about it, and depute some fit Persons to come into the *East*, (who might have an easy and private Passage by Sea, Persons furnish'd with Prudence and Meekness, who might allay the Heats, and bring with them the Acts of the Synod at *Ariminum*, and rescind those things which had by force and violence been enacted in that Synod; and withall 'twas very much desired both by himself and others, that they should come empowered to condemn the Heresie of *Marcellus*, which still spread it self, and whereof he had his Books by him, evidences beyond all dispute; and this the rather necessary for them to do, because in all their Letters directed into those Parts, they had sufficiently censur'd and anathematiz'd *Arius*, but in the mean time had taken no notice of *Marcellus*, who had brought in a quite contrary, but perhaps no less impious and dangerous Error. That *Athanasius* complied with this request, we need not doubt, for we find the *Western* Prelates b by Letters and Messages, comforting them under their Sufferings, and expressing a great Sympathy and Commiseration towards them. Nor was *Athanasius* wanting in personal kindness towards *S. Basil*, writing c in his behalf, when the Monks of his Diocess fell out and quarrell'd with him,

y Ad Athan. Epist. XLVIII. p. 75.

z Ib. Epist. XLIX.

a Ad Ath. ib. Epist. LII. p. 77.

b Vid. Basil. Epist. LXXXIV. p. 129. & CLXXXII. p. 195. c Epist. ad Joann. & Antioch. p. 733. Epist. ad Pakid. p. 734.

him, reproving their rashness and insolence in mutinying against so great a Person, whom he styles *the Glory of the Church*, and tells them they had cause to bless God, that had given such a Bishop to Cappadocia, whom every Province would be glad of.

III. *ATHANASIUS* being thus full of dayes, and broken with infinite labours and hardships, departed this life in a good old Age, *Gratian* the second time and *Probus* being Consuls (says the Church-Historian^d) that is *Ann. Chr. CCCLXXI*. The year after says *Baronius*^e, and most of the Moderns. But *Proterius* one of his Successors in that See tells us in his Letter^f to Pope *Leo* about the Paschal Cycle (if for *Anastasius* we are there, as no doubt we are, to read *Athanasius*) that he was yet alive *March XXIV. Ann. Chr. CCCLXXXIII*. or according to his way of Computation in the *LXXXIXth*. year of the *Diocletian Era*. He died *January* the *XVIIIth*. says an *Anonymous* Author^g, on the *II^d*. of *May* according to the *Calendar* of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, on the seventh of that Month, says the Author of the *Excerpta Chronologica*^h publish'd by *Scaliger*, in the *XLVIth*. or *XLVIIth*. year of his Episcopal Office. Being ask'dⁱ before his death, concerning a Successor, he nominated *Peter*, the same no doubt whom he had lately sent to *S. Basil* into the *East*, and who had been the constant Companion of his Labours and Sufferings, to whom he gave many grave and wise Directions, how to behave himself in those troublesome Times. A Person so venerable for his great Parts and Piety, his known Zeal and Resolution for the Truth, that *Theodosius* the Emperor made him one of the two Standards of Catholick Doctrine, from whom all Persons in that Case should take their Measures, as appears from a Law^k he made for reducing the People to the Catholick Faith, wherein also he styles him *a man of Apostolick Sanctity*. The People joyc'd greatly at the Designation of so excellent a Person, and the Election was consummated by the Vote and Hands of the neighbor-Bishops. The News of *Athanasius*'s death soon flew to the Court at *Antioch*, when *Euzoios* Bishop of that place having procur'd the Imperial Warrants, and attended by *Magnus* Lord-Treasurer, hast'ned immediately to *Alexandria*, where joining with *Palladius* the Governor, a bitter and implacable Enemy to Christianity, they violently broke in upon the Church, and rais'd a Persecution not inferior in prophane-ness, and the most horrid Impieties, in Cruelty, and the most savage Barbarities to any that had been before it. those of the Heathen Ages not excepted. *Peter* they seiz'd, and cast into Prison, and advanc'd *Lucius* the *Arian* (that second Plague of *Egypt*, Traitor to the Truth, that Pastor of Wolves, the Thief that climbs over the Fold, the second *Arius*, a Current fuller than its pernicious Fountain, as *Nazianzen*^l styles him) to the Episcopal Throne, delivering the Churches into his hand, and giving him Power to do whatever might make for the Interest of his Cause. *Peter* escaping out of Prison, took Shipping and went to *Rome*, where he was kindly receiv'd, and where he expected a more favourable Season; whence after some time being effectually recommended by Pope *Damasus*'s Letters, he return'd home, recovered his See, and drove out *Lucius*, who fled to *Constantinople*; but the Emperor at that time being taken up with the Inundation of the barbarous Nations on the one hand, and frighted with the

^d *Socr. l. 4. c. 20.*
^e *p. 230.*
^f *Ad Ann. 372.*
^g *Edit. à Bucher. Com. in Vissor. Can. Pasch. c. 2. p. 84.*

^h *Vit. Ath. gr. l. ap. Ath. T. 2. p. 544.*
ⁱ *Non Procul à fin. p. 85.*

^j *Rufinus. l. 2. c. 3. p. 243. Socr. lib. 5. c. 16. c. 19. p. 661. Theod. l. 4. c. 20. p. 175.*

^k *C. 7h. lib. 16. Tit. l. 2. v. 1. d. 5. c. 1. p. 708.*

^l *Or. l. XXXIII. p. 417.*

the Rebellion of his own People at home, that threat'ned him on the other, was not at leisure to assist him.

IV. *THUS* have we brought the great *Athanasius* to his Grave, the most considerable man of the Church in his time. Take his Character from one of the most elegant Pens^m of that Age. "He was (saith he) "as humble in his mind, as he was sublime in his life, a "a man of an inimitable Vertue, and yet withall so courteous, that "any might freely Address to him, meek, gentle, compassionate, "amiable in his Discourse, but much more so in his Life, of an Angelical look, but much more of an angelick Temper and Disposition, mild in his Reproofs, and instructive in his Commendations, "in both which he observ'd such even Measures, that his reproof spake the kindness of a Father, and his Commendation the Authority of a Master, so that neither was his Indulgence over tender, nor his Severity austere, but the one favour'd of Gentleness and Moderation, the other of Prudence, and both the Effect of true Wisdom and Philosophy. He was one that so govern'd himself, that "his Life supplied the place of Sermons, and his Sermons prevented "his Corrections; much less need had he to cut or lance, where he "did but once shake his Rod. In him all Ranks and Orders might "find something to admire, something particular for their Imitation: "One might commend his unwearied Constancy in Fasting and Prayers, another his vigorous and incessant persevering in Watchings and Praises; a third, his admirable Care and Protection of the Poor; a fourth, his resolute Opposition of the Proud, or his Condescension to the Humble. The Virgins may celebrate him as their Bride-man, the Married as their Governor, the Hermits as their Monitor, the Cœnobites as their Law-giver, the Simple as their Guide, the Contemplative as a Divine, the Merry as a Bridle, the Miserable as a Comforter, the Aged as a Staff, the Youth as a Tutor, the Poor as a Benefactor, and the Rich as a Steward. He was "a Patron to the Widows, a Father to Orphans, a Friend to the Poor, "a Harbor to Strangers, a Brother to Brethren, a Physician to the Sick, a Keeper of the Healthful, one who became all things to all men, that if not all, he might at least gain the more. With respect "to his Predecessors" in that See, he equall'd some, came near "others, and exceeded others; in some he imitated their Discourses, "in others their Actions, the Meekness of some, the Zeal of others, "the Patience and Constancy of the rest, borrowing many Perfections from some, and all from others, and so making up a compleat Representation of Vertue, like skillful Limners, who to make the Piece absolute, do first from several Persons draw the several Perfections of Beauty within the Idea of their own Minds. So he, in so much that in Practice he out-did the Eloquent, and in his Discourses out-went those who were most vers'd in Practice; or if you "will, in his Discourses he excell'd the Eloquent, and in his Practice those that were most us'd to business, and for those that had made "but an ordinary advance in either, he was far Superior to them, as "being eminent but in one kind; and for those who were Masters in "the other, he out-did them, in that he excell'd in both. This and much more has that incomparable Father, who says in the beginning of that *Encomiastick*, that to commend *Athanasius*, was the same thing

^m *Nazian. id. Encom. Athan. Orat. XXI. p. 378.*

ⁿ *Id. p. 375.*

^o *Ibid.* p. 397. thing as to commend Vertue it self, that the Course ^o of his Life was accounted the Standard of the Episcopall Function, and his Doctrine the Rule of Orthodoxy; that he was ^r the most holy Eye and Light of the World, the Archiepiscopall Bishop, the Pillar of the Faith, and a second *John the Baptist*. The truth is, he was a man of real and unfeigned Piety, of an impregnable Courage, which no Dangers or Troubles could daunt, of a most active and unconquerable Zeal for the Catholick Faith, in the defence whereof he held up the Bucklers, when the united strength almost of the whole World besides press'd upon him, and which never flagg'd under so many years potent Opposition, and so many and such barbarous Hardships as were heap'd upon him. He overcame every thing by a mighty Patience, and recommended his Cause by the meekness of his sufferings, he was *τὸς ἡ μείζων ἀδελφός, τὸς δὲ ἐπειγόντων ἡμετέρις* (as the fore-cited Father sayes ^q of him) an *Adamant* to his Persecutors, and a *Load-stone* to Diffenters, the one found him incapable of Impressions, no more apt to yield than a Rock of Marble, the other by a singular meekness, and a generous Patience he drew over to himself, or where not that, he drew them at least to a secret Reverence and Veneration of him. He was in short, what *Vincent* ^r of *Loire* truly sayes of him, *a most faithful Teacher, and a most eminent Confessor*.

V. HIS natural Parts were acute and brisk, his Reasonings quick and smart, his Judgment staid and solid, all which, had they been improv'd with equal Advantages of Education, were capable to have rend'rd him one of the most learned Persons the Church ever had. But his juvenile Efforts and Re-searches were soon diverted to more grave and severe Studies, which made him less eminent in the politer Parts of secular Learning, for the want whereof he is censur'd by *Philostorgius*. He was taken, when but a Youth, into the Service of a Sage Reverend Prelate, under whom he engag'd betimes in Theological Speculations, and nice Disputes about the most sublime Articles of Religion, liv'd all his time in a Crowd and Bustle, and was exercised with little else besides Crosses and Controversies to his dying day. "Thus *Nazianzen* ^r Apologizes for him, that he was instructed early in divine Studies, and did but just salute Philosophy " and the Arts, that he might not seem altogether a Stranger to " them, nor to be ignorant of those things, which he did not think " worth his more serious Care. For he was not willing that the noble and generous Efforts of his mind should be stifled and swallowed " up in such vain Re-searches; he applied himself to the Meditation " of the Old and New Testament, becoming a greater Master in both, " than any other was in one; thence he enrich'd his Notions, thence " he adorn'd the brightness of his Conversation, both which he admirably connected as a Golden Chain. Indeed his Master-piece lay in the Studies of Theology, and Church-learning, wherein he was in a manner (sayes *Sozomen* ^r) *ἐκ νηὶ ἀνὰ πῶδες* (C), self-instructed from a Child, and which his continual Conflicts with the *Arians*, and other Hereticks of that Age forc'd him to beat out to the utmost Accuracy and Perfection. He was a profound Divine, an excellent Preacher, a prudent Governor, furnish'd with all the Graces necessary to that Office. Nor was he unvers'd in the Paths of foreign and external Learning, besides those of Humanity, he was well read in the

the Laws of the *Roman* Empire, whence *Severus* ^u styles him *Juris* ^u *consultum*, one skillful in the Laws. He was accus'd likewise (sayes the *Heathen* Historian ^w) to be exactly skill'd in Astrology and Magick, that he understood the *Sortes Evidice*, and the augural Portent of the flight of Birds, and had sometimes foretold things to come. Which however improv'd by the *Arians* and *Heathens* into a formal Charge, seems to have had no wiser a Foundation than this occasion. Passing ^x on a time through the Streets, a Raven chanc'd to fly croaking over his head: the *Gentiles* that stood by, ask'd him in scorn, what 'twas the Raven said. He smiling, and alluding to the noise of the Bird, answered, it cried *Cras*, which in the *Roman* Language signified to morrow, and thereby portended, that to morrow would be no very acceptable day to them, for that the Emperor would thenceforth prohibit them to celebrate their *Pagan* Festivals. Which however slighted by them, accordingly came to pass; for the next day Letters came from the Emperor to the Magistrates, commanding them to forbid the *Gentiles* to resort to their Temples, and to abstain from the customary Rites and Solemnities of their Worship.

VI. HIS style and way of Writing ^y is every where, but especially in his Epistles and Apologeticks, very clear and perspicuous, grave and chaste, comt and eloquent, acute and perswasive, and admirably adapted to the Subject that he undertakes. He frequently uses Logical Arguments and Ratiocinations, not barely propounded, and strictly tying himself to terms of Art (as young Scholars do that vainly dispute for Glory) but like a wife and generous Philosopher, duly forming and dressing up the Conceptions of his own mind. As occasion requires, he is wont to confirm his Argument with frequent Testimonies and Demonstrations deriv'd out of the holy Scriptures, especially in such Points as are of pure Revelation. Compar'd with other Writers, he is not (if we may trust *Erasmus* his Judgment ^y) harsh and rugged like *Tertullian*, affected like *S. Hilary*, nor full of turnings and windings like *S. Augustine* and *S. Chrysostom*, he favours not of *Iscorates* his numbers, or *Lysius* his elaborate Compositions, like *S. Gregory of Nazianzum*, but is wholly taken up in explaining the Matter he has in hand, being cleer, quick, sober, and intent upon his Argument. His works were ever held in great Estimation; when thou meetest with any Tract of Athanasius (said Abbat *Cosmas* to the Author of the *Pratum Spirituale* ^z) and hast no Paper at hand to transcribe it, rather than fail, write it upon thy Coat. Several of his Writings are lost, those yet extant are either Doctrinal, Polemical, or Historical. His Doctrinal Tracts are mostwath spent in laying down, explicating and asserting the main Doctrines and Principles of the Christian Faith; such are his *Expositio Fidei*, *Responsum ad Liberium*, his *Homilies de Semente*, and de *Sabbato & Circumcisione*, &c. His Polemick Pieces are levell'd either against Heathens or Hereticks; against the former he Disputes rationally and wittily in his two Books against the *Gentiles*, the latter whereof, though it has been thought to be lost, yet 'tis plain 'tis no other than his *λόγος πρὸς τὸ ἐκπαίδευμένους τὸ λόγος*, his Discourse concerning the Incarnation of the Word, as is beyond all dispute evident at first sight from the beginning of it, where he tells us, that having in the former Tract

^q *Orat.* XXI.
p. 392.

^r *de* *supra*.
p. 376.

^s *Ibid.* c. 17.
p. 466.

^u *174. Phil.*
col. XXXII.
cl. 20. *sc.*
CXXXIX.
CXL. col. 15.

^y *Præf. in*
Ph. Encl. de
Sp. S. & c.
Phil. 13. p. 1.
Ed. col. 157.

^z *Præf. 2. 40*
Phil. 13. p. 1.
L. 1. p. 4070.

succinctly though sufficiently treated of the Idolatry and Superstition of the *Gentiles*, and its Original in the World; and having spoken something of the Divinity of the Word of God, and his universal Power and Providence, as by whom God the Father creates, governs, and disposes all things; he would now, according to his method, proceed to treat of the Incarnation of the Word, and his Divine coming in the Flesh, against the Calumnies of the *Jews* on the one hand, and the Derision of the *Gentiles* on the other. But his main conflict was not with open Enemies, but secret depravers of the Christian Doctrine, and though as they come in his way, he spares no sort of Hereticks, confuting the *Marcionites*, *Valentinians*, *Samosatenians*, *Sabellians*, *Manichees*, &c. yet he principally directs his Forces against the *Arians*, whom at every turn he beats out of all their Refuges, and this he has especially done in his five *Orations* against the men of that Sect, a Book which *Photius* ^a thinks to be alone sufficient to overturn the whole Foundation of *Arianism*, so clearly, so fully has he manag'd the Controversie in those Discourses; a Magazine out of which 'tis thought S. Basil and S. Gregory the Divine borrowed their best Weapons to resist and reſell the Errors of that subtle and daring Heresie. In his Historical Tracts, (in which number we must comprehend his Apologetical Discourses, most-what fill'd with Matters of Fact, and wherein he more particularly stretches forth all the Nerves of his Wit and Eloquence) he gives us a clear and distinct account of the most material Transactions of his Age; and for which alone we can never pay a sufficient Tribute of thankfulness to his Memory, who otherwise had been left miserably in the dark, there being in his Writings far more, and far better accounts of the State of those times, than in all other Writers put together, indeed little in others, but what is borrowed from him, and what commonly fares worse by falling into other hands. Nor has he escap'd the Fate of all wise and excellent Writers, to be abus'd by others. For besides that Hereticks made bold sometimes to corrupt his Writings (an instance whereof *Rufinus* ^b tells us, he knew in his time) others presum'd to gain Credit and Authority to their Writings, by thrusting them out under his name. The first I find charg'd ^c in this kind, being the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Monks of *Palestine*, who fathered several of *Apollinaris*'s pieces upon him. And the Example was followed by after-Ages, who have laid a numerous Bastard-issue at his door, and some of them foolish and trifling, and altogether unworthy so great a name. Of all which, both genuine and spurious, for a Conclusion we here present the Reader the following *Index*.

^a *Loc. sup. cit.*

^b *Appl. ap. Hier. T. 4. p. 197.*

^c *Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 31. p. 361.*

His

HIS WRITINGS.

Genuine.

- Oratio contra Gentes.
Oratio de incarnatione Verbi.
Contra Arianos Disputationes seu Orationes V.
In illud Dictum; Omnia tradita sunt mihi a Patre; &c.
Ad Adelphum Episc. contr. Arianos Epistola.
Epistola ad Maximum Philosophum de Divinitate Christi.
Epistola ad Serapionem adv. eos, qui dicunt filium creaturam esse.
—ad eund. adv. eos, qui dicunt Spiritum S. esse creaturam.
Expositio Fidei.
Responsum ad Liberii Epistolam cum Epistola Liberii.
Epistola ad Jovianum de Fide.
Epistola de Synodi Nicenae contra Heresim Arianam decretis.
Epistola de Sententia Dionysii Alexand. adv. Arianos.
Ad Fratres Orthodoxos Epistola Catholica.
Refutatio Hypocritas Meletii, Eusebii, & Pauli Samosat. τῶν τῶν ὁμοιωτῶν.
Epistola ad Antiochenos.
Epistola ad Epictetum Episc. Corinth. adv. Hereticos.
De incarnatione verbi Dei adv. Paulum Samosat.
De humana natura suscepta, & contra Arianos.
De incarnatione Domini contra Apollinarium.
Oratio de adventu Christi adv. eandem.
Oratio contra gregales Sabellii.
Oratio, quod unus sit Christus.
Epistola ad Serapionem de morte Arii.
Apologia ad Imperatorem Constantinum.
Apologia de fuga sua.

Apologia II.

- Epistola ad Omnes ubique solitariam vitam agentes.
Populi Alexandrini protestatio.
Epistola de Synodis Arimini & Seleucie.
Epistola ad Africanos adv. Arianos.
Epistola ad omnes ubique Orthodoxos.
Epistola ad Joannem & Antiochum.
Epistola ad Palladium.
Epistola ad Dracontium.
Ad Marcellinum de interpretatione [seu Titulis] Psalmorum.
De Sabbatis & Circumcisione.
In illud, Quicumque dixerit verbum contra filium, &c.
In illud, Profecti in Pagum, &c.
De virginitate.
Homilia de Semente.
Oratio contra omnes Hereses.
Oratio in Assumptionem Domini.
Oratio de Melchisedech.
Epistola ad Serapionem de Spiritu S. Ad eund. de Spiritu S. Epistola altera.
Contra Arianos λόγος συντακτικός.
Libellus precum, seu colloquia varia Arianorum cum Joviano Imper. Antiochie habita.
De incarnatione verbi Dei.
Responsum ad Epistolam Joviani, cum Imperatoris Epistola.
Epistola ad Ammon Monachum.
Epistola XXXIX^{mo}. Festalis Fragmentum.
Epistola ad Rufinianum.
Ad Luciferum Calaritanum Epistola dea. Lat.
Fragmenta Commentariorum in Psalmos.

Doubtful.

- Synopsis S. Scripturae.
Testimonia ex S. Scriptura de communi essentia Patris, Filii, & Spiritus S.
Sermo in passionem & crucem Domini.
Vita D. Antonii, prout extat hodie.
Cc 2 Sup.

Supposititious.

Disputatio contra Arium in Synodo Nicæna.

De sanctissima Deipara Virgine.

Symbolum Athanasii.

Tractatus de Definitionibus.

De S. Trinitate Dialogi V.

Dialogus inter Orthodoxum & Macedonianum, continens XX. Capitula.

Quæstiones CXXXV. ad Antiochum.

Dicta & Interpretationes parabolarum Evangelii, Quæst. CXXXIII.

Quæstiones alie XX.

Disputationes cum Ario Laodiceæ habitæ. Lat.

De unita Deitate Trinitatis ad Theophilum Lib. VII. Lat.

Ad Monachos exhortatio. Lat.

Epistola ad Marcum Papam, cum Rescripto Marci. Lat.

De passione imaginis D. N. I. Christi crucifixæ in Beryto.

Declaratio Levæticæ.

Homiliæ VII. ab Holfsenio Latine Editæ.

Expositiones II. de Incarnatione verbi. ext. Lat. in Biblioth. Pp. Tom. XI. p. 3.

Orationes IV. in Anchiurio Gr. l. a

Combes. edit. Tom. I.

S. Syncreticæ vitæ. Lat. ap. Bolland.

ad Januar. V.

Not Extant.

Commentarii in Ecclesiasten.

Comment. in Cantica Canticorum.

Contra Valentem & Ursacium Lib. unus.

Epistole ἑορταστικæ.

Epistola alie plures.

The End of S. Athanasius's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
S. HILARY
BISHOP OF
POICTIERS.



S. HILARIUS PICTAVIENS.

The eminent place of his Nativity. His Education in the Gentile Religion; and by what Methods converted to Christianity. His Baptism. His married Life. Marriage not then thought inconsistent with the Pastoral

Pastoral or Episcopal Office. His singular Piety, and concernment for Religion, while yet a Laick. Advanc'd to the See of Poitiers, and when. His ignorance of the Controversies about the Nicene Faith after he was Bishop. He sets himself to oppose the growing Power of Arianism in the West. His remonstrance to Constantius concerning the State of the Catholick Party, and his impartial dealing with that Emperor. Constantius his Edict in favour of Bishops. His abstaining from all Communion with the Favourers of the Arian Party; and detecting the Impiety of that Cause in a Discourse presented to the Synod at Arles. An Order directed to Julian for his Banishment into Phrygia. His employment during the time of his Exile. His writing the XII. Books de Trinitate. His frequent Advices sent to the Bishops in France. His Letter to his Daughter Abra, to engage her to a single Life. The Letter now extant of suspected Credit. His Book de Synodis, written to give the Gallican Bishops an account of what late Confessions of Faith had pass'd in the East. His being summon'd to the Council at Seleucia, and what hapn'd in his passage thither. He vindicates the Churches of France from the Imputation of Sabellianism, charg'd upon them by the Arians. His defence of the orthodox in the Synod. The Blasphemy of the Anomæans, and the Hypocrisy of their Principles. Hilary's Petition to the Emperor. His Oration to him in Vindication of the Catholick Cause. His bold Libel directed to Constantius, publish'd after the Emperor's death. His release from Banishment, and return homewards. S. Martin one of his Scholars, his course of Life, and intimate Familiarity with S. Hilary. The State of his Church at his return. The great influence of his Judgment, in determining that the penitent Bishops were to be admitted to Communion. A Synodical answer to the Eastern Bishops, discovering the Artifices of the Arians. Saturninus of Arles excommunicated. A Book of S. Hilary's corrupted, and the fraud detected. His Journey to Milan to ex-pose Auxentius. The Cause referred and heard, but judgment over-rul'd. His Death and Burial. The dis-intombing and burning his Bones, falsely charg'd upon the Hugonots. His Miracles and Fame after death. His incomparable Piety, Zeal, and Courage. His learning; his Style; what contributed to the obscurity of it. What he borrowed from the Greeks. Abatements to be made for his odd Opinions. His Works Genuine and Spurious.

^a Hier. Prefat. in l. 2. com. in Gal. T. p. p. 173. l'ne. Fortan. de S. Hil. in init.



S. HILARY was born at Poitiers in France, anciently call'd *Augustoritum*, a prime City in the Province of *Aquitania Secunda*, and at this day next in extent to Paris, an Episcopal See, and an University, renowned for the Study of the Civil Law. His Parents (whose names Antiquity has conceal'd from us) were Persons of considerable Rank and Quality, and who accordingly gave him a liberal and generous Education, evidently seen in the Learning and Eloquence, that rendered him famous through the Christian World. He seems to have been bred up in the Religion of the *Gentiles*, and to have been brought over to Christianity by the truest and most rational Methods of Conviction. For he tells ^b us, that having seriously considered the Folly and Vanity of *Pagan Idolatry*, he began to think with himself, that the Pro-

^b De Trin. l. 1. p. 2. 80.

fessors

fessors of this could never be competent Tutors and Guides to truth. Whereupon he set himself to contemplate the visible Frame of things, and to conclude that the same Power that made, must preserve and steer all things, that in an almighty and incorruptible Being, there could be no Sexes, no successive Generations, that the Author of all could have nothing without himself, and that Omnipotency and Eternity were necessary and incommunicable Perfections of the divine Nature, incapable of agreeing to any more than one. While he was engag'd in these and such-like Reflections, he met with the Books of the Old Testament, wherein he was greatly surpriz'd with that short, but comprehensive account of God, *I am that I am*. This put him upon further researches, and he was infinitely delighted with his Speculations concerning the Nature and Perfections of God, to pursue the knowledge of whom (so far as attainable) he reckoned to be one of the most kindly Offices he could perform to his great Creator. In this pursuit he was mightily encourag'd by the natural Sense he had of future Rewards, and that it was not enough only to have right Notions of God, unless there was a lively hope that good men should be happy in another Life, and that it was an unworthy apprehension of God, to conceive that so noble a being as the Soul of man, made to understand, adore, and enjoy its Maker, should expire with the last breath. From hence he proceeded to survey the Revelation of the Gospel, and so arriv'd to the knowledge of God the Son, and the great end and Advantages of his coming into the World, the Divinity of his Person, and the great Mystery of his Incarnation, that he was *God of God, the Word that was God, and that in the beginning was with God, of the same Nature, Glory, and Eternity with his Father, the Word that was made flesh*, being both God and Man in one Person. Furnish'd with this accurate knowledge of the Christian Doctrine, he was baptiz'd, or to use his own Phrase ^c, he was call'd by Faith into the new Nativity, and to obtain the heavenly Regeneration, which he knew to be the Pledge and Assurance of a future and better Life. And now he resign'd up his understanding to the Authority of divine Truth, avoiding all captious and sophistical Questions, and resolving the more sublime and intricate Articles into the Veracity and Power of God, not peremptorily concluding that to be false, which his shallow Capacity could not presently comprehend.

II. WE have little account how he bestowed the former part of his Life, only that he was married ^d, and by his Wife had one only Daughter, call'd *Abra*, whom he took care to train up in all the Principles of Religion, and in the Paths of Piety and Verue. With his Wife he co-habited even after his preferment to the Episcopal Function, as the more ingenuous ^e of the *Roman* Communion dare not deny, and that Marriage was not then thought inconsistent with that Office, nay that married men were often chosen to it, than single Persons, who (as *S. Jerom* himself grants) were not so fit for the Pastoral Care, as the other; but withall they tell us, that in those dayes the Church had defin'd nothing in this Matter. And surely had the Church, I mean that of *Rome*, never made any such

^d *Pen. Fortuna in vit. S. Hilary non longe ab init.*

^e *Vid. Gillot Pref. ante ap. Hilarii.*

Quia isti non tam idonei curæ pastoralis quam illi iudicantur. Hieron. ap. Gillot. loc. cit. Quasi non indies quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant Maritima, & Apollolus Episcopus describit unius uxoris virum, habentem filios cum omni castitate. Hieron. l. 1. ad Iovin. p. 32. T. 2. Eligantur mariti in sacerdotium, non nega, quia non sunt tanti virginitatis quanti necessarii sunt sacerdotes. ibid. p. 40.

Con.

Constitution, nor press'd the observance of it with so much rigor and importunity, the Christian World might have been free from infinite Scandals and Inconveniences; which this one Constitution of Ecclesiastick Celibacy has brought upon it. S. Hilary while yet a Lay-man took not that liberty, which men of secular Employments usually indulge themselves, but so carefully kept himself to the Rules of Ecclesiastick Discipline, that he seem'd to be particularly design'd by Heaven for some eminent Dignity and Authority in the Church. He was admirably strict in the government of his Life, and true to the Interests of the Catholick Faith, with the Enemies whereof he would not eat, no nor so much as salute them when he met them. A good part of his time he spent in instructing others, explaining to them the Nature and Principles of Religion, and informing them in the right Belief of the holy Trinity, other-whiles perswading them to the Vertues of a good Life, by laying before them the infinite Rewards of Heaven and Immortality. An employment that would be thought much below a Gentleman in this loose and degenerate Age.

III. THIS excellent Temper and course of Life, at the concurrent instance and importunity of the People, recommended him to the Bishoprick of Poitiers^l, wherein Baronius^u places him not till the year CCCLV. without any other warrant, that I know of, than his own conjecture. For my part, I see no reason but to fix him there some years sooner, especially since he sometimes speaks of things as done several years before his Banishment. Nor is his not being at the Council of Arles (which the Cardinal intimates) a sufficient Argument, that he was not then Bishop, seeing there might be particular Occasions of his absence at that time. One thing memorable he tells us of himself^h, that for some time after his being Bishop, he had never heard of the Nicene Faith, (Copies of it perhaps not being commonly dispers'd in the Western Parts, where the Controversie started later,) though I suppose he means it of the nice and particular Disputes about the *εὐνοια* and *ὁμοιουσιον*, howbeit even then, he tells us, by conversing with the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, he very well understood the thing it self, and the meaning of two so much controverted words, which he ever expounded in an orthodox Sense. The fame of the man thus eminently seated, soon spread abroad, and fill'd not France only, but foreign Parts with the Report of his Vertues, and invited him to be concern'd in some of the most important Affairs of the Church. The Arian Faction having pretty well subdued the East, were now attempting to erect their Banners in the West. Constantine after the overthrow of Maximian, lay at Arles in France Ann. CCCLIII. where they pack'd a Synod, and partly by force, partly by smooth Insinuations, partly by Arts of Flattery and Treachery, they carried the day, and drew in not only Saturninus Bishop of that City (who thenceforward became a great Bigot for the Party) but Vincentius Pope Julius's own Legat to that Synod. Somewhat more than a year after, the Emperor being remov'd to Milan, another Synod (*Synagoga Malignantium*, as S. Hilary calls it, a Synagogue or Congregation of the wicked) is conven'd there, where they more openly prosecute their Design, some they wrought upon by Perswasives and fair Pretences, and where they could not untie the Knot, they cut it, banishing those that refus'd to condemn

^l Fontan.ubi
f. pr.
^u ad Ann. 355.
Nun. LXX.

^h De Synod.
alic. Arianae
col. 352.

condemn the Athanasian Cause, in which number were Eusebius of Vercelle, Lucifer of Calaris in Sardinia, and Dionysius of Milan; into whose place they thrust one Ausentius, a man compos'd of deceit and subtlety, a fit Instrument to promote a bad Cause.

IV. THESE rigorous and violent Proceedings awakned the Zeal and Spirit of S. Hilary, who publish'd hereupon a Remonstranceⁱ to the Emperor, wherein he layes before him the miserable State of the Catholick Party, humbly and passionately beseeches him to deliver them from the contempt and injuries of their Brethren, and to command the Governors of Provinces not to proceed with fury and violence against innocent Persons, or to meddle in Causes not proper to them, to permit the People to enjoy their own Bishops and Pastors, and to offer up their joynt-Prayers for his Majesty's happiness and safety, and that he would recall those excellent Persons whom he had banish'd, where Liberty would be no less acceptable, than the Joy would be universal. He tells him, that there had been Christians before Arius, whose Faith was not vain, and who had obtain'd the end of their Faith, the Salvation of their Souls; that 'twas but a little while since the Plague of Arianism had infected the Air of the Christian World, that its Parent was known, and those who nurs'd it were of late date, the two Eusebius's, Narcissus, Theodorus, Stephanus, Acacius, Menophantus, and especially those two forward Youths Orsacius and Valens, who by Letters and Messages had bark'd and rail'd at those that differ'd from them, and by Whips and Gibbets, by Chains and Prisons had endeavour'd to rack men into a Belief, and to compell them to become not Christians, but Arians; that to effect this, they had abus'd the imperial Authority, and had impos'd upon his Majesty, perswading him under a pretence of Religion, to deliver up his Subjects into their hands, to be examin'd, condemn'd, and punish'd; yea extorting connivance even from the common People. Instances whereof were their Actings in the late Synods both of Arles and Milan. To this purpose was the Address; and that such free and impartial Dealing should not exasperate Constantine to send him the same way after his Brethren, is (as Baronius^k not improbably guesses) to be attributed to his unwillingness, too much to disoblige the People in France, at this time especially, when those parts were over-run with Invasions of the barbarous People. Nay to sweeten the exasperated humor for the present, he publish'd this following Edict^l in favour of the Bishops, against the Usurpations of secular Magistrates, who at every turn call'd them before them, judg'd Matters of Faith, and inflict'd Punishments upon the Persons whom they had condemn'd, whereof S. Hilary had smartly complain'd in his late Petition. The Edict was as follows.

WE forbid, by the Law of our Clemency, that Bishops be question'd in civil Courts, lest under pretence of avoiding that way of Trial, which is presumed will be over-favourable to them, Liberty should be given to men of evil minds, to bring them into trouble, and prefer Indictments against them. If therefore any one have a Complaint to make, it is expedient that the Cause should be debated before other Bishops, that to a fit and proper hearing may be given to all those Charges that shall be preferred against them. Dated the IXth of the Calends of Octob. Arbitrio and Lollianus being Consuls; that is, Septemb. XXIII. Ann. Chr. CCCLV.

D d

Indeed

ⁱ Lib. ad Const.
Aug. ext. ep.
ijus p. 322.

^h V. f. f. f. f.
^u LXXXII.

^l Lib. 16. c.
Theod. lit. 2.
l. 12.

Indeed *Constantinus* was greatly startled at the News of the Com-motions in *France*, to quiet which, the best expedient that could be thought of, was to create his Cousin *Julian Caesar*, and to send him with an Army to reside in those Parts, where he quickly drove out the *Germans*, and reduced the Country into order.

V. THE late Transactions at *Arles* and *Milan*, had highly offend-ed the Catholick Bishops in *France*, inasmuch that S. *Hilary* ^m ad-
vising with the rest, it was unanimously agreed, to abstain from
Communion with *Saturinus*, *Ursacius*, and *Valens*, the prime Stick-
lers of the Faction, and to leave a Liberty to the rest of the Party
to come in upon their Repentance. *Saturinus*, a man proud and
saucious, of an ill Temper, and worse Morals, stomach'd it to be ex-
communicated by the Bishops of his own Province, and by his In-
terest at Court procur'd a Synod to be held at *Besiers* near *Arlés*, and
all the neighbor-Bishops to be summon'd thither, hoping that in his
own Diocess, where he had so direct an influence, and by the con-
tinuance of the Civil Power, he might carry things to his own mind.
The Council met *Ann. CCCLVI.* but S. *Hilary* had his Eyes open,
and knowing how easie it was for the subtle Faction by smooth Pre-
texts and their accustomed Arts of Dissimulation to abuse the Sim-
plicity of his Brethren, drew up an account of the true State of the
Case, wherein he laid open the Impiety and Villany of the *Arian*
Cause, which he presented to the Synod. But they not caring to
hear on that ear, would not suffer it to be read, most of the Prelates
either complying, or at least conniving at what was done, only *Rho-*
danius ⁿ Bishop of *Tholose* stood his ground, who being otherwife of
a soft and easie Temper, was kept upright meely by the Spirit and
Courage of S. *Hilary*, whose company he kept, and whose advice
he followed, and accordingly ran the same Fortune with him. *Sat-*
urninus saw now there was no hope of gaining our Bishop of *Poitiers*,
and therefore dispatch'd Messengers to Court ⁿ in the name of the
Synod, where by false and sly Insinuations, he traduc'd him to the
Emperor, from whom he obtain'd an order for his Banishment, and
that he might be sent far enough out of the way, he was banish'd in-
to *Phrygia*, a Warrant being directed to *Julian* to put it into Ex-
ecution, and thereby he as well as the Emperor was abus'd and im-
pos'd upon by those false Suggestions; for so I understand that Passage
of S. *Hilary* ^v, and not as *Baronius* ^q, who thence infers that *Julian*
had interceded for him with the Emperor, and upon that account had
been flandered and mis-represented by the *Arians*.

VI. HAVING dispos'd his Affairs at home, and committed the
Government of his Church to the Care of his Presbyters, he betook
himself to the place of his Exile, where he continued some years.
Nor did he pass his time in Softness and Delicacy, but in Prayers
and Tears, in Cares and Labours for the good of the Church. For
now it was ^r (though we cannot fix the particular year) that he set
upon that noble and elaborate Work, of writing his twelve Books
concerning the *Trinity*, wherein he has largely and accurately handled
the whole Controversie, and was the first, or at least one of the first of
the *Latin* Church, that profess'dly undertook the Defence and Pa-
tronage of that Argument against the subtle Reasonings, and impious
Assertions of the whole *Arian* Faction. He wrote ^s frequently into

France

France from all places whither he came, giving his Friends an ac-
count what Transactions were then on foot, what Designs the *Arians*
were driving on, what Councils he and his Brethren the *Eastern* Bi-
shops had entertain'd for the Interest and Security of the Catholick
Cause. Nor was he unmindful of his private Concerns, and the
Affairs of his Family, if we may believe what is reported by one of
his Successors in that See. For understanding that his Daughter *Abra-*
ha (whom he had left at *Poitiers* with her Mother) was importunately
desir'd in Marriage by a young Gentleman, of good Accomplishments
and great Estate, he wrote a Letter to her to dissuade her from it,
assuring her that he had provided her a Husband, whose Birth and
Nobility was beyond any humane Race, whose Beauty out-did the
Lilly and the Rose, whose Eyes sparkled like Diamonds, whose
Garments were whiter than the Snow, whose Wisdom was incom-
prehensible, Riches inestimable and indefectible, and his Chastity
pure and uncorrupt, perswading her in short to devote her self in-
tirely to the Service of Christ, a match he told her which he would
accomplish at his return, and that in the mean time she should lay
aside the thoughts of any other Nuptials. And a Letter is extant ^u,
which my Author (who wrote this about the year DLIX.) tells us,
was kept as a Monument at *Poitiers*, wherein he declares this at
large, as represented to him in a Vision, and presses her to expect his
return, when he would more clearly unriddle and unfold it to her;
sending her withall, a divine Hymn to be us'd at her morning and
evening Devotions, referring her for any thing less intelligible in
them to the Instructions of her Mother: whose great desire it was
by an excellent Example to form and train her up to a divine Life.
The Letter and Hymn are still extant, which being both of suspected
Credit, we shall not here insert.

VII. TOWARDS the end of the year CCCLVIII. a rumor ^v
being spread, that a Synod was to be held at *Ancyra* in the *East*, and
another at *Ariminum* in the *West*, and that two Bishops, or one at
least, were to be summon'd out of every Province in *France*, he took
care to inform them of the true State of things. He had of late from
their long continued silence, begun to suspect that they had warp'd
aside, and gone along with the Stream, and had entertain'd the Con-
fession agreed upon, and subscrib'd by *Hosius* in the late *Arian* Con-
vention at *Sirmium*. But at last their Letters came, which clear'd all
his Doubts, assuring him, that they continued firm to the Catholick
Interest, own'd his Cause, and still refus'd Communion with *Satur-*
nius of *Arles*; that the *Sirmian* Confession had indeed been sent
them, but that they had not only rejected, but condemn'd it, intreat-
ing him to send them an account of what Confessions of Faith had of
late years been pass'd in the *Eastern* Parts. This he presently did in
his Book de *Synodis*, wherein he set down the most considerable Con-
fessions that had been made since the great Council of *Nice*, which
he translated out of *Greek*, and explain'd and illustrated with his own
Comment upon them, and amongst other things, Discourses con-
cerning the so much bandied Expressions of *homoiois* and *homoiois*,
shewing, that if men were of sincere and honest Minds, they might
be both expounded into a very found Sense, but that to avoid the dan-
ger of Dissimulation; and out of Reverence to the Fathers of *Nice*, it

D d 2

was

^m Hilary, lib.
contra C. N.
col. 285.

ⁿ Sulp. Sev.
H. S. 2. p. 154.

^v Hilary, lib.
contra C. N.
col. 285.

^v Hilary, lib.
contra C. N.
col. 285.

^r Hilary, lib.
contra C. N.
col. 285.

^s De Synod. lib.
contra C. N.

^u P. Fortunat.
vit. Hilary, lib.
contra C. N.

^u ap. Fortunat.
cit. lib.

^v Hilary, lib.
contra C. N.
col. 319.

was best to keep to the Term *ὁμοούσιος*, or *Consubstantial*, there being no just Reason why the *Arians* should except against it; that therefore he besought them to remain inviolable in that Belief, and to recommend his Cause in their Prayers to Heaven.

VIII. HE had now continued somewhat more than three years in Banishment, when to answer the Council held at *Ariminum* in Italy, a Synod was call'd at *Seleucia* in *Isauria*, to which he was sommon'd amongst the rest, not by any particular Direction from the Emperor, but by the command of *Leonas* the Treasurer, and *Lauricius* the President of *Isauria*, to whose Care the Emperor had committed that Affair, from whom he received safe Conduct, and the benefit of publick Carriage. In this Journey thither (take it upon the Credit of my Author) as he pass'd by a certain Garrison, he went on the Lord's day into the Temple there, when immediately a Heathen Maid, call'd *Florentia*, breaking through the Crowd, cried aloud, that a Servant of God was come amongst them, and fell down at his Feet, importunately beseeching him that he might be sign'd with the Sign of the Cross. Whose Example her Father *Florentius* following, was, together with his whole Family baptiz'd into the Christian Faith. Nor was the Maid satisfied with this, but taking leave of her Parents, followed him in all his Travels, and attended him to his own House at *Poitiers*, saying, that herein she thought her self more oblig'd to her spiritual, than to her natural Father. Being arriv'd at *Seleucia*, he was gladly receiv'd by those few Catholick Bishops that were there, but rejected by the rest, till he had clear'd an Imputation laid upon him. For the *Arians* before his coming, had traduc'd him and the Churches of *France*, as guilty of *Sabellianism*, or of maintaining Father, Son, and holy Ghost, to be but three several names of the same God. But having wip'd off this, and given them an account of the Faith profess'd by the *Gallick* Churches, agreeable to the *Nicene* Creed, he was admitted into the Council. The grand Question debated in the Synod, was concerning the *ὁμοούσιος* and the *ὁμοιούσιος*, and the *ἀνομοίου*, or Sons dissimilitude to the Father, fiercely contested between two contending Parties, the one headed by *Acaius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, the other by *George* of *Laodicea*, who were the far greater and more moderate Party. There were not many stood by the *ὁμοούσιος* besides *S. Hilary*, and the few *Egyptian* Bishops of *Athanasius*'s side; for the others, the Debates flew high, there wanting not those that affirm'd, that nothing could in Substance be like to God, that in the divine Nature there could be no Generation, and that Christ was a Creature; that upon the account of his Creation, he was said to be born, but that he was made of nothing, and consequently was neither Son, nor like to God. Nay, what was the excess of Blasphemy and Profaneness, it was there publicly aver'd to have been preach'd at *Antioch*, that in the God-head there was neither Father nor Son, and that if there were, it necessarily infer'd, that there must be a Female Partner, and all consequent Acts and Instruments of Generation. At the hearing whereof, and other the like Stuff, the Synod begun to ferment into great Tumult and Disorder. The *Anomæans* considering that Christian Ears would never brook such impious and extravagant Assertions, drew up a Form of Belief, that condemn'd the Doctrine of dissimilitude.

* S. Sev. l. 2. p. 158.

* P. Fortun. in vit. Hilary.

* Hilary. lib. contr. Const. 292.

dissimilitude. Which seeming strange to the Assembly, *S. Hilary* ask'd one, who was set upon him to feel how he stood affected, what was the meaning, that they who had positively denied the Son to be either of the same, or like Substance with the Father, should now condemn the Doctrine of his being unlike to God. He was answer'd, that Christ was not like to God, but to the Father. The answer made the thing more obscure and intricate than before; till upon a second enquiry the other thus explain'd himself, that when he affirm'd the Son to be unlike to God, but like to the Father, he meant, that it was the Will of the Father to make such a Creature, which should will the like things that he did, and that in that regard he was like the Father, being the Son not of his Nature, but his Will: but that he was unlike to God, being neither God, nor of God, that is, not begotten of the Substance of the Father. *S. Hilary* was infinitely surpriz'd and amaz'd hereat, nor could believe it to be spoken in earnest, till he was publicly assur'd, that it was the Sence of the whole Party, all the *Homoyousians* expressing a most vehement Abhorrency and Detestation of it. The Conclusion was, that the *Acician* Party and their Form, was rejected and condemn'd, and the Confession made twenty years since, in the Council at *Antioch*, (wherein was no mention of the Son's *Consubstantiality*) approved and ratified.

IX. THE Synod being dissolv'd, ten Legates were a dispatch'd to Court, whom *S. Hilary* follow'd to *Constantinople*, not that the Emperor had commanded him to repair thither, but that he resolv'd to attend his Majesty's pleasure, whether he should return home or back again into Banishment. At his coming to Court, he found the Catholick Faith going down the Wind apace, the *Western* Prelates in the Synod at *Ariminum* impos'd upon, and vex'd into compliance, and the *Orientalists* forc'd to go the same way, whereupon he presented three several Petitions to the Emperor, that he might have leave to come into his Presence, and to defend the Faith against its Antagonists and Opposers; but this the *Arians* would by no means agree to. This denied, he presented a Discourse^b (which he seems to have pronounc'd in the Emperor's presence) wherein having first begg'd a favourable Audience, he vindicates his own Innocency against the Attempts and Insinuations of his Enemies, complains of the unhappy State of Religion at that time, that new Creeds were multiplied so fast, that the Faith was lost in a crowd of Confessions, and was shap'd according to the humor of the Age, not according to the truth of the Gospel, that they were the bravest men that could produce a Creed of the newest and the freshest Date, and most roundly denounce an *Anathema* against those that differed from them: *Annas, arque mensuris de Deo files decernimus*, "Admirable Stewards (sayes he) "of divine and invisible Mysteries, we compose new "Creeds every year, yea every month, we make Decrees, and then "recall them, defend them, and then anathematize those that do "so, either in our own, we condemn others, or in sentencing others, "we condemn our own, and while we bite one another, we are devour'd "one of another. In these acute Reflections he spends a good part of his Oration, managing the Argument with great salt and smartness, and whereas his Majesty requir'd a Faith agreeable to the divine Revelations, he besought him to give him leave to discourse a while before

* S. Sev. ib. p. 152. 153. & Pen. Fortun. ubi sup.

^b Lib. ad Const. col. 206. init. Nos sum mensuris, &c.

before him and the Synod (then assembled at *Constantinople*, and torn in pieces with Heats and Animosities) concerning the Faith out of the holy Scriptures, and to undertake the Cause of Christ, whose Bishop he was, and for whose sake he now suffered Banishment; and this the rather, because the worst of Hereticks pretended to derive their impious and blasphemous Belief out of the Scriptures. Whereas the Scriptures lye not in the Letter but the Sense, and become useful not barely by reading, but by understanding, and are understood not by subtlety, but by Love and Charity. And that he might give him a Specimen of what he would discourse on before so great an Assembly, and upon so famous and controverted an Argument, and what he hoped would turn to the Honour of his Reign, the Glory of the Faith, and the Peace and Settlement both of the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches, he concludes with a brief Account of his Faith, that Faith which he had received at his Baptism, and which was according to the Doctrine of the Gospel.

* Ad Ann. 360
N. VIII. & seq.

X. WHAT Effect this Discourse had, is uncertain. *Baronius* conceives 'twas altogether without success, and that now looking upon the Case as desperate, he back'd it with another, wherein laying aside all mild and gentle Perswasives, he proceeds in ruder and rougher Methods; and that this was no other than that Discourse still extant^d, which in the Title is said to have been written against *Constantius* after his death; which Inscription he pretends is false, and that the Discourse was presented to *Constantius* himself at this time, induc'd hereunto by no other Argument, but because in it *S. Hilary* says, 'twas now the Fifth year from the time that he separated from Communion with *Saturninus* and his Party, which (says he) falls in exactly with this year. But whoever considers, with what intolerable Sharpness and Severity (to say no worse) he treats the Emperor in that Discourse, how in his transports of Zeal, he styles him Anti-christ, (and justifies it too from Scripture) fighter against God, the new Enemy of Christ, the Destroyer of Religion, a Tyrant in the things of God, a Persecutor beyond the Rage of *Nero*, *Decius*, or *Maximian*, the wickedest of men, with much more to that purpose, must needs think that no man of a far greater Patience than *Constantius* would have endured to have been told so to his face, and that such an Address could not have been made at less cost than the price of his Head; and consequently must conclude, either that he suppress'd it during his life, or (which is most probable) wrote it after his death, in the beginning of *Julian's* Reign, when a man might, if not with encouragement, at least with safety, talk at that rate. Nor is the Objection from the time much material, seeing *Constantius* died the very next year after, nor can the precise time be fix'd, when *Hilary* and the *French* Prelates first abstain'd from Communion with *Saturninus*, so that a quarter or half a year may contribute not a little to the saving of this Matter.

* Oper. Hilari.
col. 285. init.
Tempus est lo-
quendi, &c.

XI. BUT be it as it will, this is certain, that the *Arians* grew weary of *S. Hilary*; they found him a man of Stomach and Courage, and one whom a mighty Zeal inspir'd with an indefatigable Industry and Diligence, and therefore to be rid of his company, perswaded the Emperor to let him go home, whereupon he is commanded^e to be gone, as a sower of Discord, and the great Troubler of the *East*. He

* S. Hilary, 163

He made no great halt in his return to *France*, staying in most places by the way, especially in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, where he confirm'd the Catholic Faith, strengthen'd the Weak, resolv'd the Scrupulous, and mightily convinc'd Gain-sayers where ever he came. And here it was^f that *Enfilius* of *Verceil*, who return'd in the beginning of *Julian's* Reign, overtook him, found him employ'd, and joyn'd with him in this excellent Work. Amongst all his Friends, none more earnestly desir'd, or impatiently expected his return, than *S. Martin*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Tours*. He was a Person of good Education, and from a Child brought up with his Father in the Camp, and serv'd in the Wars under *Julian*. At ten years of Age he left his Parents, and the *Pagan* Religion, wherein he had been brought up, fled to the Church, and became a Catechumen; at XVIII. he was baptiz'd, but continued still his Military Life, till very hardly gaining his Dimission from *Julian*, he went to *Poitiers*^g to *S. Hilary*, with whom he liv'd some time before his Exile. The good Bishop was infinitely pleas'd with the Temper and Conversation of the man, and resolv'd to gain him to the Service of the Church, and frequently attempted to invest him with the Office of Deacon. But the Modesty and Humility of the man made him deaf to all Perswasions, till *S. Hilary* considering there was no better way to catch him, than to propound a place that might look like a debasement and degrading of him, put him upon undertaking the Office of the Exorcist, which he complied with, that he might not seem to slight it as too mean an Employment. Troubles encreasing upon him by means of the *Arian* Faction, after *S. Hilary's* departure, he went into *Italy*, and set up a Monastery at *Milan*, where he met with no better usage from *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop; thence he fled with one only Companion, to a private Island call'd *Gallinaria*, where he led a most severe and pious Life. Having now heard that *S. Hilary* was coming home, he went as far as *Rome* to meet him, but missing of him, followed him immediately into *France*, and in a place near *Poitiers* erected a Monastery, where he lived, till some years after he was created Bishop of *Tours*.

^f S. Hilary, 171.
p. 614. R. fol. 14
c. 30, 31. p. 232

^g S. Hilary, 42
in S. Martin.
c. 4. p. 183, 187
p. 187. init.

XII. *S. Hilary*^h entred *Poitiers* in a kind of Triumph, nothing was seen but Expressions of Joy, his presence put a new Life into the People, who seem'd half dead while he was from them. As soon as his Affairs were a little settled at home, he began to look about him, and to see how he might compose the publick Distractions in those Churches, and it was no more than what the State of those times did importunately call for. The Antices that had been us'd in the Synod at *Ariminum*, had involv'd almost all the Bishops of the *West* in the guilt of *Arian* Compliance, the natural Effect whereof was Distrust and Quarrels, Divisions and Separations, the Sound sham'd the infected, and one man refus'd to converse and communicate with another. And what yet added to the unhappiness of things was, that when some were willing to own their Fault, others were unwilling to receive them. And thus stood Affairs at *S. Hilary's* returnⁱ, who was doubtful at first what course to take, many affirming, that no Communion was to be held with any that had approv'd the Transactions at *Ariminum*, who were to be rejected as Heathens and Publicans. But the good Bishop was for the more gentle and mild

^h Estun. 22.

ⁱ S. Hilary, loc. cit.

⁴ Hieron. ad
Luce. p. 145.
Tom. 2.

mild Opinion, and thought it better in Imitation of the divine Compassions, to reduce men back to Repentance and Reformation. To this end he procur'd Synods to be conven'd in several Parts of *France*, where the Question was debated, and the Matter brought to an Issue; the Bishops ^k that had been enflam'd in the Council at *Ariminum*, flock'd from all Parts, and declar'd, that whatever they might be accounted, their Consciences did not charge them with Heresie, protesting by the blessed Sacrament, and all that is Holy and Sacred, that they did not suspect any ill Design in what they had done, that they thought mens Minds and Words had agreed together, and that in the Church, where nothing but Simplicity and the Confession of Truth should take place, there should never have been found one thing in the Heart, and another in the Tongue; that they had entertain'd a good Opinion of bad men, and that that had betray'd them, and that they could never have believ'd that Christ's Commanders should have fought against him. All which they acknowledg'd with Tears and Sorrow, and profess'd themselves ready to revoke their former Subscriptions, and to condemn the whole Body of the *Arian* Blasphemies. And so the Matter went on smoothly, and the Penitent Prelates were receiv'd and restor'd. The only Person that made any considerable Opposition, was *Saturninus* of *Arles*, whose Obstinacy and Impiety not being curable by any other means, was to undergo the last and severest Remedy: *S. Hilary* having receiv'd Letters out of the *East*, letting him know how generally they acquiesc'd in those Confessions, wherein the words *Substance* and *Consubstantial* were omitted; a Synod was call'd at *Paris*, wherein they return'd a Synodical answer ^l to the *Eastern* Bishops, and therein express a just Repentment of the Frauds and Subleties that had been us'd in all late Conventions, to divide the Opinions of the *East* and *West*, and to lay aside those well-contriv'd Expressions, that had been purposely taken up to obviate Heresie; that for themselves they had alwayes own'd the *apostolical*, according to which they there largely explain their belief concerning the Son's God-head and Divinity; that this was the Faith which they had ever hitherto, and would still maintain, in Opposition both to the Errors of *Sabellius* on the one hand, and *Arius* on the other; that according to their desires they held excommunicate *Auxentius*, *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Gaius*, *Megacius*, and *Justin*, and that their Brother *Hilary* had openly declar'd he would have no Peace with any of their Party, that they did condemn all those blasphemous Assertions, which had been sent together with their Letters, and did more peculiarly refuse converse with any that had invaded the Sees of the banish'd Bishops, solemnly promising, that if any in *France* offered to oppose these Determinations, they would depose him, and banish him all Communion.

XIII. IN this, or at least some preceding Synod (for they mention it in their Letter) *Saturninus* was accus'd, not only of Heresie, but of great Misdemeanors in his Life and Manners, and continuing obstinate, was excommunicated by all the Bishops in *France*, and was no sooner thus taken off, but the rest struck Sail, and were admitted upon professing their Repentance. To one of these Synods also must be referred, (were there any truth in it) that trick, which *Rufinus* ^m tells us was put upon *S. Hilary*, that one of his Books

having

¹ Ext. ap. Hil.
in fragm. col.
431. Conc. Tr.
col. 821. Baron.
T. 4. ad Ann.
562.

ⁿ ap. Hieron.
Apol. adv. Ru-
fin. p. 221.

having after the Council of *Ariminum*, being secretly corrupted by some *Arian* hand, he was now in a Convention of Bishops, question'd about his Sentiments in that Matter, and his own Book appeal'd to, as evidence in that Case. The Book is sent for, and the places found so as was represented, and he thereupon condemn'd of Heresie, and excommunicated, and as such forc'd to depart the Synod. This is the Story, which *S. Jerom* cries out upon as a most notorious Figment, challenging *Rufinus* to produce his Author, to name the place where such a Synod was holden, what Bishops were present, and who for or against it, under what Consuls, and by what Emperor it had been summon'd, whether they were only *French*, or *Spanish* and *Italian* Prelates, and what was the occasion of the Assembly. I am loth to have so bad an opinion of *Rufinus*, as to think he purely forg'd and contriv'd the Story. For *cut bono*? What end could he serve in it? Not to mention the palpable Violence that he must needs offer to his own Conscience. Perhaps something tending that way, might have been spread by the Malice of the Faction, and the thing improv'd by going from hand to hand; or *S. Hilary's* Enemies might have sentenc'd him in some of their clancular Assemblies, and *Rufinus* meeting the Report, heedlessly took it up, and it may be added some Circumstances to make it out. Sure I am, the men of the *Luciferian* Schism ⁿ severely condemn'd *S. Hilary* for his Leavity and Indulgence to the penitent Bishops, that he had abated the edge of his Zeal, and was become a Patron of Hereticks and Apostates, whom before he had so happily confuted by his eloquent Writings. But whether this, or any such-like occasion gave birth to the Story, or whether there was any Foundation at all of Truth in it, I shall not further take upon me to decide.

XIV. THUS by the Care and Industry of this great man, things were tolerably pacified in the *West*, and so continued for some years, when *Auxentius* of *Milan*, who had been often depos'd and excommunicated by the Catholics, had by Arts of Hypocrisie and Dissimulation, so far wrought himself into the Favor of the Emperor *Valentinian*, as to obtain an Edict from him for the quiet Possession of his See. Which coming to *S. Hilary's* Ears, he resolv'd upon a Journey to *Milan*, on purpose to uncase the Fox, and to disabuse the well-meaning Emperor At his arrival at Court ^o, he immediately fell upon *Auxentius*, whom he charg'd with Blasphemy, and with believing otherwise than he had made the Emperor and the World believe. *Valentinian* mov'd with the Address of so venerable a Person, refer'd the Cause to the Hearing of the Treasurer, and the Master of the Palace, who had ten Bishops as Assessors with them. At first *Auxentius* excepted against the Person of his Accuser, that he ought not to be heard as a Bishop, who had been heretofore condemn'd by *Saturninus*. But the Court over-ruled this Plea, and resolv'd, as the Emperor had ordered, to proceed directly to Matters of Faith. And here *Auxentius* found himself pinch'd, and not knowing where to get out, roundly profess'd he believ'd Christ to be true God, and to be of one and the same Substance and Divinity with God the Father. This Confession was entred upon Record, and *S. Hilary* prevail'd with the Treasurer to present a Copy to the Emperor. Indeed *Auxentius* denied all that was charg'd upon him, and in his Libel ^p or

E e

Petition

ⁿ Vid. Faust.
Marcell. lib.
p. 10, 11.

^o Hilary. lib.
adv. Auxent.
col. 314, &c.

^p Ext. lib.
col. 317.

Petition to the Emperor, endeavors a full Vindication of his Faith, complaining of *Hilary* and some others for branding him for an Heretick, and raising all that clamor and trouble against him. And though, as *S. Hilary* observes he did but dissemble in his most orthodox Assertions, eluding all by subtle Distinctions and mental Reservations, yet by these plausible Pretences he kept up his Reputation with the Emperor and the People, who own'd and convers'd with him as a most Catholick Bishop. *S. Hilary* urg'd, that all this was but Scene and Fiction, that he still denied the Faith, and did but mock God and man, but the Emperor bad him surcease any further Prosecution, and commanded him to be gone. So he was forc'd to return home, laden with nothing but the satisfaction of an honest and well-meant Design.

XV. WHETHER this disappointment made any such Impression upon his mind, as to hasten Sickness upon him, or whether merely worn out with Age and Infirmities, and the many Troubles and Sufferings he had undergone, is hard to say. 'Tis certain, that not long after his coming home, he departed this Life, six years (says *rom* nearer the Truth places it *Ann. Chr. CCCLXVIII*. But 'tis plain, it could not at soonest be till the following Year, when he return'd from *Milan*, at what time (as appears from *Auxentius's* Epistle to the Emperor) it was ten years since the Council at *Ariminum*, which was holden *Ann. CCCLIX*. He died *January* the XIIIth, which therefore the *Western* Church has consecrated to his Memory, and was buried in his own Church, with this Epitaph^c, we are told, written on his Tomb, but favouring of the Poetry of a later Age.

*Hilarius cubat hac Pictavus Episcopus urna,
Defensor nostræ terrificus Fidei.
Istius aspectum serpentes ferre nequibant,
Nescio quæ in vultu spicula sanctus habet.*

I find it reported by Authors of great name in the Church of *Rome*, that during the Civil Wars in *France Ann. MDLXII*. the *Hugonots*, amongst other Insolences, broke open the Grave of this venerable Prelate, took out his Bones, and having burn'd them, threw the Ashes into the River. A most impudent Calumny, blithly disown'd by Protestants^a, as destitute of all colour and pretence of Truth. Nor is it mention'd by any of the wiser and more judicious Persons of that Church, nor by those who are wont to catch all Opportunities of bespattering and reproaching Protestants, such as *Possévin*, *Labbee*, &c. Not the least hint of any such thing in the great *Thuanus*, even where he mentions the greatest Extravagances of that kind committed in those times. But why stand I to disprove what never was? *S. Hilary* is greatly fam'd for Miracles, said to have been done by him, which they that are curious may find in *Gregory's* Bishop of *Tours*, *Peter Damian*^a, and especially in *Vincentius Fortunatus's* one of his own Successors, who had he been as careful to transmit to Posterity the particular Notices of his Life (whereof he has given us a very dry and barren account) as he has been to Record the Miracles, said to be wrought by him, after his death, had much more oblig'd us

^a Lib. 2. p. 165.

^a Chron. ad Ann. CCCLXVIII.

^c Ext. ap. Giller. Prefat. in Hist. ex. Cod. 1^o.

^a Bellarm. de reliq. SS. c. 1. col. 745. Sur. Hist. ad Ann. 1562. p. 751.

^a Vid. Scult. Metropol. Pp. in Hilary. p. 125.

^a de Mirac. Antiquar. 2. c. 2. p. 154.
^a Sur. 1672.
^a de vit. S. Hil. l. 2.

to be thankful to his Memory. The great Church at *Poitiers* is dedicated to him, 'twas heretofore an *Abbey*, and is now a Collegiate Church, and has this peculiar Honor, that the Kings of *France* are successively Heads or Abbots of it. He is the Protector or Tutelar Guardian of the City, in the midst whereof is a Column erected to him with this Inscription.

*DIVO HILARIO. URBIS PROPUGNATORI.
FIDELISSIMO. ASSIDUOSSIMO.
CERTISSIMO.
PICTAVORUM EPISCOPO.*

XVI. HE was a man of more than common severity of Life, in all the Passages whereof, and indeed in all his Writings there breaths an extraordinary vein of Piety; he solemnly appeals^a to God, that he look'd upon this as the great Work and Business of his Life, to employ all his Faculties, of Speaking, of Reason and Understanding to declare God to the World, and either to inform the Ignorant, or reduce the Erroneous. He had a great Veneration for Truth, in the search whereof he refus'd no Pains or Study, and in the pursuit of it, was act'd by a mighty Zeal, and in the Defence of it, us'd a freedom and liberty of Speech, that sometimes transported him beyond the bounds of Decency, as is too evident (not to name other Instances) in his Addresses to, and the Character he gives of *Constantius*, wherein he lets loose the Reins not to Zeal, but to Rage and Passion, and treats him with a Liberty far from being consistent with duty to Governors, or indeed justifiable by the common Rules of Prudence and Civility; his hearty concernment for Religion, meeting with the vigor and frankness of his Temper, the natural Genius of his Country, made him sometimes forget that Reverence that was due to Superiors, though otherwise he was of a very sweet gentle Temper. No Considerations either of hope or fear could byals him one hairs breadth from the Rule of the Catholick Faith; he underwent Banishment with as unconcern'd a Mind, as another man takes a Journey of Pleasure; he was not mov'd with the tediousness of his Journeys, the hardships of his Exile, or the barbarity of the Country whither he went; he knew he had to deal with potent and malicious Enemies, and that were wont to imbrue their hands in blood; but he carried his Life in his hand, and dar'd at any time to look Death in the Face. He tells^a us, that would he have been content to satisfy and betray the Truth, he might have enjoy'd his Peace and Pleasure, the favor and friendship of the Emperor, places of Power and Grandeur in the Church, and have flow'd in all the Poms and Advantages of secular Greatness. But he had a Soul elevated above the Offers of this World; and Truth was infinitely dearer to him, than Liberty or Life itself. He was act'd by a true Spirit of Martyrdom, and seems to have desir'd nothing more, than that he might have seal'd his Faith and his Religion with his Blood. He wishes^b he had liv'd in the times of the *Neronian* or *Decian* Persecutions, that he might have born his Testimony to the Truth of God, that he would neither have fear'd the Rack, nor been afraid of the Flames, nor have thun'd the Cross, nor startled, if thrown to the bottom of the Sea. And in the

^a Pref. ad fragm. col. 399.

^b L. conty. Conf. p. 287.

¹ *Synod. in* Conclusion of his Book to the Bishops of France, he tells ² them, he knew not whether it would be more welcome to him to return home to them, or safe for him to dye (where he then was) in Exile. In fine, he was to the West, what *Athanasius* was in the East, the great Atlas and support of the Catholick Cause, to which he stood firm and constant, when all the rest of the Bishops sunk into an unwarrantable Compliance and Prevarication. And the Historian ³ Records it to his Honor, as a thing universally known and granted, that by his alone Care and Diligence France had been delivered both from the Inflection and the guilt of Heresie.

XVII. HIS Learning was as considerable as those parts of the World could furnish him with. That he was not skill'd in Hebrew, (which S. *Jerom* ⁴ more than once charges upon him) is no wonder, Jewish Learning was rare in those dayes, and especially in the Western Parts. His living so many years in the East, had given him some acquaintance with the Greek, though he never attain'd an Accuracy and Perfection in that Language as is evident amongst other Instances by his Translations extant at this day. He principally applied himself to Theological Studies, and to examine the Controversies of those times, wherein, though consisting of very nice and intricate Speculations, he became a great Master, and was one of the first amongst the Latins that openly undertook to explain and defend the Catholick Faith. His style like the Genius of the French Language at that time is turgid and lofty, which therefore S. *Jerom* ⁵ compares to the Rhone, not so much for the copiousness, as for the quickness and rapidness of that River. His Phrases are affected, his Periods long, and his Discourses intricate, and not easily intelligible, and which oft require a second and attentive Reading. So that his Language, though eloquent in its kind, is not chaste and genuine, it being true, what ⁶ *Erasmus* not impertinently observes upon this occasion, that the Roman Provincials (some few only excepted who were brought up at Rome) seldom or never attained the purity and simplicity of the Latin Tongue, but betray an over-anxious Affectation of Eloquence, a thing incident to all those who are naturaliz'd into, rather than Natives of any Language, and who seldom fail of tincturing, or rather infecting their style with the peculiar Idiotisms of their own Country. Two things concurred to render him less perspicuous, the abstruseness of the Subjects that he manages, being generally so sublime, as not to admit a clear and easie Explication, and his humor of frequently intermixing Greek Idioms, and Phrases borrowed from a foreign Language, which he endeavors to set off with an operose and elaborate greatness and sublimity of style, (very familiar to the French Writers of that Age) attended with frequent Repetitions, studied Transitions, and over-nice Apologies and Interruptions, which cannot but render him somewhat obscure to vulgar and superficial Readers. All which he especially discovers in his Books *de Trinitate*, wherein he seems to set himself to club the whole strength of his Wit, Parts, and Eloquence, to manage that noble Argument with all possible Advantage, wherein 'tis S. *Jerom's* ⁷ Observation he imitated *Quintilian* both in the style and number of his Books. Indeed his affected Subtlety, and exquisite Care of Words and Sentences resemble the Humor of that Roman Orator, though

⁸ *Procl. in l. 2.* compares to the Rhone, not so much for the copiousness, as for the quickness and rapidness of that River. His Phrases are affected, his Periods long, and his Discourses intricate, and not easily intelligible, and which oft require a second and attentive Reading. So that his Language, though eloquent in its kind, is not chaste and genuine, it being true, what ⁹ *Erasmus* not impertinently observes upon this occasion, that the Roman Provincials (some few only excepted who were brought up at Rome) seldom or never attained the purity and simplicity of the Latin Tongue, but betray an over-anxious Affectation of Eloquence, a thing incident to all those who are naturaliz'd into, rather than Natives of any Language, and who seldom fail of tincturing, or rather infecting their style with the peculiar Idiotisms of their own Country. Two things concurred to render him less perspicuous, the abstruseness of the Subjects that he manages, being generally so sublime, as not to admit a clear and easie Explication, and his humor of frequently intermixing Greek Idioms, and Phrases borrowed from a foreign Language, which he endeavors to set off with an operose and elaborate greatness and sublimity of style, (very familiar to the French Writers of that Age) attended with frequent Repetitions, studied Transitions, and over-nice Apologies and Interruptions, which cannot but render him somewhat obscure to vulgar and superficial Readers. All which he especially discovers in his Books *de Trinitate*, wherein he seems to set himself to club the whole strength of his Wit, Parts, and Eloquence, to manage that noble Argument with all possible Advantage, wherein 'tis S. *Jerom's* ¹⁰ Observation he imitated *Quintilian* both in the style and number of his Books. Indeed his affected Subtlety, and exquisite Care of Words and Sentences resemble the Humor of that Roman Orator, though

¹¹ *Epist. Pref. Op. S. Hilari. & inter Epist. l. 28. p. 8. col. 1635.*

¹² *Epist. ad August. l. 2. p. 328.*

twas an ill-chosen Copy to write after, in so nice and sublime an Argument. In his Comments on the *Psalms*, and S. *Matthew*, wherein he is more concise and short, he borrowed the Sense from *Origen*, which he cloath'd with his own Expressions, and many times added of his own, though in this work his Friend *Heliodorus*, to whom he trusted to render the Propriety of the Greek Phrases, and the more difficult Places, sometimes impos'd upon him, dictating his own Sense instead of *Origen's*, which the other swallow'd without discerning. His Notes upon the *Psalms*, with his Book *de Synodo*, S. *Jerom* ¹³ tells us he himself transcrib'd for him with his own hand, at what time he lay at *Triers* in Germany. His other Writings yet extant are commonly known, and we have taken notice of as they came in our way. His odd and peculiar Notions and Opinions have been sufficiently discuss'd by others, for which there will be little reason to bear hard upon his Memory, when it is considered, that the controverted Articles were but newly started, and not sufficiently explain'd, that he liv'd far from the Scene of Action, and after his coming upon the publick Stage, was harass'd all his Life with the Heats and Controversies of that Age. To conclude, he was learned, eloquent, and judicious, a man of quick Parts, and sound Reason, a Catholick Bishop, and what is more, a pious and good man.

HIS WRITINGS.

Genuine.

De Trinitate, Lib. XII.
Adversus Constantium viita sanctum, Liber.
Ad eundem Imperatorem, Liber.
— *Ad eundem*, Liber.
Adversus Arianos & Auxantium, Lib.
cui subjungitur Auxentii ad Imperatorem, Epistola.
De Synodo adversus Arianos.
Fragmenta ex opere Historico de Synodo, Lib. II.
Commentarii in Evangelium, S. Mat.
Commentarii in Psalmos.

Spurious.

Epistola ad Augustinum.

— *alia ad eundem*.

Carmen in Genesim.
Epistola ad Abram siliam.
Liber de patris & filii unitate, & alter de essentia patris & filii, sunt Centones ex lib. de Trinitate consuti.

Not Extant.

Tractatus in Job.
Comment. in Cantica Canticorum.
Historia Ariminensis & Selucienfis Synod. adv. Valent. & Ursac.
Adv. Salustium presertum, seu Dioscorum Medicum.
Liber Hymnorum.
Liber Mysteriorum.
Epistole plures.

The End of S. Hilary's Life.

THE LIFE OF
S. BASIL
 BISHOP OF
 CÆSAREA in CAPPADOCIA:



SECT. I.

His Acts from his birth till his first entrance into holy Orders.

HR

His birth-place. The eminency of his Ancestors. Their Sufferings under the Maximinian Persecution. The miraculous Provision made for them. His Parents, and their great Piety and Vertue. His Education under his Grand-mother Macrina. His foreign improvements in several Schools and Universities. His removal to Athens. The manner of initiating young Students in that University. The dear Intimacy between him and Nazianzen. His Victory over the captious Sophists. His Tutors, and their great fame and eminency. His and Nazianzen's joyn't-Studies, and strict deportment. His quitting the University, and settling at Antioch under the tutorage of Libanius. Desisting the Oratory, he betakes himself to the Study of Theology. His frequent converse with the Writings of Origen. His Travels into Egypt and other Parts. The high esteem Julian had of him, and the frequent Letters that pass'd between them. His acute Repartee to Julian's censure. A pretended Letter of his to Julian, in favor of Image-worship, shewn to be Spurious. Julian's great Severity to the Christians at Cæsarea, and upon what occasion.

I.



S. BASIL (whose incomparable Learning and Piety universally entitl'd him to the surname of GREAT) was by birth a Cappadocian (taking the word in its larger Signification) born in Pontus, where 'tis plain¹ his Father liv'd, and whence all his paternal Ancestors were descended. And here some fix his Nativity at *Helenopontus*, an obscure Town in that Country; indeed so obscure, that I find no such place in any Writer of that time. For though *Constantine* the Great, gave that Title to one of those Provinces in honor of his Mother *Helena*, yet I believe no City of that name was at this time in being, whatever might be afterwards. I conjecture him therefore born at *Neocæsarea*, which though reckon'd to *Cappadocia* at large (in which fence it reach'd to the very Shore of the *Pontick* Sea, and this the Ancients^m call'd the Greater *Cappadocia*) was yet *πονηκη πέλις*ⁿ, a City of *Pontus*, yea the Metropolis of the *Pontus Polemoniacus*. And I the rather conceive him born here, or at least hereabouts, because 'tis certain his Grand-mother *Macrina* liv'd here, and here he himself was educated^o from his very Child-hood, and here spent a good part of his after-life. He was descended^p both by Father and Mother's side, of an ancient and honorable Race, Persons equally celebrated for Nobility and Vertue; such as had been famous both in Court and Camp, and had born the highest Honors and Offices of their Country; but above all, were renowned for their Piety and their Sufferings, and their constant and undaunted Profession of Religion. Under the *Maximian* Persecution, one of the last, but hottest Efforts of declining *Paganism*, and which made all that preceded seem Humane and Gentle; his paternal Ancestors, to avoid the Fury of the Storm, fled to one of the woody Mountains of *Pontus*, not doubting but to find better Quarter from the most wild and savage Creatures there, than by staying at home to encounter with Beasts in the shape of men. Here they continued near seven years, banish'd from the Comfort and Society of Friends, (a thing strange to them who had been wont to be crowded with a train of Attendants and Follow-

¹ *Nec. Orat.* XX. (in *S. Basil.*) p. 318, 324.

^m *Const. Porphyrog. Them. Orat.* II. p. 12. & *Polib.*
ⁿ *Steph. in V. Nazianz.* *Am. Martell.* l. 27. p. 1755.
^o *Basil. Epist.* LXIV. p. 98.
^p *Nazianz. ib.* p. 318, 319. & *vid. Suid.* in *V. Basilid.*

ers) and expos'd to Hunger and Cold, to Rain and Storms, and to all the Hardships of a barren and disconsolate Place. And all this the more insupportable, because falling upon Persons, whose tender and delicate Education had made them Strangers to the pelfures of Want and Hardship. Till at length course Fare and hard Lodging had so far impair'd their Health, as to make them desirous of some Refreshments more suitable and grateful to the Appetites of weakned and decay'd Nature, wherewith they knew God could, if he pleas'd, easily furnish them. And the divine Providence, which is never wanting in Necessaries, is wont sometimes, though at the Expences of a Miracle, to gratifie his Servants with Delicacies. And thus it hap'n'd here, for on a sudden an Herd of fat Deer came out of the Thicket, and voluntarily offer'd themselves to the Knife, following the Persons they met, without any other force, than the direction of a Nod. Being brought to the place of their abode, they stood still, till as many as were thought convenient were chosen out, and the rest being dismiss'd, quietly return'd back into the Woods. A Feast was hereupon immediately prepared, and our poor hunger-starv'd Confessors liberally treated, who thankfully own'd the bounty of Heaven, and look'd upon it as an Encouragement and Obligation to go on cheerfully with their Portion of Sufferings that were yet behind. But leaving them, let us come nearer home. His immediate Parents were not more famous for their mutual kindness, than for their Charity to the Poor, their Hospitality towards Strangers, the devoting a constant part of their Estate to God, their abstinence and Fasting, and all the Vertues of a good Life, all which God was pleas'd to Crown with a numerous and hopeful Issue. His Father's name was *Basil*^x, a man Prudent and Religious, and of great Name and Authority in his Country, whom *Possessin*^y and some others without any Authority that I know of, will have in his latter dayes to have been a Bishop; and the Centuriators^z are so confident of it, as to cite *Nazianzen* for their Author, who yet says no such thing; his Mother was *Emmelia*, a Woman of strict conduct, and rare accomplishments; so exquisite and celebrated a Beauty, that she was on all hands sollicit for Marriage, and some so far transported, as to be ready to attempt by force, what they could not carry by milder and more soft Addresses.

II. THE product of this happy Marriage was our *S. Basil*, their eldest Son, and (if I mistake not) their second Child. A Youth of a goodly and promising aspect, the Index of a more pregnant Wit and ingenuous Mind. His first Studies^a were conducted under the Discipline of his own Father, who was careful to instruct him in all the Rudiments of Learning, and especially to season him with right Notions of Religion, and to train him up to a course of Piety, which he equally promot'd both by his Lectures and his Life. But herein none more industrious or serviceable than his Mother *Emmelia*, and especially his aged Grand-mother^b *Macrina*. She had sometimes been Auditor of the famous *S. Gregory Thaumaturgus* Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, by whom she had been educated in the Principles of the Catholick Faith, whereto she had also born witness by being a Confessor under some of the latter Persecutions. This she took all imaginable care to convey and propagate to her Grand-children, planting their Minds

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with

^x *Nazianz. p. 321*
Nyssen. de vit.
Macrin. T. 3.
p. 178.
^y *In V. Basil.*
p. 178. *vid.*
Libb. de Scrip.
in Adleu. ad
T. 1. p. 737.
^z *Cent. IV. c. 10*
p. 538.

^a *Nazianz. p. 324*
Amphiloc. vit.
Basil. l. 1. p. 157.

^b *Basil. Epist.*
LXXV. p. 121.
Ep. LXXXIX.
p. 140. *fac. 2.*

^a *Amph. n. 1*
^b *Ep.*

^a *Ep. ad Basil.*
^b *inter P. 1. 1. 1.*
^c *CLIII. p. 174.*

^a *Str. in Hist.*
^b *p. 325. &c.*

with the first Seeds and Principles of Truth, as *S. Basil* more than once gratefully owns in his Epistles. Five years^a being spent in this domestic Education, and being accurately accomplish'd with all the preliminary Parts of Learning, he betook himself to travel, to improve and compleat his Studies. Whether he went first to *Antioch*, (which we know he did afterwards) and studied for some time under the great *Libanius*, the most celebrated Sophist, and eloquent Orator of that Age, though not absolutely certain, is yet highly probable. For *Libanius* himself tells us^b, that he was acquainted with him, when but a Youth, and honour'd him for the extraordinary Sobriety and Gravity of his Manners, and the mighty Advances that he made in Learning; which he mentions as antecedent to his going to *Athens*. Hence then he went to *Cæsarea*^c, the Metropolis of *Palestina*, famous at that time for Schools of Learning, where he soon out-went his Fellow-Pupils, and bad fair to overtake his Masters; so that he quickly drew the Eyes of all Persons upon him, who reverence'd him for his excellent Learning, but especially for his more excellent Life; and generally beheld him as a Master-Orator, and Dictator in Philosophy, and what's more, as a Bishop in the Church, before his years rendred him capable of those Employments. But above all, he applied himself to study the true Philosophy, to break loose from the Charms of this lower World, and to trade in divine and heavenly Things, and to barter away those things that are frail and perishing, for those that are unchangeable and eternal. From *Cæsarea* he remov'd to *Constantinople*, lately made the Imperial City, and flourishing with eminent Professors of Rhetorick and Philosophy, whose several Perfections by the quickness and comprehensiveness of his Parts, he digested into his own use and ornament; and then to crown all, went to *Athens*, the common Seat of Arts and Learning, where to have spent some time, was it self enough in those dayes to have given a man the Reputation of a Scholar.

III. THE fame of so excellent a Person had before-hand prepar'd mens minds, and made that University big with Expectations of his coming, and every one was contriving how to gain him for their Pupils. It was the Custom at *Athens*, for the Youth of the University to lye in wait for the arrival of young Students, to bester all Ways and Tracks, all Ports and Passages, that so first seizing upon them, they might either persuade or draw them in to be their Fellow-Pupils, thinking by this means to oblige their Masters, and outvie the Train of other Professors, between whom there us'd to be great Clashing and Emulation. Having gain'd the fresh man, their first care was to lodge him in the House of some Friend, or Country-man, or at least of one of those Setters, that plied up and down in the behalf of that Sophist, who was to be his Tutor. Next they gave way to any that would, to pose him with hard Questions, and to run him down with Quirks and Subtleties, which were either more rude or ingenuous, according to the Humor and Education of him that put them. This they did, to baffle the good Conceit of himself, which the young man was suppos'd to bring along with him; and from the very first to subdue him into a perfect Submission to his Teachers. This being done, they conduct him in a pompous Procession through the Market-place to the publick Bath, two and two going before him

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at equal distances; being come near the place, on a sudden they rais'd a wild frantic Noise, and fetch'd many strange Frisks and Capers; knocking like mad men at the Gates, till having sufficiently frighted the young man, the Doors were opened, and he was made Free, and then they return'd and embrac'd him as their Friend and Fellow-Pupil, and a Member of the University. These troublesome Ceremonies^a of initiation, however otherwise common and ordinary, were yet dispens'd with towards *S. Basil*, out of the great Reverence they had for him, as a Person advanc'd beyond the Laws of ordinary Students. At *Athens* he met with *Gregory of Nazianzum*, (who had sometimes been his School-fellow) between whom there commenc'd so intimate and dear a Friendship (there being between them a peculiar affinity in Temper, Study, and course of Life) that nothing but their last breath could part them, they had the same Disposition, Inclination, Design, and Emulation; and as *Nazianzum*^b adds, they seem'd to have had but one Soul between them. One of the first Instances of Freedom and Familiarity, *Nazianzum* gave him upon this occasion. Some *Armenian* Students (a close and subtle People according to the Genius of that Nation) who had been his old Acquaintance and School-fellows, being vex'd to be out-done by a Novice, one who had but just got on the Philosophick *Pallium*, came to him under pretence of Friendship, and falling upon him with captious and sophistical Disputations, endeavour'd at the first attempt to beat him down. But they soon found they were over-march'd; whereupon *Nazianzum* to support the Honor of the University, struck in with them, and reliev'd their languishing side. But perceiving that 'twas not love to truth, but Envy and Emulation that inspir'd them, he presently deserted them, and went over to *S. Basil*, and soon turn'd the Scale. For *Basil* now us'd from so able an Antagonist, fell so heavily upon them with his Arguments, that not able to abide the Shock, they were forc'd to retire with shame, and to leave him the full and absolute Possession of the Field.

IV. FOR the Direction of his Studies, he chiefly applied himself to *Himerius*^c and *Probertus*, two of the most eminent Sophists at that time at *Athens*; men renown'd for Learning and Eloquence, and upon that account highly in favour with the Emperor *Julian*; the latter whereof was an *Armenian*^d born, and for that reason had the Youth of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and the neighbor-Countries committed to his Care and Tutorage. He was greatly honour'd by the Emperor *Constantine*^e, who sent for him into *France*, and set him amongst the Nobility at his own Table, and in a bravery sent him to *Rome*, where he was honour'd with a Statue of Brass in full Proportion, with this Inscription, *ROME THE QUEEN OF CITIES TO THE KING OF ELOQUENCE*. Under these Masters he very happily improv'd his time, though he soon grew weary of the place^f, which did not answer his Expectations, and was therefore wont to call *Athens*, *ἡ πόλις ἡμετέρα* an empty and vain Felicity. And indeed he had immediately turn'd his back upon it had he not been detain'd by the Arguments and Persuasions of his dear Friend *Nazianzum*, for these two liv'd, ate and convers'd together, mutually grew up in all the Endearments of Kindness and Friendship, and equally prosper'd in Learning and Piety. With none would they keep company

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^a *Conf. que de
bilce vitiis
h. p. 1. 1. 1.
ad. P. 1. 1. 1.
LXXX. col.
189. & Liban.
de vit. sua p. 7.
c. 9.*

^b *Ibid. p. 330.*

^c *Sacr. L. 4. c. 25
p. 242. Sac. L. 6.
c. 17. p. 659.*

^d *Enap. in vit.
prosef. p. 109.*

^e *ib. p. 121. &c.*

^f *Nazianzum
p. 329.*

but the Meek and Humble, the Chast and Sober, whose Conversation was likely to make them better. Those Parts of Learning they mainly insisted on, not which were most pleasant, but most useful, and which were aptest to minister to Virtue and a good Life. As for Feasts, and Shews, and publick Solemnities, they wholly neglected them, reckoning it honor enough to be, and to be accounted Christians; and though *Athens* was a dangerous place, being the great Seat of Impiety and Idolatry, yet so far were they from being tempted, that they found themselves rather confirm'd in the Truth of their Religion, by what they daily saw and heard. In short, the course they took, and the Improvements they made, caus'd them to be universally taken notice of, so that they became the talk both of City and Country, their Fame spread it self all over *Greece* and foreign Parts, where-ever their Tutors were known, they were mention'd, the Glory of the Scholars keeping pace with the Name and Reputation of their Masters.

V. *BASIL* had now furnish'd himself with all the Advantages which *Athens* could afford, the Ship was freighted with Learning (to use his Friends ^m Expression) as far as humane Nature could contain; and having thus got his lading, 'twas time to think of returning home. Much ado he had to break loose from the passionate intreaties and Perswasions of his Friends, who vehemently urg'd and importun'd his stay; but nothing went nearer to him, than the leaving his great Friend behind him; the parting, though but for a time, seem'd like the pulling of Soul and Body asunder. In his return, passing by *Constantinople*, as a place beset with Snares and Temptations, he went straight for *Asia*, and so to *Antioch*; and this, I doubt not, he means by the Metropolis of *Asia*, whither he tells ^u us, he hasten'd after his return from *Athens*, for the sake of those excellent things that were to be acquired there; and the Church-Historians ^v put it past all peradventure. Here he put the last hand to his more Polite and Philosophical Studies under the conduct of *Libanius*, who henceforward entertain'd him as an intimate Friend, and beheld him with a most profound Veneration. And now he began to practise the Oration, which he had hitherto learn'd, and for some time serv'd the *Forum*, and pleaded Causes, wherein he discharg'd himself with great applause. But he soon grew weary of this course, the divine Providence having design'd him for higher and nobler Purposes. Laying aside therefore the Profession of Rhetorick, he betook himself to the Study of the holy Scriptures ^q, and the Expositions of the Ancients, especially the Comments of *Origen*, by reading whereof, he became afterwards so able to encounter and refute the *Arians*, and shew'd how little they (who so much pretended him to be on their side) understood either him or his Opinions. In this Study he and *Nazianzen* spent no small time and pains, running through that great man's Comments upon the Scripture, and noting what might be of more than ordinary use. Part of these *Excerpta* are still extant under the Title of *Philocalia*, consisting of Questions upon Scripture, with Solutions adapted out of *Origen's* Comments, and put together by these two learned men; a Copy whereof *Nazianzen* ^r sent as an incomparable Present to *Theodore* Bishop of *Tyana*. But *Basil* had not yet sufficiently seen the World, he had further Travels ^t to undergo, before

^m Nazian. ib. p. 333.

ⁿ Epist. CLXV. p. 185.

^o Sacr. & Sac. loc. sup. cit.

^p Basil. Ep. CCCXCII. p. 397. vid. Naz. ib. p. 334.

^q Sacr. & Sac. ibid.

^r Nazian. Ep. LXXXVII. p. 443. Naz. loc. cit.

before he could be fix'd in any particular Station. He was a great admirer of *Eustathius* ^u an eminent Philosopher of that time, for whose sake he had chiefly left *Athens*; whom not finding in his own Country, he went after him into *Syria*, where he understood that he was gone for *Egypt*. Thither he follow'd him, though he could not meet with him. However at *Alexandria* and in other parts of *Egypt*, he convers'd familiarly with the Monks and Hermits, whose incomparably strict and divine Course of Life he greatly admir'd, and afterwards copied out in his own Practice, and perhaps now it was that he contracted an acquaintance with the great *Athanasius*, who about this time was forc'd to conceal himself in his *Egyptian* Solitudes. A full year he continued in these Parts, if we may believe the Counterfeit *Amphilochius* ^v, who adds, that in his return he overtook the Philosopher *Eubulius* (perhaps he means *Eustathius*) whose Discourse and Conversation he relates at large; their coming to *Antioch*, and entertainment by *Libanius*; their going to *Jerusalem*, and his being baptiz'd by *Maximus* the Bishop in the River *Jordan*; with innumerable other Relations, which being never hinted by *Basil* himself, nor justified by any concurrent Suffrage, and many of them in themselves trifling and improbable, I shall not here trouble the Reader with them. This only is certain, that he spent some considerable time both in *Egypt*, *Palestine*, *Celestria*, and *Mesopotamia*, amongst the devout and pious Ascetics of those Countries, and having accomplish'd his Travels, came back and settled at *Cæsarea*.

VI. *JULIAN* was now advanc'd to the Empire, a Prince learned himself, and the great Patron of Learning in that Age. He had been acquainted with *S. Basil*, when Fellow-Students at *Athens*, and notwithstanding the difference in Religion (for *Julian* had now openly declar'd for *Paganism*) he wrote a Letter ^w to him, wherein with great kindness and civility he invited him to Court, assuring him of an hearty and unfeign'd Reception, and a Liberty of Discourse, that for his conveyance, he might make use of the publick Carriages, and having staid his own time, should have liberty to return at pleasure. But notwithstanding so obliging an Invitation, *Basil* refus'd to come at him; his Apostacy from Christianity stuck in the good man's mind, and he talk'd some things, it seems, to the Emperor's disadvantage; whereupon after a vain Ostentation of the mildness and gentleness of his Temper, and the grandeur and magnificence of his Empire, *Julian* by a second Letter ^x lets him know how much he resented his Impudence, and the ill Character he had given of him, commanding him to send him a thousand pounds of Gold (every pound amounting to no less than XXXVI. *l.* of our Money) towards the *Persian* Expedition which he had then in hand, if ever he hop'd to enjoy his favour. A prodigious Sum, and which nothing can make it reasonable to believe he really intended; though at that time he generally laid vast Taxes upon the Christians, to furnish him out for that War. *Basil*, nothing dismay'd, return'd an answer ^y quick and pungent, that for the generous Acts he so much talk'd of, they were inconsiderable, and levell'd not so much against the Christians, as himself; that by his late carriage he had expos'd himself to the just Censures of wise men; and being seduc'd by wicked and malignant Demons, had exalted himself against God and his Church, and was fallen

^u Vid. Basil. ib. p. 397. & Ep. 79. p. 140.

^v Obi. sup. p. 159.

^w Ext. ap. Jul. Ep. XII. p. 127. & inter Basil. CCVI. p. 225.

^x Ext. ap. Basil. loc. cit.

^y Ext. ibid.

from all those early hopes, which his first excellent Essays, when they jointly studied the holy Scriptures at *Athens*, had once given of him; that for the sum demanded, he had taken wrong Measures, in requiring so much of a poor Scholar, who had not Provisions moderately sufficient for one day, whose House was a Stranger to the Arts of Cookery, and to Knives stain'd with blood; a few Coleworts with Crufts of Bread, and a little sower vapid Wine being the costliest Provisions serv'd up at his Table. What other Letters pass'd between these two great men, is uncertain; 'tis not improbable, but that they debated Matters of the Christian Faith, whereof *Julian* gave

* *Jul. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*

7. 2. p. 56.

* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*

CCV.

* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*

* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*

* *Id. ib. p. 226.*
* *Id. ib. p. 226.*

this short Magisterial Censure: *Ἀνέγνω, ἔγραψα, κατέγνω, what you have written, I have read, considered, and condemn'd; where to S. Basil return'd this acute and elegant Repartee, ἀνέγνως, ἔγραψα; εἰ; ὅς; ἔγραψα, ὁμοῦ κατέγνω, you have read, but not understood; for had you understood, you would not have condemn'd it.* There is indeed the Fragment of an Epistle to *Julian*, extant ^a in the Acts of the second *Nicean* Council, wherein he gives the Emperor a brief account of his Faith, and therein a most express acknowledgment of the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Images. But both Phrase and Matter so contrary to *S. Basil's* genuine Style and Doctrine, as sufficiently proclaim it to be Counterfeit; a passage not once mention'd by any *Greek* Writers of that or the following Ages, not by those who were most zealous to assert those Doctrines, and took most pains to canvass the Writings of the ancient Fathers to defend them; nor was it ever heard of in the World, till mention'd by Pope *Hadrian* (the great Patron of Image-worship) in a Letter to the *Greek* Emperor, brought by his Legates to that Synod. Which alone were enough to cast a damp upon it, seeing *Hadrian* is not wont to stick at any thing, even the most Spurious and Apocryphal Stories (whereof he gives other instances in that very Letter) that might support and shore up his Cause. Hence the Passage is generally wav'd by the more wise and judicious Persons of the *Roman* Church; and *Baronius* ^b himself, though he gravely produces the Passage, makes no advantage of it. An opportunity which he is seldom wont to let slip, when he can with any tolerable face lay hold upon it.

VII. I cannot take my leave of *Julian*, till I have observ'd what mischief he did at *Cæsarea*, where *S. Basil* now abode. It was a great and populous City, and inhabited by vast numbers of Christians; who being zealous of the Honor of their Religion, had heretofore pull'd down the two famous Temples of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*, and had very lately destroy'd (what alone remain'd) the Temple dedicated to the publick Genius of the City. This put *Julian* out of all Patience, to see *Pagan* Temples openly pull'd down, at the same time that he was earnestly labouring to set them up. He was angry with the *Gentiles* of *Cæsarea*, that though few in number, they had not rush'd in as one man to defend the Temple, and ventur'd Lives and Fortunes in that Cause and Quarrel. Indeed some mischief was done the Christians ^d, several of them being slain in the Hubub, and more had been so, had not the Governor carried it with an equal hand, sometimes conveying the Christians out of danger, sometimes punishing some of the over-forward *Gentiles*, for which prudent Care and Moderation he was accus'd to the Emperor, and had died for it,

but

but that at last *Julian* was pleas'd to change the Sentence into Fannishment. The Governor pleaded, that he had proceeded according to Law; that the number of the *Gentiles* was inconsiderable, and that it would have been a barbarous Cruelty, violently to have fallen in upon so great a Multitude; the *Emperor* replied, what great matter, if one *Gentile* hand had dispatch'd half a score *Gentiles*. Next he proceeded to call the City to account, whose Charter he took away, reducing it into the rank of a Village, disnominating it, and not suffering it to bear the name of *Cæsar*, a Title which it had had ever since the time of *Cladius*, being originally call'd *Maze*, from *Moseph* Prince of that Country, afterwards *Mazaca*. He seiz'd upon the Treasures and Revenues of the Churches, both within the City and without, forcing them by Racks and Torments to discover them; and commanding the sum of three hundred pounds of Gold, that is, in our account ten thousand and eight hundred pounds, to be immediately paid into the Exchequer. The Clergy he made to be entred upon the Muster-Roll, to serve as Souldiers under the Governor of the Province, the most troublesome and dishonourable part of the *Roman* Militia; the common People, with their Wives and Children, he put under Tribute, and left them in the same Capacity with those in the Country Villages; swearing after all, that unless the Temples were forthwith rebuilt, he would utterly destroy the Place, and not suffer a *Gentile* to wear an head upon his shoulders. And perhaps had been as good as his word, had not death happily taken him off. To be sure *S. Basil* had gone to stake, *Nazianzen* ^c expressly telling us, ^e *orat. fr.* that they two had the Honor of the *Cyclops*, to be reserv'd last to punishment, that at his return from *Persia*, they might have fallen as a triumphant and magnificent Victim to his Deities. But the divine Providence mercifully prevented that, *Julian* himself being shortly after taken off by a violent death. I know not whether it be worth relating, what the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* ^f reports, ^g *ad An. Juli-* that the same night that *Julian* was slain, *Basil* had a Vision, wherein ^{an. 11. p. 692.} he saw the Heavens opened, and our blessed Saviour sitting upon a Throne, and calling aloud to *S. Marcarius*, to go and kill *Julian* the Emperor, the great Enemy of Christians. The Saint having receiv'd his Commission, and being arm'd with a Coat of Mail, immediately departed. Soon after returning, he gave our Lord an account, that according to his command *Julian* was slain. *Basil* frighten'd with the noise, awak'd in some Consternation, and going down to Church to Morning Prayers, call'd his Clergy together, whom he acquainted with his Vision, and that *Julian* was kill'd that night. They all besought him to conceal it, the reporting it being a Matter of dangerous Consequence. But my Author spoils the whole Story, by laying the Scene of it, while *Basil* was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, which he was not at this time, nor for seven years after *Julian's* death.

S E C T. II.

His Acts from his entrance into Orders, till his return from his Pontick Solitudes.

Basil's first entrance into Ecclesiastick Orders. Eusebius ordain'd Bishop of Cæsarea; great Trouble and Dissention about that Matter. Basil quarrell'd with by Eusebius, but defended by the Monks of Cæsarea. His retirement to Neocæsarea; and thence into the Wilderness. The delightful Situation of the place of his abode. Nazianzen and others repair to him. The manner of their monastick Life, and strict Devotion. Rules of monastick Discipline compos'd by Basil. His Apologitick to the People of Cæsarea for his retirement, and to vindicate himself from the malicious Reflections cast upon him, and to establish them in the Catholick Faith. His erecting devout Societies both of men and women. His advice taken about things to be transacted in the Synod at Lampſacus. The notorious juggling of Eustathius, and others of the Semiarian and Macedonian Parties. A Reconciliation endeavour'd between Eusebius and Basil. His return importunately desired, and why. An Agreement effected by Nazianzen's Mediation.

I. **S**T. Basil in the mean time follow'd close his Studies, and entred into the Service of the Church by due and regular Approaches. For having for some time been Reader ^c in the Church of Cæsarea, he was next made Deacon ^b by Meletius Bishop of Antioch, and afterwards advanc'd to the Order of Priest-hood by his own Diocesan. It must not be forgotten, that while he was yet Deacon ⁱ, he was present at the Synod of Constantinople, holden in the end of the year CCCLIX. where he assisted Basil Bishop of Ancyra, the Head of the Homoiousian Party, against the Anomœans or Heterousian Sect, and though superior to most in the Arts of speaking, yet by reason of a natural bashfulness and diffidence, he declin'd publick Disputations. After this he return'd home, and liv'd at Cæsarea, chiefly conversing with those devout mortified men, who had form'd themselves to a strict and monastick Course of Life. It hap'n'd that the See of Cæsarea fell void ^k, and great Expectations were on foot about the Choice of a new Arch-bishop, the splendor and greatness of that See meeting with the warm Temper, and ungovernable Zeal of that People, had put the City into an extraordinary Commotion about this Matter. Wearied at length, with mutual Dissentions, they unanimously pitch'd upon one Eusebius, a Gentleman of chief Note and Authority in the City, a man of a most pious Life, but a Lay-man, and as yet unbaptiz'd. Him they lay hold of, and though protesting against it, by the help of the Guards, bring him to the Church, where some neighbor-Bishops were met in order to the Election, desiring (yea, and threatening too, if they were refus'd) that he may be forthwith baptiz'd, and ordain'd their Bishop. The good Fathers saw there was no other way to allay the Storm, but to comply with the importunity

^a Naz. Or. XX.
^b p. 336.
^c Socr. l. 4. c. 26.
^d p. 242.
^e Philost. l. 4.
^f c. 12. p. 496.

^g Naz. C. ut.
XIX. in jun.
patr. p. 308. &c.

importunity of the People, who thereupon having first baptiz'd him, consecrated, and plac'd him upon the Episcopal Throne. But no sooner were they at liberty, but they began to disown what they had done, and resolv'd to rescind the Election, pretending it to be uncanonical, and extorted by force and violence; only Gregory, Nazianzen's Father, Bishop of Nazianzum, a little Town in that Province, stood to it, and by all means labour'd to ratifie and confirm it. It made the Case a great deal worse, that Julian lay at this time at Cæsarea, whither he was come to see Execution done upon that City, for the Riot made upon the Pagan Temple; and it vex'd him not a little, to see a Christian Arch-bishop thus zealously and tumultuously cholen under his very nose, and a man too, whom he did not like. The Governor of the Province, who likewise ow'd Eusebius an old grudge, for having taken a different Course, while employ'd in the Administration of civil Affairs, took advantage of the Emperor's resentment, and wrote Letters in his name to the several Bishops, commanding them with Menaces to repair thither, and manage the Charge against Eusebius. Amongst the rest, a Letter came to Gregory, the aged Bishop of Nazianzum, who return'd this short and bold answer, that in these Matters they were subject to an higher Prince, whose Cause was now oppos'd, who would examine the Election, which they had duly and regularly made; that in other things force and violence might be offer'd them, but that no man could hinder them from maintaining what they had legally and justly done; unless after all the rest, they could make a Law, that men should not take care of their own Affairs. The Governor, though offended with the Freedom of the answer, yet admir'd the Wisdom and Spirit of the man; and it so far prevail'd, that the Emperor's displeasure cooled, and no farther attempts were made in that Matter.

II. **B**UT though the Storm seem'd allay'd from abroad, yet did it not clear up into fair Weather at home. Eusebius the new-elected Bishop took some occasion to fall out with Basil ^l, and though otherwise a very good man, yet in this fell short of the ordinary Rules both of Prudence and Religion. He was himself obnoxious upon the account of his late Election, not strictly warrantable according to the standing Laws and Canons of the Church; he had to deal with a Person of a great name, and an unquestionable Reputation, and who by his Authority and Influence was able to steer a Party which way he pleas'd; besides, there were some Western Bishops (probably Lucifer of Calaris, and Eusebius of Verelle) at this time at Cæsarea, who took in with those that were most zealous for the Catholick Interest. Nor did Basil stand alone in this Matter; the Monks of Cæsarea, over whom he presided as their Director and Governor, presently espous'd their Master's Quarrel, and finding Eusebius unreasonable in his Exceptions, and obstinate in his Resolutions, withdrew from all Communion with him, and drew a great part, not only of the common People, but of the Magistrates, into the Separation. Things ripening thus fast into an open breach, Basil, who was at a loss, how to behave himself in this disjuncture of Affairs, out of a great regard to the Peace of the Church, thought it best, at least for the present, to retire into the Wilderness, wherein he was not a little sway'd by his own Inclination, to embrace the Solitudes of a private Life, where

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^h Naz. Or. XX.
ⁱ p. 336.

Philos. Ep.
LXXIX.
p. 142.

he doubted not to find those happy opportunities for Virtue and divine Converse, and those real advantages for conquering the World, and subduing the Power of vicious and inordinate Appetites, which a noise and a crowd were never likely to afford.

Philos. Ep.
p. 58.

III. THE first place he went to, was *Nocesarea*, the chief City of *Pontus*, which had been the place of his Education, where he had much acquaintance, and enjoy'd the Converse of excellent men, and finding it a place fit for a contemplative Life (being situate in the more wild and desert parts of the Country) stay'd here a long time. But wearied at length with the troublesome Interruptions of Society, he withdrew into the adjacent Wilderness, where he fix'd his Station in the Mountainous parts, near the bank of the River *Iris*, a famous River, which arising in the Mountains of *Armenia*, runs through the middle of *Pontus*, and empties it self into the *Euxine* Sea. The place he made choice of, was naturally fitted for all the Advantages of Solitude and Contemplation; it was a high mountain, cloth'd with a thick shady Wood, and watered on the North with cool and Crystal Springs that issued from it. At the foot of the Hill was a fruitful Valley, the Verdure and Fertility whereof, was not a little owing to those benign Streams that flowed from the neighboring Hills; as for its quietness and security, it was beholden to the Woods, variegated with all sorts of pleasant Trees that encompass'd it. Nature had form'd it into a kind of *Peninsula*, and fortified it with Bullworks on every side; two parts of it were secured by deep and unapproachable Vallies; a third by the River, which falling from a Precipice, was a sure Wall on that side; on the other was a ragged and naked Rock, which joining to the Valley, cut off all Avenues that way. There was but one Passage to it, and that too secur'd by those who liv'd within. It was on the most prominent part of this Mountain, that S. Basil fix'd his Cell, whence there was an easy and delightful prospect both into the Valley below, and upon the neighbor River, which flowing with a quick rapid Stream, and dashing it self against the Rocks that oppos'd its passage, at once gratified both the Eye and Ear. Nor wanted there other Divertissements to those, who were desirous to entertain themselves with innocent Pleasures. For as the River afforded plenty of excellent Fish, and the adjoining Hills conveniency for Sport and Game; so the Birds from the Woods charm'd the Ear with untaught Musick, while the Eye was ravish'd to look down and behold the Plains over-spread with a natural Tapestry of Herbs and Flowers. But the greatest advantage of the place, was its Solitude, being perfectly remote from all Company, not a man seen that way, unless when Hunting by chance brought them thither, and that not in quest of Beasts of prey, Wolves, Lions, &c. (for with such the place was not infested) but of Deer, wild Goats, and such like peaceable and harmless Creatures.

Philos. Ep.
LXXIX.
p. 58. *Id.* Ep.
LXXIX.
p. 141. C. R. N. ff.
de vit. Macul.
p. 182.

IV. THE good man was infinitely fatissied with the place of his Retirement, and wanted nothing to compleat his happiness, but the company of his dear Friend *Nazianzen*, whom he oft invited to come thither to him; In one of his Letters he elegantly describes his fortunate Islands (as *Nazianzen* calls them) laying before him all the wild inartificial Pleasures of the place, and the great Advantages it ministr'd to Piety and Contemplation. Which *Nazianzen* in his answer

Philos. VII.
p. 770.

answer with a great deal of witty Eloquence retorts upon him, turning all the Passages of his Letter into Sport and Merriment. But having after some time broken loose from those Affairs that detain'd him, over he goes to him, and joyful, we may be sure, was the meeting of those two dear Companions, whose Inclinations, Studies, and way of Life ran both in the same Channel. But though so mutually conversant with each other, yet they liv'd apart in different Cells, as is plain from *Nazianzen's* Epistle to *Amphilochius*, one of the pious Inhabitants of that place. Indeed *Basil's* Company and course of Life quickly drew others into those parts, who flying from the Noise and Troubles of the World, did after his Example, give up themselves to the Severities and Mortifications of a retired Life. He had in his Travels, with great Complacency, observ'd the strictness practis'd by the Monks and Anchors in *Egypt* and *Palestine*, whose Rules and Institutions he resolv'd to set on foot at his return. And meeting at *Cesarea*, with some ready dispos'd to a monastick Life, he joyn'd himself to them, till being forc'd thence, he now again reviv'd the Design, in a place much more opportune and convenient for it. Great numbers flocking thither, they soon grew up into Religious Societies, spending their time in singing Psalms, in fervent Prayers, devout Meditations, reading and expounding the holy Scriptures, and the constant Exercises of Piety and Virtue. And what hours were borrowed from the Offices of Religion, were laid out in bodily Labors, felling Wood, or digging Stones, in setting Trees, planting and watering Gardens, an Employment which at once afforded both Maintenance and Recreation. And because no course of Life can be managed without some fix'd Laws and Constitutions, he advis'd with *Nazianzen* about drawing up particular Orders to be observ'd in the monastick State, which they form'd into Rules and Canons, and for the benefit of Posterity as well as the present Age, committed and consign'd to writing. Some such thing he had been hammering at his first coming into the Wilderness, as appears by his Letter to *Nazianzen* upon that Subject, wherein he acutely balances the Advantages and Disadvantages both of a civil and retired Life, and gives many excellent Directions necessary to be observ'd by those who embrace a solitary and ascetic Life. These were the first Rules of monastick Discipline that were establish'd in the *Eastern* Church, and from hence were deriv'd the several Constitutions of all those Religious Orders, that afterwards over ran the Church.

V. S. BASIL had now leisure to look about him, and to remember his Friends at *Cesarea*. They had greatly resent'd his departure from them, and had earnestly written to him to return. But instead of that, he sends them an Apologetical Epistle, wherein he excuses his retirement, and begs their forbearance for a time, (this course of life being not only agreeable to his humor, but highly useful to the Purposes both of Piety and Study) and cautions them to beware of the Insinuations of Impostors, lest, like the Shepherds of the *Philistines*, they privily stop'd up their Wells, and muddled the pure Catholick Doctrine profess'd amongst them. And because the Doctrine of the holy Trinity was then mainly struck at, he spends

Phil. XII.
p. 775.

Phil. N. ff.
LXXIX. p. 140.

Phil. N. ff.
IX. p. 774.

Τὸ ἀποκρίναι αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ
τῇ ἐκείνῃ γράσαντος, ὅτι καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
ἡ ἀποκρίσις αὐτοῦ. Ν. ff. in. p. 774. αὐτὸ
παράδειγμα ἐστὶν τῇ ἐκείνῃ διατάγματι
μακρῶς, οὗς αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀνίσταναι ἐκ
ἐκείνης, &c. id. in Phil. N. ff. XX.
p. 258.

Phil. Ep. I. p. 41.

Phil. CXLII
p. 103.

the far greatest part of that Apologetick in asserting the Deity of the Son of God, but especially in proving the Divinity of the holy Ghost. But the good man, though desirous of nothing more than an undisturb'd quiet Life, found that even the Solitudes of the Wilderness could not afford it. He had thived his Scene, but had not chang'd his State: he had fled from *Cæsarea* to avoid Noise and Contention, and he now met with Vexations and Inquietudes nearer hand. *Ambrosius* Bishop of *Neocaesarea* was lately dead, and the People was passionately desirous to have *Basil* for his Successor. But the *Sabellian* Faction in that City, knowing how much it import'd their Cause to exclude so zealous a Defender of the Catholick Faith, strongly oppos'd the Election, and that they might lessen his Reputation with the People, loaded him with what they could with odious Imputations. They charg'd him with Innovations in Matters of Religion, that he had set up Monachism, and had introduc'd a new way of singing *Psalms* into the Church, that he was a proud and ambitious man, and had importunately attempted to intrude himself into the *Neocaesarian* See; that he had deserted the Doctrine of their Ancestors, and especially departed from the Faith of the Great *S. Gregory*, the first Bishop and Founder of their Church, whose Doctrine they pretended to be the same with theirs. News hereof coming to him, he immediately prepares for his defence, not to promote his Interest, but to vindicate his Credit. To which end he writes first to the Presbytery, and then to the whole Clergy of that Church², wherein having modestly reprov'd them for their unkindness to him their credulous assent to the Slanders of those who by ill Arts laboured to undermine his Reputation; and having warn'd them of the corrupt *Doctrines*, and bad Designs of the *Sabellian* Teachers; he particularly answers the Crimes objected to him. That for his forming men into a monastick Life, wherein having renounc'd the World, and all its secular Cares and Interests, they might the more closely attend the Duties of Piety and Devotion, he was so far from looking upon it as his fault, that he thought it to be his Glory, and the great business of his Life. Though he was not the first Founder of it, the thing being practis'd in *Egypt*, *Palestine*, and elsewhere by Persons, in comparison of whom, he and his Brethren were but Children. Nor could he conceive how Persons could be better employ'd, than by fasting and abstinence, to crucifie the Flesh with its Affections and Lusts, to get above the care and solicitude about Cloaths and Diet, day and night to converse with Heaven by Prayers and Praises, and to labor diligently with their own hands, that they might have to give to them that wanted. For the new way of *Psalms* which he was charg'd to have brought in, it was no other than what was now practis'd in most parts of the Christian Church, the People rising before day, and going to Church, where having made their Confessions and Prayers to God, they proceeded to singing *Psalms*, in which holy Exercise the Quire being divided into two parts, mutually answered one another; the *Precentor* beginning, and the rest following after; that thus employ'd, they held on till Morning, when they joyntly sing a Psalm of Consolation unto God, and each one made Profession of his Repentance. And that if this was a fault, they must blame the Pious and good men in *Egypt* and *Libya*, and *Thebais*; in *Palestine*, *Arabia*, *Phoenicia*,

² Ep. LXIII.
C. 103

nica, *Syria*, and where not? That he should affect the Episcopal Throne, was, he tells them, a most false and groundless Insinuation, wherein they might satiate themselves from his carriage many years ago, when the primemen of their City were sent to him, to invite him to an honorable Office amongst them, and to which he wanted neither encouragement nor importunity, but had utterly refus'd it. And could they think he would now thrust himself upon them, who had heretofore so obstinately reject'd their Invitation? Lastly, as to his Doctrine, 'twas found and orthodox; and whereas the *Sabellian* Party sheltered themselves under the pretended Authority of *S. Gregory*, and made a great noise with a particular Expression in his Writings looking that way, he shews them that passage had not been considerably delivered by him as a point of Doctrine, but had fallen from him in the heat of Disputation, when warmly engag'd in discourse with *Asian* the *Gentile*, the desire of gaining whom, made him less accurate and critical about words, not nicely contesting about lesser things, that he might reach the main Conclusion. Which occasioned his using many other Phrases in that discourse, which however sincerely meant, were yet capable of being stretch'd by men of perverse minds to a bad Sense; that the passage it self rightly explain'd, was found and warrantable, and that for the main of the Cause, there was enough in that great man's Works, to clear the Matter beyond all Exception; and that *Sabellianism* had heretofore been silenc'd by the force of that Doctrine that he had preach'd amongst them. Concluding his whole Apology with a serious Admonition, to beware of these mens Insinuations, which however gilded over with fair pretences, did yet convey the most mortal Poison.

V. I. WE may not suppose this excellent Person merely cloister'd up in his private Cell, he had a more active and comprehensive Piety, making frequent Excursions² into the Province, preaching both in Cities and Villages, till by his warm and zealous Discourses, he had thaw'd the dull and frozen Temper of that People, and had kindled in them a brisk and generous sense of Religion, so that Societies were every where erected both of men and women, who gave up themselves to Prayers, *Psalms*, and the perpetual Intercourses of Devotion; Hospitals founded for the Poor, and endow'd with competent Provisions, so that the whole Country seem'd to put on a new face. He was employ'd in these and such-like Exercises, when a Synod being conven'd at *Lampsacus*, a City standing upon the *Hellspont*, near the mouth of the *Propontis*, *Eustathius*³ Bishop of *Schastia*, and some others going thither, came to *Eufus*, whither they sent for *Basil*, (for that they invited him to go with them to the Synod. I see no necessity with *Baronius*⁴ to affirm) where they discours'd him upon several Arguments, and took his judgment in Writing, as a Person accurately vers'd in the Controversies of that time. The Synod was chiefly (if not intirely) manag'd by the *Semarian*, and by the *Macedonian* Party (however *Sozomen* by mistake says, they were Catholicks) who condemn'd the Confession of the *Arrian* Synod of *Ariminum*, ratified by *Eudoxius* and his Party in the Convention at *Constantinople*, a little before the death of *Constantine*, and established that agreed upon in the Council of *Antioch* (wherein the *Constantianity*

² *Res. l. 2. c. 9.*
p. 248.

³ *ms. Epist.*
LXXIII. p. 141.

⁴ *ad Ann. 365.*
p. 174.

Socr. l. 4. c. 4.
p. 213. c. 12.
p. 219. *Socr. l. 6.*
c. 7. p. 646. c. 9.
p. 650. &c.

EXI. p. 59. 3.
ib. p. 223.

tiality of the Son, was neither affirm'd nor denied) and which had been lately ratified in the Synod at *Silencia*. After two months Session they brake up, and gave the Emperor an account of their Synodical Transactions, and ordered a Legation to the Bishops of the *West*, which was committed to *Eusebius* of *Sebaste*, *Sideranus* of *Tarfas*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabla*, who as soon as the Wars then on foot would give leave, put themselves upon their Journey. Coming to *Rome* they gave out themselves for perfect Catholics, and zealous Defenders of the *Nicene* Faith, and by that means procured Letters of Peace from Pope *Libertus*, protesting in the Libel^b they delivered to him, that they did heartily embrace and maintain the Catholick Faith, agreed upon in the holy Synod of *Nice*, with the *to episcopo*, or word *Consubstantial*, piously added to it in Opposition to the perverse Doctrine of *Arius*; that they did, ever had, and ever would hold this Faith; that as for *Arius*, and his impious Opinions, they condemn'd both him and them, with all his Adherents and Followers, and whatever Sects were contrary to the holy Catholick Faith of *Nice*, more particularly the Confession that had been assented to in the Council of *Ariminum*. To this they annex'd a Copy of the *Nicene* Creed, which they subscrib'd both in their own name, and in the name of the Persons by whom they were sent, professing they did it freely, and of their own accord. From *Rome* they went for *Sicily*, where a Synod being assembled, by the same Arts of Dissimulation they gain'd their consent and communicatory Letters. Hence in their return they pass'd through *Illyricum*, where in a Convention of Bishops assembled on purpose, they procur'd also their Letters, testifying their Agreement and Consent with them in the Faith. Thus loaded with Letters and Synodical Determinations, they came back into the *East*, and at *Tyana* a City in *Cappadocia*, situate at the foot of Mount *Taurus*, found the Bishops of that Country (amongst whom were *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and *Gregory* the aged Bishop of *Nazianzen*) and met in Synod, to whom they delivered their Testimonial Letters, and profess'd their embracing the *Nicene* Faith. Which was receiv'd and publish'd with universal applause and Approbation, and *Eusebius* thereupon restor'd to his See.

EX. XVIII.
p. 104.

VII. TO this Synod it was (as *Baronius* will have it) that *Basil* wrote, acquainting them with his peaceable Desires and Inclinations, and that thereupon they mediated a Peace between him and *Eusebius*, a chief Member, and in all likelyhood (it being in his Province) President of the Synod. The Epistle is still extant^c with this Inscription, ΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΥΑΝΩΝ, to the Senate or Council of *Tyana*, whereon, if he does indeed in general Terms express a passionate desire of Peace; but that this should be written to the Synod assembled there, and that upon this particular occasion, neither the Title, nor body of the Epistle do necessarily inforce us to believe. But however this be, 'tis certain that about this time great endeavors were us'd to heal the breach, and to recover this good man back into his Country. The People of *Cæsarea* were infinitely desirous of his return, and the necessities of the Church did loudly call for it. For the *Arian* Faction encourag'd by the favor of the Emperor *Valens*, carried all before them, and taking the advantage of his absence, had been very busie in their attempts upon *Cæsarea*. *Eusebius* the Bishop was a good man, but having been

immediately

immediately advanc'd from the civil Tribunal to the Episcopal Throne, was but little vers'd in Theological Studies, especially the nice Controversies of that Age. The *Arians* were not to be told what use to make of this, it being that which mainly gave encouragement to the bold and brisk endeavors of that subtle Sect, which had not so successfully spread its plumes, had *Basil* been at home to encounter them, whom all knew to be a no less resolute, than dextrous Champion of the Catholick Cause. This made his return unfortunately desir'd on all hands; though the main Spring of the Motion was his dear Companion *Nazianzen*, who had some time since been forc'd to quit the Pontick Solitudes, to relieve the Infirmities of his aged Father. He dealt effectually with *Eusebius*^d about this Matter, whom he treated with that plain and downright freedom, that the man was angry, and resented it as an Affront, for which the other Apologizes with a submiss, but yet becoming Liberty, abating nothing of his earnest Intercession. He thank'd him for the Respect and Honor he was pleas'd to put upon himself, but withall told him, he could not well bear the Injury he had done his dear Friend *Basil*, the intimate Partner of his Life and Studies, whom he lov'd and regarded above all other men; that therefore to honor him, and dis-respect his Friend, was to stroke a man's head with one hand, and strike him with the other; or to trim, and beautifie the Walls of the House, while a man is digging up the Foundations; that it was his request, which he earnestly besought him to comply with, to afford *Basil* a better place in his esteem and favor, engaging for him on his behalf, as a most reasonable return, a Correspondent Reverence, and Regard. The Meditation it seems took effect, *Eusebius* remitting his stiffness and obstinacy, and shewing himself forward to an amicable Reconciliation; which he assur'd him, he would by Letter intimate to *Basil*, and peaceably invite him to return. An account whereof *Nazianzen*^e immediately transmitt'd to *Basil*, and withall advis'd him to prevent the Bishops kindness, either by his presence or Letter, or rather to write first, and then follow himself, that so he might seem rather to conquer than be overcome: That the State of the Church at that time did no less bespeak him to hasten his return; Heresie was broken in upon them, Confusion had over-run every place, and the Storm, 'twas fear'd, likely to grow worse, and Truth in danger to be rooted up, unless some such able Champion were forthwith sent in to their relief and succor; that if he desir'd it, he himself was ready to come to him to settle his Affairs, and conduct him home. Accordingly he went^f, and found it no hard matter to persuade him to return, the miserable Condition of the Church having made a very deep Impression upon his mind; he saw 'twas now high time to lay aside private Grudges, and to look to the common Tranquility and Safety.

Naq. Ep. XX.
p. 783. 2 id. Ep.
CLXIX. 3.
CLXX.

11. Ep. XIX.
p. 782.

11d. Naq. Or.
XX. p. 338.
339. & Nazian.
L. 11. c. 18.
p. 134.

S E C T. III.

His Acts from his return, till his being made Bishop of Cæsarea.

His activity after his returning, in reforming Abuses, and diligent assisting the Bishop in the Government of the Church. His incomparable Charity in a time of publick Famine. His care of mens Souls as well as Bodies. His Constancy against the Attempts of the Arian Governor. The death of Eusebius. Basil's flight to avoid the Bishoprick. His Election to it, promoted by the effectual Instance and Recommendations of Nazianzen, and his aged Father. The time of his Ordination to that See. His advancement congratulated by Nazianzen.

I. **T**HE first thing he did after his return, was to set himself to redress the evil State of things at *Cæsarea*; where differences had arisen, he endeavoured to compose them; where breaches had been made, he repair'd them; his dayly Study and Preparation was, how to attack the Enemy, whom he so successfully assaulted at every turn, that he soon drove them quite out of the Field: Assisted in these Conflicts by his old Companion, who was to him as *Barnabas* to *Paul* (as he modestly speaks of himself) a Co-adjutor in this great Work, wherein he thought it honor enough to be a second to so great a Champion. And that the World might see that he was perfectly reconcil'd, and retain'd no resentment upon account of the harsh usage he had met with, he carried himself towards his Bishop with a most profound observance, whose late unkindnesses he extenuated, and represented them only as a Device and Artifice of the Devil, who envied the happiness of their Concord; notwithstanding which, he shewed how well he understood, how readily he could comply with the Laws and Canons of the Church. He was at hand in all Instances of Canonical Obedience, he was to the Bishop an Impartial Monitor, a faithful Counsellor, a diligent Co-adjutor, (especially in Preaching) a dextrous manager of business; he was, in short, the staff of his Age, the support of his Faith, the guide of his Family, and the Agent of his Affairs abroad; so that though he was below'd in his hands, yet the Reins of Ecclesiastical Government were lodg'd in his hands. *Eusebius* govern'd the People, and *Basil Eusebius*, who was content to shine by that lustre, which the others wife and prudent Administration of Affairs did reflect upon him. Where the Cause of the Church, or of common Equity was concern'd, he scrupled not, freely to address himself to the chiefest Magistrates in the City, took up Differences amongst neighbors with so much impartiality, that his Decisions took effect, as if they had been ratified by Law. He was a common Advocate for the Poor, whose Right he defended, and whose Wants he relieved both of Soul and Body; by his means Provision was made for their Maintenance, Hospitals erected for the entertainment of Strangers, Directions given for the Education of devout pious Virgins; sometimes he was taken up in forming Rules for those who engag'd in a Monastick Life, and these delivered both

both by word and writing; otherwhiles in composing Forms of publick Prayer, and in reducing the several parts and places of Divine Worship, into decency and order.

II. HE was thus employ'd, when an opportunity of expressing the most generous Piety and Charity presented it self. Several Calamities had of late afflicted the *Eastern* Parts, *Ann.* CCCLXVII. fell great Storms ^a of Hail, of that unusual bigness, that they were like Stones; which beside other mischief, destroy'd the Lives of many. A Judgment some thought, sent by Heaven, for the Emperor's banishing so many pious Bishops, who had refus'd to communicate with *Eudoxius* and his Crew. The next year happened vast Inundations, and terrible Earth-quakes, and these follow'd by a dreadful Famine, which as it spread in other parts, so rag'd principally in *Cappadocia*. At *Cæsarea* ^b was the greatest Dearth that had been known in the Memory of man, and being an inland City, was not capable of those foreign Supplies, which *Murinum* Towns are furnish'd with. It added to the publick Calamity, that what Stores there were, the Corn-Merchants kept up, and in despite of the severest Threatnings of God, and the common Principles of Humanity, would not part with, but at excessive Rates. In this evil Case *Basil* bestirred himself, he plied the Rich with unwearied Arguments and Perswasives, till he had first opened their Hearts, and then their Pursets; and having made himself Master of their Treasures, he freely dealt his Bread to the Hungry: The Poor, and those who were even starv'd to death, Persons of all Ranks, Ages, and Sexes, he gathered into one place, distributing Victuals to them according to their several Necessities, which he, and others by his Example, prepar'd and administ'ed with his own hand, not disclaiming the meanest Office, whereby he might become useful to them. Nor was he wanting in Instances of the most real and perfect Charity, and to which he was conducted by the more immediate Obligations of his Office. For at the same time that he provided for the Bodies of the Poor, he took care especially to feed their Souls, which he nourished with the Bread of Angels, those divine and heavenly Councils, which he liberally pour'd out upon them. The Ignorant he instructed in their Duty, the sloathful he quickened to a life of Piety and Austerity, and his Discourses made the deeper Impression, by being mix'd home with so charitable a hand. About the same time he was call'd off to a more difficult Service, to give trial of his Constancy to the Truth. For *Valens* ^c the Emperor, puffed up with his late success against the *Goths*, resolv'd now by force to carry on the *Arian* Cause. In order whereunto he made an Expedition into *Propontis*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, and the neighbor-Provinces, making havock of the Churches wherever he came, and was now come into *Cappadocia*. *Masthus* the Prefect came to *Cæsarea* before him, where the first thing he did, was to set upon *Basil*, whom by all wayes he sought to bring over to the Party. He promis'd him upon his Compliance, the Emperor's favor, and that he should be promoted to the Episcopal See (by which 'tis plain this was done, while he was yet Presbyter of that Church) but if he continued obstinate, he must expect the utmost Effects that a powerful displeasure could bring upon him. Against all which, the good man stood immovable, so that perceiving no good could be done upon him, the

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Emperor

^a *Sacr. L. A. II. p. 218. Hicron. in Chr. An. 268. Idat. F. Conf. p. 58. vid. Marc. in plig. grand. Orat. XV.*

^b *Naz. Or. XX. p. 349.*

^c *Gr. Niff. L. I. c. 1. routh. Eunom. p. 48. 49. 164. Sup. 16. c. 16. p. 657.*

Emperor for that time departed, reserving him to a sharper Trial afterwards.

III. EUSEBIUS had now sat Bishop somewhat more than eight years when he was translated to a better Life, expiring^k his last breath in Basil's Arms, who stood by him and assisted him in his last hours. The See thus vacant, Basil was well aware that attempts would be made to place him in the Archiepiscopal Chair. To prevent which, he withdrew himself, probably under pretence of Indisposition. But because he foresaw what advantage the *Arian* Party would make, both of the Vacancy and his absence, and that the Clergy of that Church had written to him, not to desert them in so dangerous a time, he dispatch'd away Eusebius the Deacon with a Letter to Nazianzen, intreating him to concern himself in this Matter, and to lend his best assistance in the speedy Election of a fit Pastor for that Church; that he had already an excellent Person in his Eye, whom if they could obtain, he made no doubt but 'twould prove an acceptable and happy Choice. At the first News of his being Sick (for he had sent him word^m, that he passionately desir'd to see and speak with him, and that he must make haste, if ever he intended to see him alive) Nazianzen was extremely afflicted, and prepar'd immediately to go to him. But when he understood that all this was little more than a device to draw him to *Cæsarea*, and that indeed the business was the Choice of a new Bishop, he stop'd his Journey, and turn'd back. However he laid not aside the Care of that place, but employ'd all his thoughtsⁿ, and improv'd all his Interest to fix and settle that Affair; and because he knew there was none siter than Basil, he recommended him both by publick and private Letters, wherein he had the concurrent Advice and Suffrage of his Father, a man of great Esteem and Reverence in those Parts, in whose name he wrote^o to the People of *Cæsarea*, wherein he lets them know, that although he was Bishop of but an inconsiderable See, yet his Age and Interest in the common Peace and Welfare of the Church, made him equally concern'd with any; that the fixing a Bishop in any Church, was a Matter of great weight, much more at *Cæsarea*, a place renowned for its Dignity, Antiquity, Orthodoxy, and Unity, in all which Respects the Eyes of the Christian World were from all Parts drawn upon it, like lines directed from the Circumference to the Center; that for his own part, though they had invited him to the Consultation, yet he fear'd his Age and Infirmities would not permit him to be there; and if not, yet he thought himself obliged to supply by Letters the want of his Company. He doubted not but they would have plenty of excellent and worthy Persons Candidates for the place, but that he knew none of the whole number comparable to Basil the Presbyter, a man of an exact Life, and admirable Learning and Eloquence, and in both respects the almost only Person capable to encounter the subtle and disputing Hereticks of that time. Which he intimated to all both of the Clerical, and Monastical Order, and to all the Magistrates and Senators of the City, yea, to the whole Body of the People; that if they agreed in this Proposal, he was ready to give his Suffrage, which he was assur'd was right and well grounded, and would account himself Spiritually present at the Election, and would be the first that should lay hold upon the Person; but if otherwise they proceeded

^k Naz. ubi sup. p. 342.

^l Ep. IV. p. 47.

^m Naz. Ep. XXI. p. 784.

ⁿ Greg. vit. Naz. p. 14.

^o Peter Naz. Ep. XXII. p. 785.

ceeded in this Matter (as heretofore they had done) by Cabals and Parties, by popular and tumultuary Elections, they might do what they pleas'd, he would reserve his Suffrage to himself. After this he wrote^p to the same effect to the Bishops that were met there about this Matter, whom he gently chides for sending him only a loose and general Invitation, without any Intimation either of the time when, or the business they were to consult about, as if they design'd on purpose to prevent his being there, lest he should oppose their Designs; that for the thing it self, he knew there would be several Persons propos'd, according as their different Interest, Resolutions, or Inclinations lead them, but that he could not recommend any one like Basil, either for the exemplariness of his Life, or the charms of his Eloquence, or his incomparable attainments in all parts of Virtue. If his weakness and infirmity of body were pleaded as a Bar to hinder him, they should remember they were to choose a Bishop, not an *Athleta* or Champion (where a strong and robust Constitution was necessary) and that God was able enough to strengthen the infirm and weak. In this choice he would readily joyn with them, but if they proceeded with by-ends, and manag'd the Affair with Parties and Factions, 'twas their own doing, and he should rejoyce to have no hand in it.

IV. NOR was the good old man content only to make the Proposal, and thus freely and affectionately to declare his mind, but knowing of what importance his presence would be, he resolv'd to go^q; he was of a great Age, and struggled with many insupportable Infirmities and Distempers, but summoning together the whole strength of Nature for so good a Work, he set forwards, being put into the Chariot, more like a Corps laid upon a Bier (as his own Son expresses it) than a man fit to undertake a Journey; though God was pleas'd so far to reward his honest and industrious Zeal, that his Journey was so far from impairing the little remainders of his Health, that he returned much more strong and vigorous than before. When he came to *Cæsarea*, he found what he had all along foreseen, the Election driven on with Heats and Animosities, and especially a great Party made against Basil, the whole *Arian* Tribe with all their petty Branches and Sub divisions strongly opposing his Election, the Opposition being chiefly managed by the Governors and great men of the Court-Party, who had drawn no small number of the refuse part of the City to their side. But truth and honesty got the upper-hand, and the Choice fell upon Basil, whom the Prelates solemnly consecrated to that See, which was done either *Ann.* CCCLXX. or the year following; though *Baronius* places it *Ann.* CCCLXIX. and *Dorotheus*^r of *Mosambasta* *Ann.* CCCLXXII. or the IXth. year of *Valentinian*. No sooner was the hurry over, but his Friend *Nazianzen* sent him a Congratulatory Letter^s, wherein he acquaints him how heartily he rejoyc'd with him for his eminent advancement in the Church, especially at a time when it stood so much in need of such a wise prudent Conduct; that he must not presently expect his coming over to him, lest it should diminish his Reputation, and argue him guilty of Rashness and Vanity, in a too hasty gathering his Friends and Followers about him, that he would come as soon as the Shadows of the Envious and the Malicious were vanish'd, which he reckon'd

^p Ibid. Epist. XXIII.

^q Naz. Or. XX. p. 343.

^r Synopf. Hist. p. 656.

^s Nazian. Ep. XXIV. p. 787.

would be no more able to bear up long, than the Blind and the Lame at *Jerusalem*, were to keep *David* out of the City. But the Opposition did not sink presently, the great men, vex'd that they could not carry the day, gave him all the trouble they could in this new Scene of Affairs, nor wanted there those about him, that fought to make their ends of him to their own advantage. This troubled the good man, whereupon *Nazianzen* backs his former with a second Letter, to encourage him to go on in despite of Envy and Opposition, and that he did not fear that any thing would befall him, but what would become a Philosopher to bear; that now was the time to shew himself, and to make known that Philosophy which he had been studying all his life; how easily he could conquer the Affronts and Injuries of men, and how firmly he could maintain his ground like a Rock in the middle of the Sea: That if 'twere necessary, he would come over to him, and assist him with his Counsel, if at least he wanted it, (as what need has the Ocean of Water?) But however to benefit himself in Learning, Patience, and how to bear Contumelies and Reproaches with him. Accordingly some time after he came, whom *Basil* received with all the endearments of an intimate Friend, profer'd him the first place in the Presbytery, or the honor of an Episcopal Chair, which the other modestly declin'd, and that with mutual Content and Satisfaction.

^c *Id. Ep. seq.*

^e *Naz. Or. XX. p. 344.*

S E C T. IV.

His Acts from his being made Bishop, till the end of his Contest with Valens and the Governor at Cæsarea.

Valens his arrival at Cæsarea. Basil summon'd before the Arian Prefect. The Dialogue that pass'd between them, discovering his inflexible adherence to the Catholick Religion. His great Vertue reported to the Emperor, who admires the Piety of their publick Devotion. His discourse with him. His sharp rebuke of Demosthenes the Emperor's Cook. The Arians earnest for his Banishment. Valens unable to sign the Warrant. Embracing the Catholick Faith propounded by him, as the best expedient for the young Princes recovery; but rejected by the Emperor: The Child dies. Basil honour'd by his Enemies. His Intercession for the Catholicks at Nice, justified by a Miracle. The Sufferings of Eusebius Samolarenus in defence of the Nicene Cause. His prohibiting the People to resist Authority. His unfortunate death by the Arians. Basil's Troubles at Cæsarea, for his protecting a Widow that fled for Sanctuary to the Altar. His undaunted Courage in that Affair.

I. **H**E was as yet scarce warm in his Chair, when the Storm that had but lately blown over, return'd with more fierceness and violence than before. *Valens* the Emperor, in pursuance of his great Design, to subdue the *East* to the Doctrine of *Arius*, came

came a second time to *Cæsarea*, attended as before with *Modestus* the *Prætorian* Prefect. Vex'd they were, that he had so openly baffled their first attempt, and that since that he had been chosen Bishop in despite of all the Intrigues they had laid, and the Interest they could make against him. At their first arrival, he is sent for before the Prefect, and went more like one that was going to a Feast, than a Prisoner to the Bar; the Discourse between them, pass'd in this manner. *MODESTUS*. What's the matter *Basil*, (for he vouchsafed not to honor him with his Episcopal Title) that you presume to oppose so great an Emperor, and that you alone carry your self with so much obstinacy above all the rest? *BASIL*. What do you mean, Sir, what Arrogance do you speak of? For as yet I do not understand you. *MOD*. I mean your refusing to comply with the Emperor's Religion, when all others have struck sail, and given up the day. *BAS*. But that's inconsistent with the Will and Command of my Sovereign Emperor; nor can I be ever brought to worship a Creature, when I my self am God's Creature; or one that is a made God, when I my self am commanded to become a partaker of the divine Nature. *MOD*. And what then do you make of us? *BAS*. Nothing at all, as long as you command such things as these. *MOD*. But tell me, don't you think it a great Honor to come over to us, and to have us on your side? *BAS*. I grant you to be Governors, and very illustrious Persons, yet you are not greater and more honourable than God; 'tis no small honour to have you on our side, but yet in the same capacity with others, who are subjected to our Care and Charge. For Christianity is to be measur'd, not by dignity of Persons, but soundness of the Faith. The Prefect was nerled at this, and Passion growing upon him, he started up out of his Chair, and proceeded in a sharper strain. *MOD*. What then, are you not afraid of the Power we are arm'd with? *BAS*. What can happen? What can I suffer? *MOD*. Any one of those many things that are within my Power. *BAS*. What are they, let us know? Confiscation of Goods, Banishment, Tortures, or Death? Or if there be any thing worse than these, threaten that; for of these, there's none can reach us. *MOD*. How so? *BAS*. He is not obnoxious to Confiscation, who has nothing to lose: Unless you want these old tattered Cloaths, and a few Books, wherein consists my whole Estate. Banishment I regard not, who am tied to no place; I account not this Country, where I now dwell, my own; and I can think any mine, where I shall be cast: Or to speak more properly, the whole Earth is God's, whose Pilgrim and Sojourner I am. As for Tortures, what can they do, where there's not a Body to bear them? Set aside the first blow, and there's nothing else within your Power. And then for death, I shall esteem it a kindness and benefit; 'twill but sooner send me to God, for whose sake I live and act, and to whom I am in a great measure dead, having of a long time been hastening thither. *MOD*. I have never yet met with a man so much unconcern'd, and that has talk'd at this rate of Freedom and Liberty. *BAS*. Perhaps you never yet met with a true Bishop, otherwise in like Circumstances he would have treated you in the same way that I have done. For, Sir, in other things we are peculiarly submissive and humble, according to the Law of our Religion, far from proudly exalting our selves, I say, not

^c *Id. lib. p. 346. Ec. 349. 22.*

*ὡς κτήμα τὸ
προσκειμένον
ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ, θεὸς
τὸ κτήμα τοῦ
θεοῦ, ὃς θεὸς
ἵν' ἡμεῖς
ᾤκησιν. Ποστρί-
μα ἡμεῖς πάντα
durius sustine-
re solamur ὡς
ταύρα.*

against supream Authority, but any of the meanest and most Plebeian Rank. But when the Cause of God, and Religion is at stake, we overlook all things else, and fix our eyes only upon him. In such Cafes, Fire and Sword, wild Beasts, and Instruments to rake off the Flesh by piece-meal, are a Pleasure rather than a Torment to us. You may therefore reproach and threaten us, do your pleasure, and use your Power; let the Emperor know you cannot conquer us, for you shall never prevail with us to confederate with that impious Sect; no, though you should threaten worse things than you have done yet. And as for the Advantage * you propound to me, and the favor of the Emperor, offer these things to Boyes and Children, who are wont to be caught with such gaudy Baits; the Professors of true Religion will not betray one Syllable of divine Truth, in defence whereof they are ready in any way to sacrifice and lay down their Lives. I highly value the Emperor's friendship, when I can have it with Piety, and the favor of Heaven, but without that, I look upon it as pernicious and deadly. *Modestus* told him, surely he was mad. I with (replied the other) I may be always thus mad. Then he was commanded to be gone, and to advise with himself what he would do, and return his answer to morrow, threatnings being added. unless he complied. The good man answered short, I will come again to morrow, but the very same that I am to day; and for your part, alter not your Resolution, but execute what you have threat'ned.

II. THE Prefect now plainly saw, that the man's Resolution was impregnable, and though he appear'd outwardly angry, could not at the same time but entertain a secret Reverence and Veneration for him. Whereupon having dismiss'd him, he went immediately to the Emperor, and told him, Sir, we are conquered by this one Bishop, whom no Threat'nings can shake, no Arguments move, no Promises allure. Some timorous or mean Fellow may be wrought upon, but for this man, he must either be set upon by direct open force, or there can be no Expectations of his yielding. *Valens* had so much Generosity, as to admire Virtue in an Enemy; and though he was asham'd to desert his Party, yet he commanded all rigorous Proceedings against him, to be staid, and sought a fair occasion to insinuate himself into his good Opinion, which he attempted in this manner. It was now the time of the *Christus* Solemnities, (the *αὐτὴν Ἐμπόριον*, as *Nazianzen*, or *Ἐσχατὴν*, as *Nicophorus*) and the Congregation was infinitely throng'd, when the Emperor attended with the great Retinue, entred into the Church, where beholding the frequency of the Assembly, the Order and Decorum of the Service, the Majesty and Gravity of the Bishop, the Reverence and Devotion of the People, and taking notice of the Fervency of their Prayers, and the loud Harmony and Sprightliness of their singing Psalmody, he was struck with horror, as with a clap of Thunder, and his Sight and Senses began to fail him. And when the time of Oblation was come, that according to custom he was to make his Offering (which, say some *, were Vessels of Silver) at the holy Table, and perceiv'd that no body took it up, as not knowing whether *Basil* would receive it, he began to tremble, and his Legs to faulter, and he had undoubtedly fallen to the ground, if one of the Clergy that stood next him, had not caught hold of him and kept him up. After this, he

again

again came into the Church, and being admitted within the Vail, into the *Diaconicon* or Vestry, the good Bishop discours'd to him at large concerning the Faith, which the Emperor heard with great Attention, and which *Nazianzen* who then stood by, professes he look'd upon as things immediately spoke from Heaven, and that he could not sufficiently admire the Wisdom and divine Philosophy of those Discourses. At this intercourse amongst others of the Emperor's Train, was present one *Demosthenes* (whom the two *Gregories*, *Nazianzen* and *Nysian*, elegantly call *Nebuzaradan*) Steward and chief Cook of the Imperial Palace, who took upon him to interrupt *Basil*, and contradict him in rude barbarous Language. Whereat smiling, he told the Company, *we have now seen an ignorant and illiterate Demosthenes*. The man thought himself affronted with the answer, and broke out into Menaces and ill words, to whom the other replied, your business is to dress Meats, and prepare Sauces, but you cannot relish divine Truths, your ears being stop'd up with the noisom Fumes and Vapors of the Kitchen. The Emperor however was not unpleas'd with the Converse he had had, the edge of his fury being for the present abated, and he had a better opinion of *Basil* and his Party than before.

III. THE *Arian* Prelates that were about the Court, perceived the Emperor began to stagger, and therefore plied him with warm and importunate Councils, never giving over, till they had perswaded him to banish *Basil*. And so sure had they made themselves of it, that the very night was appointed, and at hand for his Transportation; the Chariot in readiness, his Friends prepared to accompany him, his Enemies every where triumphing, nothing was wanting but the Emperor's hand to the Warrant, which being brought to him to sign, he was not able to write one Syllable, the Pen breaking under his hand; he tried a second and then a third, and still had the same success, whereat he was amaz'd, his hand shook, and a Consternation seiz'd upon his mind, and catching up the Paper, tore the Warrant in pieces. The accident we may well suppose, soon fill'd every corner with discourse, and indeed was a great Instance of Heavens immediate appearing in the good man's Cause, which wanted not at the same time, other Testimonies from Heaven for its Vindication. *Galates* * the Emperor's Son was seiz'd with a malignant Feavor, which rag'd beyond all hopes of Life. *Valens* was infinitely afflict'd with the young Princes sickness, and in token of the deepest Grief and Passion, threw himself upon the ground. Physicians of the greatest Note are sent for, whom the Emperor intreated to improve the utmost of their skill for his Son's recovery. But all in vain, the Distemper was not to be remov'd by Arts of Physick. The Empress *Dominica* was not only equally concern'd with her Husband, but had been troubled with frightful Dreams, whereby she said she had been made to understand, that this Calamity had befallen them for the injury that had been done the holy Bishop. Hereupon 'twas concluded, that *Basil* should be sent for, and desir'd to improve his interest with Heaven for the Princes health. But because the Emperor was conscious to himself, how much he had affronted him by the late Order for his Banishment, he would not directly send for him in his own name, but committed it to some great men to manage.

Upon

* *Theod. l. 4. c. 19. p. 173.*

* *Sicet. Comm. in Nazianzen.*

* *Naz. p. 342. Theod. ib. Sicet. l. 4. c. 26. p. 243. Sicet. l. 6. c. 16. p. 58.*

in by Law, were Sacred, and the Honor of the holy Table not to be violated, nor could he deliver her in this Case, without betraying the Faith. The Governor storm'd at the denial, and taking no notice where she was, sent Officers to search his House, and especially his Bed-chamber, insinuating thereby a publick Suspicion that the Holy man had taken her home, and kept her for his own Bed. Nor content with this, he commanded *Basil*, as a Criminal, to be brought before him, and sitting down upon the Bench, and being swell'd with Choler and Passion, treated him with more than ordinary rudeness and inhumanity. He commanded his Cloak to be torn off his shoulders; hold, said *Basil*, Ple not only put off that, but if you please, my Coat also. He told him he would cause his lean spare Carcass to be scourg'd, to which the other readily yielded; that he would tear him piece-meal with Iron Pincers; do Sir, replied *Basil*, by these violent Lancings you'l cure an ill-affected Liver, with which you see I am sorely troubled. The noise hereof soon spread it self over the City, with which the People being alarm'd, the whole City was presently in an uproar, Persons of all Ages, Trades and Sexes, (for the very Women put on a masculine Zeal and Resolution) betaking themselves to Arms, and catching up what came next to hand, Swords, or Spears, or Stones, or Clubs, or Fire-brands, or whatever might be an Instrument of Rage and Cruelty: They all press'd forward like a mighty Inundation, which no Banks could stop, and happy was he thought, that could get the honor to give the first blow, nothing less being resolv'd on, than the tearing him all in pieces. The Governor was sufficiently startled at the News of the danger that he was in, he knew what it was to encounter with armed fury, to which he had given but too much Provocation. And now the Scene was altered, and he who lately had so storm'd and Hector'd, quak'd and trembled, and his Spirit sunk within him. He crouch'd, and intreated, and bewail'd his miserable and calamitous Case, which had been all in vain, had not *Basil* himself gone out, and both by his presence and discourse charm'd and appeas'd the Multitude, thereby at once delivering himself, his Client, and his Judge. As for the Lady (whose unhappy Circumstances had given occasion to this whole passage) she was (if the same mention'd by my Author^c) recommended to the care of *Marina* S. *Basil's* Sister, who superintended a Female Colledge of devout Women, amongst whom she pass'd her time in all the strict Exercises of a pious and vertuous Life.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

His Acts from the end of the foregoing Contests, till the Contest between him and Eustathius Bishop of Sebastea.

His Visitation and Reformation of his Diocess. His great care in correcting the Abuses crept into Ordinations. His consolatory Letters to the People of Antioch. The miserable Distractions in that Church. Their Letter to the Bishops of the West. Basil's complaint of the Pride and unconcernedness of the Western Prelates. The issue of the long Schism at Antioch. The modesty and humility of Meletius. The Emperor's Commission to Basil, to visit the Armenian Churches.

I. *BASIL* had now got a little respite from the Troubles that had of late surrounded him, and he thought no care more immediately necessary, than to take an account of the State of his Diocess, and reform those Abuses that had crept in by the remissness of his Predecessors. The *Chorepiscopi*^d took upon them to ordain the inferior Church-officers, without the leave or knowledge of the Bishop, and trusting wholly to the Presbyters and Deacons in this matter, admitted them without any just Examination of the fitness and Qualification of the Person, by which means the Church was fill'd with unworthy men, and every Village was crowded with Officers, who were a Scandal to the Service of the Altar: Interest or Relation, Friendship or Neighborhood were the best Qualifications that most had to recommend them, and many it seems press'd the harder to get in, that they might be freed from a necessity of bearing Arms, especially in those parts, where Souldiers were more than ordinarily press'd to the Service of the Wars. And what's beyond this, 'twas commonly reported^e, that the Bishops of his Province were guilty of Simony, that they sold Ordinations, and set a price upon the Gift of the holy Ghost. "As for the first of these, he charges them to revive the strictness of the ancient Discipline, when the Custom was, that the Persons to be admitted, were to be severely tried, and a most exact scrutiny to be made into their past Life, what had been the course of their Education, what the sobriety of their Youth; whether they were not guilty of Drunkenness, Quarrelling, &c. The Care of this was committed to the Presbyters and Deacons, who reported the Matter to the *Chorepiscopi*, and they upon the Testimonial given, first gave an account of it to the Bishop, and then receiv'd them into the Ministry of the Church. For the recovery therefore of things to this excellent Standard, he commanded them to re-inforce the ancient Canons, and in the mean time to send him a Note of the Names of the Ministers in every Parish, with an account by whom they had been brought in, and what was the course and manner of their Life; a Copy whereof they should keep for themselves; that they should call them again under Examination,

^d *Basil. Ep. CLXXXI. ad Chorepp. p. 193.*

^e *Ep. LXXVI. p. 132.*

^c *Nyff. de vit. S. Macrin. p. 197.*

"on, and if found fit, continue them, if otherwise, expell them, and return them back to a Lay-Station; and for the future, use their utmost care and diligence in the trial of such Persons, but not take them in, till they had sent him an account of them. As for the other, that of mercenary Ordinations (which he tells them, he could not at first believe) he layes before them the greatness of the Crime, in some of its more horrid Aggravations, that 'twas double iniquity to cover wickedness under a pretence of Piety, 'twas to sell the holy Ghost, to barter heavenly for earthly things, and to make a gain of the Church, which had the Body and Blood of Christ committed to it; 'twas to be a Slave to that which is Idolatry, and the Root of all Evil; to prefer a little Money before Christ, and Judas-like, to betray him again for a few Pence, who had been once crucified for the World; and that the Lands and Possessions got by such means, might too truly be styl'd an *Arcidams*, a Field of Blood; that they were herein more inexcusable than the Father of *Simonists*, having actually done, what he only attempted, who yet had that sad doom denounc'd against him, *Thy Money perish with thee*; that 'twas to no purpose for them to flatter themselves, that they had taken no Money before, but only after the imposition of hands, that this was but a Trick to delude the World, and cheat their Consciences, seeing 'twas upon that account they receiv'd it, when ever they had it. That if these things were true, 'twas high time they were amended, and that they should quit this Trade, which was the very Path-way to Hell, and not dare to pollute those hands with such ungodly Gains, wherewith they were to handle the holy Mysteries: That if after this Admonition any of them should presume to offend in this kind, he should be immediately banish'd all Communion at the sacred Altar, and be forc'd to seek some other place, where he might freely sell what he had unlawfully bought, the Gift of God; For that, says he, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.

II. NOR was his care confin'd only to his own Province, he had a publick Soul, that engag'd him, not only to wish well in general, but to lend his particular assistance towards the Peace and Welfare of Foreign Churches. The People of *Antioch* had been miserably harass'd by the *Arian* Party at the Emperor's late being there; to take off the edge of whose sorrow, he writes them a Letter full of a generous Sympathy and Compassion; "withall putting them in mind that God could put a Period to their present Persecutions; in prospect whereof, they might the better be content to bear them; if they look'd upon them as a chastisement for their sins, they might prevent a greater deluge of wrath; if continued, God who suffered them to be laid on, would give proportionable strength to endure them, and at last crown their Faith and Patience; in order whereunto, 'twas not enough to give an instance or two of courage and fortitude, God thinking fit many times, to make us exemplary to the World by frequent Trials and repeated Victories. And at long-est, the whole space of man's Life was short, if compar'd with the Duration of that happiness, that we expected in the future State: That no Sufferings should shake their Constancy in the Faith, the Faith deriv'd from the Ancients, ratified by the Fathers at *Nice*, whole

"whose Creed he there sets down, as the Standard of sound orthodox Faith. But alas, the Church of *Antioch* labour'd under greater Pressures than any that could arise from without, being well nigh ruin'd by unhappy and almost incurable Confusions within it self. For besides the *Arians* and *Apollinarians*, who had their several Bishops, and held distinct and separate Assemblies in that City, the Catholick Party was broken into a lamentable Schism, the People being divided between *Meletius* their ancient Bishop, and *Paulinus*, whom *Lucifer Calaritanus* had constituted there in the Reign of *Julian*, ever since which time the Schism had not only smok'd, but flam'd out, each Party striving to advance its Interest, and to depress the other. The Effects whereof were sad and deplorable, a visible decay of Piety, the mutual Hatred and Animosity of Christians, the increase of Heresie, and the open Triumph of the Enemies of the Faith. *Basil* was infinitely troubled at these Dissentions, though he saw it necessary to espouse the *Meletian* Cause, on whose side 'tis plain the right lay. His first endeavor was, to give a true account of the State of the Case, and to engage some Persons of known Reputation in the compose of this difficult Affair. And because *Athanasius* was the man of the greatest name and vogue at this time in the Christian World, who wrote to him to interpose his Authority in this Matter, who accordingly sent *Peter* his Presbyter to *Antioch*, and by his means several dispatches were convey'd to *Rome*, and the Bishops of the *West*, as we have formerly noted in that great man's Life. And indeed 'twas but time for the *Meletians* to look about them, and to recommend their Cause to foreign Churches, when *Paulinus's* Party every where gave it out, that they had receiv'd Letters from the *Western* Bishops, which had given Sullage on their side, and had adjudg'd the See of *Antioch* to *Paulinus*. Which if real, had been gotten by surprize, before the others were truly acquainted with the Case, as at first *Athanasius* himself had been prevail'd with to send Letters to *Paulinus*.

III. THAT therefore they might be no longer wanting to the justification of their Cause, and to the necessities of the Church, a Letter^b is drawn up, directed to the Bishops of *Italy* and *France*, subscribed by *Meletius*, *Ensebius*, *Basil*, and *XXIX.* Prelates more, in which they lay before them the calamitous State of the *Eastern* Churches, harass'd by Violence and Persecution, publick Assemblies dispers'd, and People forc'd to pray in Fields and Solitudes. Heresie prosperous, and *Arianism* grown rampant; bad men step'd up into the Government of the Church, who trampled upon all Laws and Canons, seiz'd the Revenues of the Poor, and devour'd the Portion of the Widow and the Orphan, and like People like Priests, an universal degeneracy of manners had broke in upon them, the People following the conduct of their Teachers, and reckoning themselves securely warranted by their example. Nay not only did Heresie prevail, but (what was the accent of their misery) the Catholicks were fallen out amongst themselves, and it was then with them, as 'twas once with the *Jews* at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, who were not only perpetually press'd upon by the *Roman* Army from without, but betray'd by their own intestine Factions and Seditions within. That therefore they besought them by all that was dear and tender to them, that they would take their Case into Consideration, and forthwith dispatch

^b Basil Ep.
CCCLXIX.
p. 344.

^b Epist. ad Epist.
Ep. LXIX.
p. 108.

some

some of their number to their relief, and that in such a Proportion, as that they might by their number, as well as the gravity of the Persons, bear a considerable sway in a Synodal Convention, where they might help to preserve the languishing and declining Faith, and reduce things back to the *Nicene* Creed (now, if ever, like to suffer Shipwreck) extirpate Heresie, dissolve the Schisms that had risen up, reclaim the Erroneous, reconcile Dissenters, and restore Peace and Unity to the Church. This Epistle pen'd (as is probable) by *Meletius*ⁱ, and then transmitted to *Basil*, to be by him review'd, and subscrib'd, was attended with a *Commonitorium*, giving a just account of the State of things, and delivered to *Sabinus* the Deacon, who was to give them a more particular account by word of mouth. With him *Basil* dispatch'd *Dorotheus* a Presbyter, and by him a Letter^k in his own name, wherein with a mighty Eloquence he bewailes the miserable face of things amongst them, and pathetically presses them to a speedy assistance, before it was too late. But alas these and several other dispatches produced no more than a few good words, a Letter or two to comfort and condole with them, but no effectual means set on foot to help them. The *Western* Prelates sat quiet and warm at home, and card not to burn their Fingers in such a troublesome fire, especially at that distance, where such a Journey was to be undertaken. and therefore left them to scuffle it out, and end the Matter as well as they could. Plain it is, they no way satisfied *Basil's* desires and expectations, who sharply complains^m of the *ἡ Ἀνατολὴ ἐγχεῖ* the *Pride and superciliousness of the West*, and how little help was to be look'd for from them, that neither understood the Truth of their Cause, nor would be content to learn it; that he was resolv'd to write to the *Pope*, to let him know, that it did not become him to insult over, and add to the Miseries of the afflicted, nor to reckon it a piece of State and greatness to be proud, a thing alone sufficient to render a man odious in the sight of God; and elsewhereⁿ he expresses a very passionate resentment, that he hated the *Pride of that Church*. But leaving the security and unconcernedness of the *Western* Churches, let us see what became of the main Controversie at *Antioch*. The Emperor *Gratian* publish'd an Edict^o for the recalling and restoring the Catholick Bishops that had been ejected and banish'd by the *Arian* Faction. Upon this occasion several Bishops met in a Synod at *Antioch*, where, amongst other things, the wofully distracted State of that Church was taken into Consideration, and overtures made for a Reconciliation; *Meletius* himself making this offer to *Paulinus*, and that in the presence of *Sapor*, the Emperor's Officer who had brought the Edict to *Antioch*, "Since our Lord (said he) has committed these Sheep to my care, and thou hast taken the Charge of others, who yet all agree in the same Principles of Religion, let us joyn both into one Flock, and lay aside all contest about Government and Precedence. Let us feed the Flock in Communion, and attend it with equal care. And if the Episcopal Chair that stands in the midst, creates any difference, I'll throw even that Bone of Contention out of the way. For placing the Holy Bible in it, I am content that we should sit on each side of it; and if it shall happen that I first depart this Life, you alone shall have the Government of the Flock. But if you dye first, than I according to my

"Power,

"Power, will take upon me the sole Care and Government of it. A modest and truly peaceable Proposal; and although *Theodoret* says, that *Paulinus* rejected it, (which perhaps he might do at first) yet *Socrates*^q, *Sozomen*^r, and the Fathers in the Synod at *Aquileia*^s inform us, that the Agreement was actually made between them. Which quieted things a little for the present. But alas, after *Meletius* his death, and *Flavian's* Election to that See, the Wound opened, and bled afresh, and the Schism continued several years, till upon the death of *Paulinus*, and his short-liv'd Successor *Evagrius*, *Flavian* put an end to it. But this account has carried us a little out of our way, the very Synod at *Antioch* not being holden there, till some months after *Basil's* death, to the course of whose Story we now return.

SECT. VI.

The Contest that happened between him and Eustathius, with his Acts till his death and burial.

His Contest with Eustathius Bishop of Sebastea. The unsettledness and subtle Practices of that man. Basil charg'd with undue admitting Eustathius to Communion. His rude treatment by Theodotus. Eustathius his great malice towards him. His Vindication of himself from being a Favourer of Apollinaris. Accus'd of being unsound in the Doctrine of the Trinity, upon what pretence. Several Forms of Doxology in use at that time. His writing his Book de Spiritu Sancto, upon what occasion. The Monks under his Rule incens'd against him. His Expostulation with Athanasius of Ancyra. A second Metropolis erected by Valens in Cappadocia, and why. Basil's Contest with Anthimus of Tyana about the Metropolitcal Power. His consolatory Letter to the Church of Alexandria upon the death of Athanasius. His last sickness, death, and burial. The pomp and solemnity of his Funeral. His Epitaph.

I. THIS good man did not barely content himself to stay at home and write Letters abroad, but willingly complied with any occasion of travelling up and down, to compose and settle the Churches Peace, though his weakness and want of health might well have pleaded his excuse. He had receiv'd^t Intimation from Count *Terenius*, and by him a Commission from the Emperor, to go visit the *Armenian* Churches, and to supply the vacant Sees, void either by death, or by flight, or banishment under the late Persecution. With him *Theodotus* Bishop of *Nicopolis* was joyn'd in Commission, between whom there fell out an unhappy difference, by means whereof that well-design'd undertaking came to nothing. The occasion this. *Theodotus* had summon'd a Synod at *Nicopolis*, and invited *Basil* amongst the rest, who at his coming thither, met with *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastea*, a man of a fickle Temper, and unsettled Principles. He had been brought up under

Arius

ⁱ Basil. Epist. LIX. p. 88. u. d. Ep. LVII. p. 86.

^k Ep. LXX. p. 111.

^l 1st d. Ep. CLXXXIII. p. 155.

^m Ep. 10. ad Naz. p. 54.

ⁿ ap. Euseb. ad An. 372. T. 4. p. 322.

^o Theod. l. 5. c. 2. p. 199.

^p Id. ib. c. 3. p. 201.

^q L. 5. c. 5. p. 262.
^r L. 7. c. 3. p. 76.
^s Syn. Aquil. Epist. II. Conc. T. 2. col. 1000.

^t Epist. CLXXXVII. p. 200.

" Basil. Epist.
LXXXV. p. 124.
ed. E. H.
LXXXV. 153.

Arian " at *Alexandria*, one of whose prime Disciples he profess'd himself. Returning home, he was call'd to account for his impious Principles, and condemn'd by *Hermogenes* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, who had been a great Stickler against the *Arian* Doctrines in the *Nicene* Council, and the first Proposer of that Creed. The subtle Fellow (who knew how to transform himself into any shape) presented *Hermogenes* a Confession of Faith, sound and orthodox, and by that means regain'd his good opinion, and was by him admitted into Orders. After *Hermogenes* his death, the *Protas* chang'd again, and fled to *Eusebius* of *Constantinople* (formerly Bishop of *Nicomede*) the great Patron and Steers man of the *Arian* Cause. But upon some misdeameans being forc'd to fly from thence, he came back into his own Country, where he publish'd an Apology, wherein he endeavored to clear himself, but so craftily contriv'd, that under ambiguous Terms he still retain'd his impious Opinions. By such shifting Artifices he procur'd himself to be prefer'd to the Bishoprick of *Sybasia* in the lesser *Armenia*, which was no sooner done, but in the Synod of *Ancyra* he drew up an *Anathematism* against the *Catholic* Faith; thence he went to *Seleucia*, where he join'd with the *Arians* in that Synod; thence to *Constantinople*, where happening to espouse the wrong side (for they were divided into two factions in that Council) he was depos'd. To recover his Credit, he procur'd himself to be one of the Legates, that after the Synod at *Lausannus*, were sent into the *West*, where by dissimulation, he so impos'd upon Pope *Liberius* and the *Western* Prelates, that he got their commendatory Letters, upon which he was restor'd in the Synod of *Tram*. In fine, he had at last chang'd his Faith, as 'twas either for his credit or advantage. Glad was *Basil* of the opportunity of conversing with him, and plainly told him what things were laid to his charge, and desired him to declare himself, that if he stood to the *Catholic* Faith, they might own and embrace him; if otherwise, they would avoid his Communion. Two days together he disputed with him, who was seconded by *Pammonius* his Presbyter, about these Matters, and at last so clearly evinc'd and establish'd the Truth, and so fully satisfied all their Objections, that they both profess'd their inire Agreement with him, and as an Evidence thereof, they both rose up and went to Church to evening Prayers, and there solemnly render'd thanks to God, who had dispos'd them to be of one mind, to think and speak the same things. But because he knew the Inconstancy of the *Arian* that he had to deal with, he thought it import'd him, to have some better assurance than bare words, and therefore urg'd him to subscribe a written Declaration of his Faith. To this end he drew up a Form of Confession, wherein was insert'd the *Nicene* Creed, and a particular Explication of the main Articles, with a most explicate Renunciation of the Errors of *Marcellus*, *Sabellius*, and *Arian*, and an *Anathema* against those who denied the Divinity of the holy Ghost. All which are there laid down in Terms as full and perspicuous, as words were able to express them; which *Eustathius* Bishop, having read the above-written Declaration to *Basil*, do acknowledge it to be true, and consent to it; and have subscrib'd it, together with as many of my Brethren as are now with me, *Fronto*, *Severus*, *Chorepiscopus*, and some others of my Clergy.

" Basil. Epist.
LXXXV. p. 124.
ed. E. H.
LXXXV. 153.

II. THE

II. THE noise of this Converse and Reconciliation was presently carried to *Theodorus*, who hastily catching up the Report, without ever inquiring into the true Circumstances of the Case, fell foul upon *Basil*, and not only invited him no longer to the Synod, but refus'd to be done as to join at Prayers with him. *Basil* finding little good like to be much, departed for that time, and went home; the News of his holding Communion with *Eustathius*, being in the mean time scattered abroad to his disadvantage; nay, *Eustathius* himself disowning that he had recanted any of his Opinions, Letters to that purpose being dispers'd by him and his Friends up and down the Country, wherein were also contained very severe and disingenuous Reflections upon *Basil*. This awakened him to take the next opportunity of going again into *Armenia*, and that he might clear his Innocence before a great and venerable Person, came to *Getafa*, where *Melitus* the reverend Bishop of *Antioch* had a Grange, whereto he then resided. Hither *Theodorus* came to him, to whom he gave a naked and impartial account of what had pass'd in his converse with *Eustathius*; and how in all Points he had come over to him. *Theodorus* answered, that after *Basil's* departure, *Eustathius* had positively denied the Agreement, or that ever he had declar'd any such consent. *Basil* replied, that he could not easily think so ill of the man, as to imagine he should so lightly skip from one thing to another, and deny what he had so lately done; that he who pretended so much to abhor a Lye in the common Affairs of Life, should in so important a Matter, so openly out-face a known Truth. However, he was resolv'd to put it upon this issue, he would produce and shew him the Declaration of his Faith which he had subscrib'd; if he own'd it, and still continued in that mind, he would hold Communion with him; if not, he would utterly renounce it. *Melitus* liked the Proposal, and upon these Terms they seem'd agreed, and *Theodorus* kindly invited them to *Nicopolis*, himself promising to conduct them afterwards part of their Journey. But when they came thither, his mind was altered, and forgetting what had so lately pass'd at *Getafa*, he gave fresh vent to his Passion, and contrary to the Laws both of Hospitality and Religion, treated him with great rudeness and contempt. Thus disappointed, *Basil* left that place, and went to *Satala*, where in a more peaceable way he treated with the Bishops of that Country, and communicated Councils with them about settling the Affairs of the Church; the People of *Satala* were importunate with him, that he would constitute and ordain them a Bishop. There was it seems a Quarrel between them and *Cyril* their Bishop, and upon some Suggestions they had withdrawn from him. *Basil* took the Matter into his Cognizance, and having enquired into the things objected, found them nothing but malicious Insinuations, as his very Enemies confess'd. Whereupon he made them Friends, he and his People returning back to a mutual Communion. And hence *Basil* thought good to dispatch an Advice to Count *Terentius*, to acquaint him with these Transactions, and let him know the Reasons, why he had not more successfully managed the Affair that had been committed to him.

* Basil. Ep.
CXCVI. p. 212

* Ep. LXXIII.
p. 120.

* Ep. LXXIX.
p. 159.

* VII. Ep. LIX.
p. 87. LXXIV.
p. 125. LXXVI
p. 135. CCCXLI
p. 227.
CCCLXXIII.
p. 373.

III. ALL this while *Eustathius* persecuted *Basil* with all the Arts of Malice and Envy. He writ Letters * into all parts to defame and reproach him, refus'd to give him a meeting in order either to the giving or receiving any Satisfaction; in all Synodal Conventions he took occasion to cast bitter Censures and Reflections upon him, and as he met with Persons for his purpose, would not stick to poison them with rank *Arian* Principles; and not satisfied with this, he wrote, or rather by a Club of his Party, compos'd tedious Discourses against *Basil*, stuffed with little besides railing and reproach. All which the good man bore with an invincible Patience, not returning one word of answer for three years † together, hoping that in time malice would be weary, and his Innocency be unclouded and clear'd from all misrepresentations and mistakes. But when he found the reports to gather strength, and meet with entertainment in every place, and that his guilt was concluded from his silence, he thought it high time to awaken his Pen to his own defence, writing a prolix Epistle ‡ to *Eustathius* himself, wherein with the most incomparable mildness and composure of mind, he wipes off the several Aspersions that had been cast upon him, and lays open the Arts and Contrivances of his Enemies. And perhaps he had contented himself with this private Vindication, if his unwearied Adversaries had not started up a fresh Charge against him. For finding the business of *Eustathius* thin and empty, they now accus'd him of being a Friend and Favourer of *Apollinaris* † the *Laodicean*, a man indeed of excellent Parts and Learning, but who had lately vented some dangerous and heterodox Opinions about the Person of our Saviour; that this was the man, whose Principles, they said, he had espous'd, and with whom he maintain'd an intimate Correspondence: and a Book was produced containing some dangerous Propositions, written perhaps by *Apollinaris*, but interpolated by themselves, and wholly fathered upon *Basil*. And now every corner began to ring of *Basil's* deserting the Catholick Cause, and communicating with men of heretical Principles, and the rumor had spread as far as the *Western* Parts. Whereupon he wrote to several Persons, and amongst others, to the Bishops of the *West*, to disabuse their credulity, wherein he gives this plain account concerning this Matter. That as to *Apollinaris*, there were some things in him, for which he paid him a just Reverence, but that he had not so much kindness for, or acquaintance with him, as to be willing to bear his burdens, and to answer for his faults; that he had read some of his Books, wherein he met with many pernicious and obnoxious Passages, which he greatly dislike'd, particularly concerning the Doctrine of the Incarnation, and his Book about the Resurrection, wherein he evidently reduc'd that state of things to the *Mosaic* Standard, and ridiculously turn'd Christianity into *Judaism*; and that he had read no more of his Writings, was, because he knew how to employ his time better, than to hunt after such things, nor did he at all delight in the Fancies of the Neotericks: That if *Apollinaris* had written any thing that gave offence to any, what was that to him? And that if it must be, that one man must answer for another, *Eustathius*, who had charg'd him with Communion with *Apollinaris* (whose neither Tutor nor Disciple he had been) should do well himself, first to answer

answer for his own Master *Arius*, and his Scholar *Aetius*; that for the particular Accusation, it could have no other Spring, nor had it any more Foundation to support it than this, that being in *Syria* above twenty years since, while both he and *Apollinaris* were Laicks, he had written a Letter to him, not concerning any Matters or Controversies in Religion, (and though there had been any thing less warily written, yet no man after his being made Bishop, ought to be challeng'd for indifferent and inconsiderable Matters spoken while he was a Lay-man) but merely complamental, as one Friend writes to another, and that if any of his Accusers had written at any time to a Jew or Gentile, they would take it ill, if for no other reason, they should be branded for *Jews* or *Heathens*; but that his Letter had been corrupted by evil hands and to evil Purposes, to make it speak what was never intended; that these were base and unworthy Artifices to murder a man's Reputation, if they had any clear and unquestionable proofs of his holding Communion with the man, let them produce any communicatory Letters that had pass'd between them, either from *Basil* to him, or from him to *Basil*; or that he had convers'd with any of his Clergy, or had admitted them to Prayers, or any other instance of Communion, and then he would give up the Cause; that for the Principles themselves given out, he detested and abhorred them (a thing known to all that knew him) and for the Books pretended, he had neither written them, nor did he approve of them.

IV. BUT they left him not thus, but after all the rest, charg'd him with erroneous Tenets about the Doctrine of the holy Trinity, and particularly that he denied † the Divinity of the holy Ghost. This they gave out in all Companies, and upon all Occasions, whereof he received quick advice and Intimation from his Friend at *Nazianzen* †, who acquainted him, that happening lately to be at a great Feast, where a very honourable Mention was made of *Basil* by almost all the Company, and especially by himself; a certain Professor of the Monastick or Ascetic life then at the Table, told him, he look'd upon this harangue, as nothing but Flattery and Dissimulation, that whatever Commendation might be due to *Basil* in other respects, he was sure he deserv'd none upon the account of Orthodoxy, as one that had shamefully betray'd the Truth. Your reason, Sir, replied *Nazianzen*, of so bold a Charge? Whereto the other answered, that he was just then come from *Cæsarea*, from solemnizing the Memorial of the Martyr *Eusebius*, (twas he who had been put to death in the Reign of *Julian*, for offering violence to the Idol-Temple) where he had heard *Basil* preach indeed concerning the Father and the Son, with great Judgment and Accuracy, and beyond the reach of most men, but disparagingly concerning the holy Spirit; that in this he had delivered his mind obscurely, in doubtful and ambiguous Terms, that he studiously shunn'd a free and open Declaration of the Truth, preaching rather like a Sophister than Divine, concealing a double meaning under a smooth Rhetorical Discourse. *Nazianzen* calmly rebuk'd the credulity of the man, and offer'd what was proper for the Vindication of his Friend, to whom he sent an account of what had pass'd. The first Rise of all this clamour was no more than this. *Basil* in the short gratulatory Prayer at the end of his Sermons;

* Ep. LXXIII.
p. 122.

* Nazian. Ep.
XXVI. p. 177.

^d *Basil. de S. S. c. 1. p. 253. T. 2.*

^e *id. Theod. l. 2. c. 24. p. 106. Soc. l. 3. c. 20. p. 422. Philost. l. 3. c. 13. p. 486. Nicophyl. c. 24. p. 737. vid. Nic. c. 1. Theod. l. 5. c. 30. p. 482.*

^f *N. c. 9. r. XX. p. 365.*

^h *Ep. LXXX. p. 143.*

had not alwayes us'd the same Doxology^d, but sometimes it ran thus, *Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and the holy Ghost*, otherwhiles thus, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the holy Ghost*. This Variation it seems offended some nice and delicate Ears then at Church, who presently cried out, that these Expressions were not only forraign and novel, but inconsistent with one another. And 'tis the less to be wondred at, they should make these Exceptions, when we remember what stirs were heretofore rais'd at *Antioch* upon the like occasion^e, where one part of the Congregation us'd the later Form of Doxology in opposition to the other. For the better understanding whereof we are to observe, that there were three or four several Forms^f of Doxology in use amongst Christians, especially in the Church at *Antioch*. The first was, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the holy Ghost*. This was by all Catholicks confes'd to be Orthodox. The second, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the holy Ghost*. The third, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, in the holy Ghost*. The fourth, *Glory be to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost*. The first of these was absolutely rejected by the *Arians*, the three last commonly used by them. And though some of them were capable of a Catholick sense, yet could they not be us'd without great offence, especially of the more simple and undiscerning part of the Auditory; as we see here in *S. Basil's* Case, who was immediately run down with a loud noise and clamour. And the report once set on foot was quickly improv'd into a formal story, which at first he neglected as vain and foolish, but soon after saw a necessity of putting a stop to it. Accordingly he oft preach'd upon that Argument, and freely declar'd his mind about it in all Companies, especially to *Nazianzen*, to whom that he might give the highest assurance, he added this solemn though unusual Imprecation, that he might for ever be deserted by the Holy Spirit, if he did not adore him as coessential with the Father and the Son, in Glory equal, in Majesty coeternal. And further to silence this malicious Calumny, he not only takes notice of it in his Epistles at every turn, and adds a particular Explication and enforcement of that Article concerning the holy Ghost, but pen'd several distinct Tracts about it, especially that famous and elaborate Discourse, *de Spiritu Sancto*, dedicated to *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*, at whose request it was undertaken, wherein he largely and acutely handles the whole State of the Controversie, and by unquestionable Arguments, and the whole suffrage of Antiquity, refutes the frivolous Cavils and Exceptions that had been made against him. But malice is resolv'd to lay on its load, and to charge home, though not only by different, but self-contradicting evidence. We have heard him fiercely accus'd for taking away the God-head of one of the Persons in the Trinity; and at the same time he is traduc'd^h to have made three several Gods. For while in Confutation of the *Sabellian* Heresie, he asserted three distinct Hypostases or Persons in the God-head; some of his Auditors challeng'd him with affirming that there were three Gods. And though 'twas an absurd fenceless Cavil, yet it spread so far amongst the People, that he was forc'd from the Pulpit to clear himself of it in a set Discourse. Thus he was set as a mark, at which his Enemies levell'd their sharp Arrows, even bitter words. And it had been well if only his Enemies had been concern'd in it, but

but what was the misery of it; some of his Friends began to be tainted with the common breath, wife and good men lending an Ear to the ill things that were spoken of him. The Monks that liv'd under his Rule and Discipline, were so disturb'd with the Reports concerning him, that they were upon the Point of making an open Separation from him, whom therefore he endeavors to set right in a large Epistleⁱ to them. And indeed so far had they advanc'd in their disorderly Proceedings, that the great *Athanasius* was forc'd to write to them, and with some sharpness to rebuke their irregular demeanor towards him, and the unjust and groundless Opinions they had conceiv'd of him. Amongst his neighbor-Bishops, none seem'd more forward to entertain the Suggestions of his Enemies, or more deeply to resent his suppos'd Apostacy, than *Athanasius* of *Ancyra*, a good man, and a zealous Promoter of the Catholick Faith, who accus'd him to have written things to the Subversion of the Faith, or at least to have subscrib'd what others had written to that purpose, for which he spake dishonourably of him, and threatned, if not to excommunicate him, at least to call him to an account for it. Upon Intimation whereof, *Basil* sends him word^k, that such reproachful and unworthy dealings were no surprize to him, considering how prone men are through the degeneracy of humane Nature to entertain ill surmizes, and a bad Opinion of other men, but that of all men he least expected it from him; that for his Menaces he laugh'd at them, 'twas this only troubled him, that a Person of so much Integrity and usefulness to the Church, should so far comply with the Iniquity of the Age, as to prefer common Clamors before long Experience, and suffer himself to be so easily transported to Suspicion and Indignation without any just Cause or Evidence; that if he had had a mind to have satisfied himself in the Truth of things, it had been but the pains of writing a short Letter, or sending a discreet prudent Messenger, or inviting him to have come over to him, but to talk thus publicly at all adventure, was to blaze abroad his Defamation over all the Country; that he could not imagine what was the matter, unless some ill-minded man had affix'd his name to some heretical Writings, and by that means impos'd upon him; however he intreated him to deal plainly with him, and let him know what it was that had mov'd his Indignation, that so he might not be wanting to his own just defence. The truth is, so perplexed was the good man's mind with the malicious Calumnies contriv'd by his Enemies, and entertain'd by his Friends, that he solemnly profess'd^l, it made him doubt of the Fidelity of mankind, being ready to question whether there was any honesty or faithfulness to be found amongst the Sons of men.

V. NOR did his Troubles end here, a difference happening^m, which created no small disturbance between him and *Anthimus* of *Tyana* upon this occasion. *Cappadocia* had been lately divided into two Provinces, *Cappadocia prima* and *secunda*; the prime and capital City of the former was *Caesarea*, as it had all along been of the intire Province; for the second the City of *Tyana* was erected into the honor of a Metropolis. It had been an ancient and well fortified place, built upon a great Bank rais'd by *Semiramis*. *Stephanus*ⁿ mistaking *Strabo's* account of it, places it at the foot of Mount *Taurus* near to the

ⁱ *Ep. LXXXII. p. 119.*

^k *Ep. LIII. p. 81.*

^l *Ep. LXXXIX. p. 140. facit 2. LXXXII. p. 151. G.*

^m *Naz. Or. XX. p. 355. vid. Basil. Ep. CCLIX. p. 257.*

ⁿ *Strab. l. 12. p. 537. In voc. Tura- va. p. 670.*

the *Portæ Ciliciæ*. Whereas *Strabo* speaks there of the extent of the Prefecture, not of the Position of the City. It had continued a place of good account in all times, and was now advanc'd (out of spite chiefly, as 'tis probable, to S. *Basil*) into a Metropolis by the Emperor *Valens*, and a good part of the Country about it assign'd for the Province. Hereupon *Anthimus* Bishop of *Tyana* challeng'd a Metropolitcal Power and Jurisdiction over all the Churches in the second *Cappadocia*, it being but fit, he said, that the Ecclesiastick Authority should be enlarg'd according to the bounds of the civil Power. *Basil* was sensible how great a Diminution this was to the ancient Dignity and Jurisdiction of his See, and therefore remonstrated against this intolerable Incroachment and Usurpation; that this was a Violation of setled Rights, and an affront to the holy Canons, what had the Church to do with the Alterations of the civil State, the Sword and the Spirit had different Provinces, that his Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction was founded upon Custom and long Prescription, and that no man ought to remove the old Land-marks which the Fathers had set. The new Metropolitan on the other hand stickled hard to assert and secure his usurp'd Authority, he call'd Synods, which he held independent upon any other Power but his own, seiz'd the Ecclesiastical Revenues, (and amongst the rest, the Rents of S. *Orestes* the Martyr in Mount *Taurus*, which as they were conveying to *Cæsarea*, he set upon with an armed Multitude, taking away the Mules and Carriages by force) perswaded the Presbyters of the several Parishes to own and submit to him, and where he could not bring them over, ejected them, and placed others in their room. By which means infinite Confusions did arise, and the peace of the Church was broken into scandalous Feuds and Quarrels. *Basil* well saw 'twas in vain to contend, little favor could he expect at Court, and as little help from the Decision of a Council, (the *Arians* at this time swaying all) and therefore resolv'd to make the best he could of a bad Bargain, and to repair the breach by erecting some new Episcopal Sees within his own Province, whereby at once he allay'd the Storm, appropriated the Church-Revenues of every City to the uses of its particular Bishop, and (what was above all) provided better for the necessities of the Church; for the Diocesses of that Country being at that time wide and large, by multiplying of them into a greater number, the Churches Affairs were more nearly inspected, and greater care taken of the Souls of men. While he was thus employ'd, news came of the death of the great *Athanasius*, and of that severe Persecution that thereupon rag'd at *Alexandria*, the *Arians* sparing neither Age, Sex, nor Person, nor sticking at any Instances of fierceness and inhumanity. Our good Bishop heartily afflicted with their Case, wrote them a consolatory Letter^p, "expressing his exquisite Commiseration of their Condition, the consideration whereof had almost tempted him to question, whether our Lord had utterly forsaken his Church? Whether this was not the last hour, when the great Degeneracy and Apostacy was to take place, when the Son of Perdition was to be revealed, who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped? However, whatever their Sufferings were, they should bear them as became stout Champions of Christ; that if the whole frame of the Creation should at length suffer a change and Dissolution, what

p Ep. LXXI.
p. 115.

"wonder

"wonder if we, who are so inconsiderable a Portion of it, be expos'd to Miseries and Afflictions? which the great Judge of the World would not lay upon us beyond what he would enable us to bear; that the Crowns of Martyrdom were ready for them, and the whole Quire of holy Confessors stretching out their hands to receive them into their number and company; that they should set before them the Examples of those great and good men of old, who went not thither by softness and effeminacy, but through many Tribulations entered into the Kingdom of God; and the greater the Sufferings, the brighter the Crown, the Sufferings of this present time not being worthy to be compar'd with the glory which shall be revealed in us; that had he been able, he would himself have come to them to behold the generous instances of their Patience and Constancy, and to be refresh'd with their Prayers and Company; but alas his body was wasted, and sickness kept him Prisoner in his Bed, and besides, Wolves lay in wait to make havock of his Flock, for which reasons he was forc'd to visit them thus by Letter, begging of them to intercede on his behalf with Heaven, that for those few dayes or rather hours that he had to live, he might spend them usefully and serviceably to Religion and the Church of Christ.

VI. EIGHT years^a and some months *Basil* had now govern'd the Church of *Cæsarea*, when his tottering Carcass, undermin'd by Distempers from within, and shattered with continual Storms of trouble from without, fell to the ground. Finding himself declining apace, he mustered up so much strength^b, as to ordain some of his Followers, that after his decease there might not want a Succession to attend the Service of the Altar. But weakness sensibly growing upon him, forc'd him to take his Bed. The news of his dangerous Condition ran round the City, and People every where awakened with the sense of their loss, flock'd about his House, as if by their Prayers and passionate Exclamations, they were resolv'd to arrest that Soul that was now taking its flight to Heaven, there being none of them, but were willing to have redeem'd his life with a part of their own. His Spirits were very low, but he summon'd up nature to its last Effort, and having piously discours'd a while to those that were about him, seal'd up his last breath with that divine Ejaculation, *Into thine hands I commend my Spirit*. What years he had attain'd to at the time of his death, is not certain. Some report him not to have exceeded XLV. But his so often mentioning his old Age, confirms that beyond all exception. His Funeral was attended with a Pomp and Solemnity suitable to the Memory of so great a Person. The Corps being taken upon the shoulders of grave venerable Persons, was throng'd on all hands, some endeavored to touch but the ends of his Funeral Shroud, others the Bier whereon he lay, or to get within the shadow of it; some strove to get near the Persons that carried him, and they that could not do that, contented themselves to see him at a distance; the Streets and Portico's were all crowded as they went along, and thousands of all Ranks and Ages joy'd themselves, some going before, others following after as they could get along; nor was the noise less than the crowd, the People could not contain their Grief, so that the Psalms then sung, (as was the custom in those dayes at Funerals) were drown'd by the Cries and Lamentations

^a *Epist. in vit. Basil.*
^b *vid. Nazian. in Epistol. Basil.*
T. 2 p. 153.

^c *Naz. Or. XX.*
p. 370.

tations of the People. And herein all sorts of Persons conspir'd to make a mournful consort, *Jews and Gentiles*, Strangers and Forreigners bearing a part, and striving to outvie each others resentment of this common Calamity. And indeed it prov'd a time of mourning in a fence beyond what they intended it. For so great and unavoidable was the Crowd, that in despite of all means used to save them, several were press'd to death, who yet were accounted happy to become the Companions of his departure, as if they had offered up themselves as Sacrifices at his Funeral. The Corps at last was with much difficulty brought to the Grave, and laid up in the Sepulchre of his Fathers, where he, who was himself in some fence both, kept Company with Bishops and Martyrs. The *Pseudo-Amphilochius* says, he was deposited in the Church of *S. Euphrosinus* the Martyr, where *Isidore* one of his Predecessors, and some other Bishops had been inter'd before him. But where ever it was, his dear Friend compos'd his Epitaph, which, though somewhat prolix, we shall here insert.

¹ *Orat. in S. Basil. p. 225.*

² *Nice. Conc. L. V. Tom. 2. p. 15.*

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ

ἐπιτάφια.

ΣΩΜΑ διχα ψυχῆς ζῶεν πάρεσθαι, ἢ ἐμὲ οἶο,
Βασίλειε Χριστὺ λάτρε φίλ' αἰώμην.
Αλλ' ἔτλην, καὶ ἔμενα. τί μέλλοιμι. ἢ μ' ἀνατίεας,
Θῆσις εἰς μακαρῶν σὺν τε χερσὶν αἰών,
Μὴ με λιπὲς μὴ, γυμνὸν ἐπ' ἀνύμνῳ, ἢ ποτε σέο
Λίσσασθαι, ὅδ' ἐδέλω. Γρηγορίου λόγος.
Ἡλικα Βασιλίδιο θεόφρονος ἥρπουσε πνεῦμα
Ἡ τελεία, ἀσπερίσις ἐνδὲν ἐπιγροῦνι,
Πᾶσα μὲν ἔραυνη στρατὸν γῆθυσεν ἰόντι,
Πᾶσα δὲ Καππαδοκῶν ἐξοδάσθη πύλι,
Οὐκ οἶδ', ὅστις, καὶ μέγ' ἰαχρην, ὠλετο κήρυξ,
Ὡλετο αἰώνιος θεοῦς ἀριπρεπέσθαι.
Κόσμος ὅλος, μύδιον ἵστω ἀντιπάλαιον αἰώνος
Σείεται ὁ τελεῖσθαι, καλὸν ὁμογενέσθαι.
Αἱ αἱ Βασιλίδιο δὲ μεμνημένη χεῖλεσσι σιγῇ
Ἐγρεο, καὶ σὺ πῶς τοῖσι λόγοις σιγῇ.
Σαῖς τε δὴν πελίσσῃ. σὺ δὲ μὲν ὅσον ἔφωσας,
Καὶ βιοτὴν μύδιον, καὶ βιοτὴν λόγον.
Εἰς τοῖς ὑψιμέδων, ἵνα δ' ἄξιον ἀρχιερεῖα
Ἡμετέρη χρεὶ εἶδεν σε Βασιλίδιο,
Ἀγέλον ἀτρεκέως ἐρηχέας ὅμιμα φαινοῖν
Χριστιανούς, ψυχῆς καλλεσι λαμπύρων,
Πόντου Καππαδοκῶν τε μέγα κλέος εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν.
Λίσσασθαι ἔπειτα κόσμῳ ἵστω δὴν ἀνάσσειν.
Ἐνδεῖς Βασιλίδιο Βασίλειον ἀρχιερεῖα
Θείον με Καμαρτέας, Γρηγορίου φίλον,
Οἱ πᾶσι κῆρυ φιλῶνται, τοῖς οἱ ὅλβια δοῖν,
Ἀλλὰ καὶ, καὶ ζωῆς ὡς πάλαι ἀπάσας

Ἡμετέρη.

Ἡμετέρη. τί δ' ὄνειαρ ἐπὶ χθονὶ διδόνοντα
Τήνδε, ἔραυνην μονώμην φιλήσιν.
Τὸν δὲν ἐπὶ πνεύματι ἐπὶ χθονὶ, πάντα δὲ Χριστῷ
Δώκεν ἄγων, ψυχῇ, σώματι, λόγον, παλάμην,
Βασίλειε Χριστῷ μέγα κλέος, ἐμὲ ἱερῶν,
Ἐρμα πολυχρῆστῳ νῦν πλέον ἀτρεκέως.
Ὡς λόγος, ὅς ἐκείνους φίλιν δέμας, ὅς φίλ' Ἀδῆναι,
Ὡς δὲν βίοντι πλοῦτε σωδασίαι,
Ἰσὲ πᾶσι, ὡς Βασιλίδιο ἐς ἔραυνην, ὡς πεδύσσειν,
Γρηγορίου δ' ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλεσσι δεσφά φέρων.
Κασπαρίων μέγ' αἶσμα φαντασθῆναι ὡς Βασιλίδιο,
Βροντὴ σέο λόγος, ἀσπερίσις δὲ βίος.
Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐδρῶν ἱερῶν λίπας, ἡθέλην ἔπειτα
Χριστῷ, ὅπως μὲν σ' ὡς πάλαι ἔραυνοιο.
Βένδρα πάλιν ἐδέχθην πᾶσι πλοῦμασθαι, ὅσας τ' ἔασι
Τῆς χθονὶς σοφίης, ἔμπνοον ἱερῶν ἐπὶ,
Ὀκταετὴ λαοὶ θεόφρονος ὡς πάλαι.
Τὸτο μόνον ἥδ' ὅσον ὡς Βασιλίδιο ὁλόγῳ.
Χαίρεις ὡς Βασιλίδιο, καὶ εἰ λίπας ἡμέας ἔμπνοον.
Γρηγορίου τὸδε σοὶ γράμμι, ἐπιτυμῆσθαι,
Μῦθος, ὅδ' ὅν φιλέσθαι, ἔχεις χρεὶσθαι ὡς Βασιλίδιο.
Τῆς φιλήσιν, καὶ σοὶ δέμας ἀπεκτόματα.
Γρηγορίου Βασιλίδιο πᾶσι κῆρυ ἀνέδρα,
Τῶν ἐπηγεματιῶν τῶνδε δουδεκάδα.

Thus rendred by an ingenious Friend.

GREAT Saint, whose Soul upon the wings of Love,
Toward the dearest Jesus still did move;
I thought I should not live, when thou wert dead,
More than my Body when my Soul were fled;
But I unworthy of thy knowledge staid,
Endur'd the loss, and friendship disobey'd;
Will not my Basil to my rescue come,
And take me with him to his glorious home,
Must I stay here disconsolate and alone?
Time never shall, I by thy Tomb do swear,
Efface thy Memory to me so dear.
When the Almighty Wisdom call'd away
Basil, who long'd to see that happy day;
How did the flaming Seraphim rejoice,
And every sprightly Angel tune his voice,
While Cappadocia groan'd a doleful noise?
And th' universe in extase, and cries,
Attendant was at the sad Obsequies;
Exclaiming, the transcendent Preacher's dead,
And now all-charming Peace is banish'd,
The World's in Mutiny, while some do fight
For th' Deity of Christ, others deny't.

L 1

Rife

Rise thou most skillful Pilot from thy sleep,
 Allay the Tempest, smooth the ruffled deep,
 Thy words, thy Prayers the World in awe will keep. }
 Whose wisdom only taught thee to entwine
 Angelick Actions with discourse Divine.
 There's one Almighty God, and none but thee,
 This Age can find fit his high-Priest to be;
 Truth's boldest Champion, and the Christian's light,
 Whose Soul was beautify'd with all that's bright.
 Honor of Pontus, Cappadocia's Glory,
 Whose Praise shall fill present and future Story;
 We beg thee, let thy Prayers ascend on high,
 To impetrate the World's Felicity.

Cæsarea's Citizens within this Grave,
 Me their beloved Primate buried have;
 Who to my Gregory such affection bore,
 That nothing here on earth could make it more:
 Great God, to him thy better Blessings give,
 And shortly let him in thy Palace live,
 Who warm'd with flames, that from above descend,
 Dreams out those days, which he on earth doth spend.

While thou 'mong men didst breathe, Heaven did command
 Thy devout Soul, smooth Tongue, and active hand,
 Honor of Jesus, and his Priest's defence,
 Truth's Guardian, which we've sadly mangled since,
 How is the memory of our past talk dear,
 Athens how pleasant, when we convers'd there?
 Happy the time we jointly did agree
 To practise the divine Philosophy.
 While now the happy Basil his attain'd
 His Journeys end, and left me dumb behind;
 Alive thou wert Cæsarea's chiefest praise,
 Thunder thy words, thy life like lightnings' rays.
 But soon thou left'st that venerable Chair,
 To visit Jesus, and with Angels share;
 Sacred and humane Learning thou didst know,
 Nothing above thy reach was, much below;
 Eight years thou rul'd'st thy Diocese, and then
 Too soon for it return'd'st to Heav'n agen,
 Farewel, my Basil, since I'm left behind;
 Accept this Epitaph from thy troubled Friend.
 'Tis the same Friend, who now thus speaks to thee,
 Whose belov'd words made once sweet Harmony;
 This Debt my friendship to thy Virtue payes,
 Tho thy blest Soul may slight my meaner praise;
 Who to thy Ashes dedicates this Verse,
 And with his tears, bedews thy sacred Hearse.

S E C T.

S E C T. VII.

A Character and Account of his Person, Temper, and Writings.

His Character. His natural Abilities, and acquir'd Improvements. The extent of his Learning in all Faculties. His incomparable Style. The judgment of the Ancients concerning it. The high Commendation of his Eloquence given by Liberius. His moral and divine Accomplishments, Piety, Zeal, Constancy, Temperance, contempt of the World, Charity, Humility, Peaceable-mindedness. The Description of his Person. His Works whereof some only ascrib'd to him. His Genuine distinguish'd into Commentaries, Controversies, Sermons, Encomiasticks, and Epistles, and Canonical Tracts. A distinct Survey of each Class. His Ascetic Constitutions. His Liturgy how far Genuine. Nazianzen's high Encomium of his Writings.

THIS no easie Matter to attempt his just Character, *Nazianzen* himself despair'd of it, and if his Pencil could not draw him to the Life, it must not be expected from a meaner hand. We shall only therefore remark some main lines and strokes. Considered in his natural Faculties, he was a man of a very clear and perspicacious apprehension, a nimble and ready Wit, a snar dextrous reasoning, a deep and solid Judgment. His acquir'd Abilities highly improv'd, and added an incomparable Lustre and Ornament to his natural Perfections. As he wanted no advantages of Education, so he was not wanting in Industry and Diligence to make use of them, whereby he soon became a most comprehensive Scholar, *καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρετῶν ἐκείνων ἐμπειρομένης*, and attain'd the utmost Empire in all polite and useful Learning, wherein he left no Path untrodden, and yet was as conversant in all, as any other man is in any single Science, while he himself was as accurate in every Art, as if he had studied none but that. He was eminent in Grammar, Rhetorick, Philosophy, Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetick, Physick, and what not? He had rifled all the Treasures of the Gentiles, and search'd into the most secret Retirements of Philosophy and secular Learning, in which respect *Philostorgius* says, and perhaps truly, *Athanasius* was but a Child to him. Nor content with this, he chiefly applied himself to the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and the Principles of Christian Theology, he perfectly understood all the sublime and nice Speculations of those times, and knew the Subtleties and Subterfuges of the several Sects, and where to countermine and blow them up. He was in short, says his own Brother, *ἀντιπαραστήτης*, a two-hand-ed Champion, who being arm'd both with divine and humane Literature, beat down his Adversaries wherever he came, and successfully encountered both Heathens and Hereticks, seldom failing to come off a Conqueror. This made his Judgment so oft desired, and so much relied on in weighty and important Cases, this made the Heresiarchs of those times so afraid to meddle with him, choosing rather to rail at him at a distance, than to engage with him in a close dispute.

L I 2

Nay

* Said. in voc.
 Bzob.
 * Naz. lib. p. 332
 vid. Syll. Gr. in
 Bas. Eccl. p. 911

* Ap. Said. loc.
 cit.

nothing but the inspir'd Volumes. 'Twas early translated by *Eusebius* into *Latin*, and by him dedicated to his Kinswoman *Syncretica* the Deaconess. A Translation so accurate, that *Cassiodorus* * is not afraid to say, that it has match'd the elegance of the original Composition. Such also are his XXII. Homilies upon the *Psalms*, out of which were taken the *Excerpta* extant in the ancient *Catenas*, and are quite another thing from the *Scholia* upon the *Psalms*, inserted into the *Latin* Editions of this Father, borrow'd for the most part from *S. Chrysostom* and *Theodorit*. The Prologue to these Homilies *S. Augustin*, or some for him, translated into *Latin*, and clasp'd before his Tracts upon the *Psalms*. And therefore when *River* affirms † (and makes *Fronto Ducens* vouch for him) that this Prologue is *S. Augustin's*, translated by some body into *Greek*, and attributed to *S. Basil*, he is greatly out himself, and wrongs that learned Jesuit, who plainly asserts ‡ the quite contrary. Besides these, he has several single Homilies upon particular Subjects, both Theological and Moral, as *de fide, baptismo, penitentia, &c. de avaritia, invidia, ebrietate, &c.* in all which he discourses finely, and admirably accommodates himself to the Necessities and Capacities of his Hearers. In his Encomiastick Orations (wherein his peculiar Talent lay) he elegantly displays the Faith and Patience, the Courage and Constancy of those who had suffered for the Faith; with suitable accounts of things, and proper Exhortations to the Imitation of their Vertues, as in his Oration upon the XL. Martyrs that suffered at *Sebastea* in *Armenia*, upon the Martyrdom of *Gordius, Julitta, &c.* Epistles he wrote many, *ὅν ἔδδεν ἀμενον*, † says *Suidas*, than which nothing can be more excellent and incomparable, and which *Photius* ‡ commends as the true *Norma* and Character of Epistolary writing; CCCXXXVIII. of them are still extant, (amongst which are interspers'd some few from *Nazianzen* and *Libanius*) wherein besides the inward Character of the man drawn by his own Pen, we have many useful Passages of those times, and thence we have extract'd a good part of his Life. Besides these, he has an Epistolary Discourse to *Chilo* his Scholar, who had quitted the ordinary Rules of the monastick Institution, and turn'd *Anchoret*, wherein he gives him many excellent Admonitions and Rules for that State of Life; a Letter to a Monk, and another to a devout Virgin, who had committed folly together, where in a passionate strein of Eloquence he represents the Aggravations of their Crime, and excites them to repentance. He has also three Canonical Epistles to *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, at whose desire he drew up a body of Rules and Directions, wherein he states the Nature of the Crimes most usually incident to humane Life, and prescribes the several Penances that were fit to be undergone before Absolution, agreeably to the fence of the Ancients, and the establish'd Canons of the Church. But these three more properly belong to the last Class of his Works which I mention'd, *viz.* his *Canonical Tracts*; amongst which I place first, his Ascetic Rules and Constitutions mention'd by *S. Jerom* and others, wherein with great acuteness and elegance he resolves Doubts and Interrogatories rais'd out of Scripture, and lays down excellent Rules for those that engag'd in a monastick Life. 'Tis true *Sozomen* † tells † us, this work was scrib'd to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Caesarea*; but then he says, 'twas compos'd by *Basil*, and that there were only some

* *Discin. Lat.*
c. p. 445.

* *crit. Sac. l. 3.*
c. 20. p. 329.

† Not in *Psal.*
Basil. p. 16.

* *lil.*

† *cod. CXLIH*
col. 317.

† *lib. 3. c. 14.*
p. 520.

some that reported it to have been written by *Eusebius*. Indeed the unanimous Suffrage of Antiquity, (as is plain from *Jerom, Rufinus, Justinian* the Emperor, *Photius, Suidas, &c.*) constantly adjudg'd it to *S. Basil*. It consisted of old (as *Photius* † informs us) of two Books, the first whereof contain'd those short Tracts *de iudicio Dei, de fide*, and some others, plac'd at this day before his Ethics; the second his Discourses *de Institutione Monachorum*, wherein he represents the Character of a Christian, pressing on towards Perfection; and these as a kind of Preface to his *ὅροι καὶ πλάγους*, or *Regule fustius disputate*, consisting of LV. Questions propounded by the Monasticks, with *S. Basil's* answers. Which are followed by CCCXIII. *ὅροι καὶ ἐπιτομὰς*, or shorter Rules delivered in the same way. Exactly according to the account which *Photius* has given of them; so that there can be no doubt but they are the same. In the Copy by which the *Venice* Edition of *Ann.* MDLIII. was printed, there was a *Scholium* added, implying that that Manuscript had been transcrib'd from a most ancient Copy brought out of *Pontus*, and the places where *Basil* had liv'd an Ascetic Life, and had been compar'd with the Copy found in *S. Basil's* own Hospital at *Cesarea*, out of which were added XXVII. Chapters more, together with the Penalties that were to be inflicted upon delinquent Monks. These Constitutions *Rufinus* tells † us he design'd to turn into *Latin* for the benefit of the *Western* Monks, and he afterwards perform'd it, though he contracted them into a narrower compass. Of some affinity with these, are his *Ἠθικά* or *Morals* containing LXXX. divine Rules, each back'd with apt select Texts of Scripture, for the conduct and Government of a holy Life.

V. UNDER this head of Canonical Tracts, I may take leave to place his Liturgy, which as to the Substance of it, I make no doubt to be truly his. For seeing *Nazianzen* expressly tells † us, that after his return to *Cesarea*, he not only drew up Rules for the Monastick Life, which he delivered both by word and writing, but also compos'd *ὁρθεῖν διατάξεις*, *Orders and Forms of Prayers*, and appointed *ὀργανισμὸς* † *ἱερά*, decent Rites and Ornaments for the Altar, and since himself † elsewhere gives us an account of the Form of publick Service us'd in the Oratories of his Institution, answerable to this Liturgy, and agreeable (as he tells us) to all the Churches of God, I can see no reason why it should be rob'd of the Title which it has always claim'd to so great a hand. Not but that in its present Frame and Constitution 'tis much chang'd from its original Simplicity, having receiv'd several Additions and Interpolations in after-times, as a Stream, though never so clear at the Fountain-head, contracts mud and filth by the several Channels through which it passes. But these being discharg'd (as 'tis no hard matter for a man vers'd in Church-Antiquity, to separate the Chaff from the Wheat) the rest will justly entitle it self to this great man's Composition, and be found consonant enough to the Customs and Usages of that Age. Hence the older the Copies of it, still the more pure and unexceptionable; thus the *Syriac* Liturgy of *S. Basil*, which *Misius* receiv'd from *Moses Mardenus* his Master, and turn'd into *Latin* †, is much more concise, and free from many of those obnoxious Passages which are crept into the *Greek* Copies extant at this day. It has till this last Age uncontrollably

* *cod. CXCI.*
col. 493.

* *lib. 2. c. 9.*
p. 250.

* *Orat. XX.*
p. 340.

* *Ep. LXIII.*
p. 96.

† *Antw. edit.*
An. 1569.

ably maintain'd its Title, and is still us'd with great Reverence and Devotion by the Greek Church upon some of their more solemn times; that of S. *Christom* by reason of its shortness being in ordinary use; which two Liturgick Tombs *ὡς ἀνέγκειται παρὰ τὸν ἱερεὺν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ* have from ancient times been transmitted to us, and approv'd and us'd as authentick, says *Jeremias* * the Greek Patriarch in his answer to the *Wittenburg*-Divines. I shall have done with the consideration of his Works, when I have observ'd, with how much Veneration they were receiv'd by the Ancients; and I need instance in no more, than in that *Elogium* which *Nazianzen*, who best knew, and was best able to judge, gives of them from his own experience. "Since he is gone (says he^a) all pleasure and delight ceases, the "only satisfaction we enjoy, is the Books and Writings he has left "behind him, in whose stock all that write after him must henceforth "trade. Let the Ancients now sit down in silence, and whatever "they have written for the Explication of the holy Volumes, a new "Writer is start up, and he's with us the best Scholar, who most "converses with, reads, understands, and digests his Writings, "which alone are sufficient to instruct in all the Paths of Learning. "This only will I say concerning him. As oft as I take up his *Hæmæmeron* and read it out, I converse with my great Creator, understand the reasons and methods of the Creation, and do much more reverence and admire my Maker, than I was wont to do, when I barely viewed the frame of things. When I read his Books against Hereticks, methinks I see the Flames of *Sodom*, redning these bold and impious Tongues to Ashes, or behold the Tower of *Babel*, insolently attempted; but powerfully dissipated and destroy'd. When I turn over his Book *de Spiritu Sancto*, I meet with the true God, and insisting upon those grounds of Theology which he has laid down, am enabled confidently to preach and declare the Truth. When I peruse his other Expositions, which in several ways he made for the Instruction of the Ignorant; I find my self transported beyond the Letter, and Superficies of words, and carried up from one degree of light unto another, till at last I arrive at the highest Point. While I read his Encomiasticks upon the Martyrs, I despise the Body, and am joyn'd in consort with the heavenly *Chorus*, and inspir'd with an eager Desire and Spirit of Martyrdom. Do I cast my eyes upon his Ethics, his moral and practical Discourses, I am presently engag'd to *cleanse my self from all filthiness of Flesh and Spirit*, turn'd into the Temple of God, and the Organ of the holy Ghost, to set forth the praises of the divine Power and Glory, and am refin'd into a God-like Temper, transform'd into another thing than I was before. Thus far that excellent man, and more he has "there to the same purpose.

S E C T.

S E C T. VIII.

An account of his nearest Relations.

His Relations and Parents. The pious death of his Mother Emmelia. The singular Piety and strictness of Life of his Sister Macrina. The immature death of his hopeful Brother Naucratus. His Brother Gregory Bishop of Nyssa. A short account of his Brother Peter Bishop of Sebastea. The happiness of his Parents in having three Sons eminent Bishops at one time. His Writings enumerated.

BEFORE we conclude S. Basil's Life, it may perhaps reflect some light upon his Story, to give a brief account of his nearest Relations. His Father Basil (whom some^b I know not by what Authority, do in his latter dayes make a Bishop or a Priest at least) died while his Children were yet very young. His Mother *Emmelia*, after the death of her Husband, and care taken in the Education of her Children, at the perswasion of her Daughter *Macrina*, and that she might be near her Son Basil, quitted the World, and retir'd after him into the Wilderness, where she planted her self in a Village^c on the other side of the River *Iris*, that so she might receive the comfort of his frequent Visits, and whence in a time of scarcity, or upon any particular occasion she was wont to supply^d him with necessary Provisions. Broken at last with extream Age, she fell into her last Sickness^e; her Daughter *Macrina*, the eldest, and her Son *Peter*, the youngest of her ten Children, were then with her, and assisted her in her last hours. Having pray'd for, and bless'd her Children that were absent, she took the two present, one sitting on the one side of the Bed, and the other on the other, by the hand, and thus delivered them up to God. *To thee, O Lord, I here devote and offer up both the first Fruits, and the Tenth of my Children; this the first, the other the tenth and last of the Fruit of my Womb. Both are thine by Law, both due as Gifts and Offerings unto thee. Let both therefore be intirely consecrated to thy self.* And so having given order for her burial, that she might be inter'd in the Sepulchre of her Family (which was done accordingly) she died, a little before Basil's advancement to the See of *Cæsarea*, who bewail'd^f her death, as the loss of the only comfort of his Life, the news whereof put him into a relapse that had near cost his Life.

II. OF the ten Children which she had, four only besides Basil survive in Story, *Macrina*, *Naucratus*, *Gregory*, and *Peter*. *Macrina* was eldest, borrowing her name from her good Grand-mother *Macrina*, sometime Scholar to S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. Her Mother was particularly sollicitous about her Education, and being a Child of acute and excellent Parts, besides Family-Affairs, she especially train'd her up in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and particularly of those Rules which *Solomon* has laid down for the good Government of the Life. She often read the *Psalter*, which she committed to memory, and repeated upon all occasions; when she went to Bed,

* R. scos. 1.
c. 13. p. 103.

* C. hi. scos.
p. 632, c. 33.

^b Labb. de
Scip. Eccl. in
Basil. Addend.
T. 1. p. 734.
See Num. 1. of
this List.

^c Basil. Epist.
LXXIX.
p. 141.
^d Naz. Ep. VIII.
p. 733.

^e Nyss. de vit.
Macrin. p. 186.

^f Ep. VII. p. 50.

or aroſe in the Morning, or betook her ſelf to, or left off any work, when ſhe ſat down to, or roſe from Meals, or went to her Devotions, ſhe alwayes uſ'd to ſing a Pſalm. Such was her courſe even before ſhe was twelve years of Age. Her Piety encreas'd with her years, and her beauty with both, which made her ſo much courted, that her Father to prevent importunities, provided her a ſuitable match, but the Gentleman died before the Conſummation; and he not ſorry for the occaſion, thenceforth reſolv'd upon a ſingle Life, and to be aſſiſtant to her Mother in educating the other Children. Which ſhe perform'd with great care and diligence, perſuading her Brother *Baſil*, then newly return'd from the Univerſity, to lay aſide the loſty opinion of his great learning, and to embrace the humble and difficult way of virtue, and to form himſelf to the ſtrictneſs of a retired life. Her Father being dead, and the reſt of the Family diſpoſed of, ſhe withdrew from common converſe; and together with a company of pious Maids, over whom ſhe preſided as Governeſs, ſpent her whole time in circles of devotion, and in the ſtricteſt exercises of piety and virtue. Her Brother *Nyſſen* (who had not ſeen her of eight years) undertook a journey to viſit her, and in the way had ſome obſcure intimations in his dream concerning her death, which he then knew not what to make of. Coming to the place, he found her ſick, adminiſtered aſſiſtances proper to her dying circumſtances, and after her deceaſe ſaw her interr'd with great ſolemnity. After which he at large wrote her life^e, worthy the peruſal of the learned Reader. She is ſaid to have been infected with *Origen's* opinion: but finding it reported by no other than *Nicophorus*^h, I ſuppoſe he miſtook her for her Grandmother *Macrina*, Auditor of S. *Gregory*, who had had *Origen* for his Tutor.

^e *Feſt. in ap- pend. Origen. ejus Ann. 1618.*
^h *Lib. 1. l. c. 19. p. 137.*

ⁱ *Nyſſ. vit. Macr. p. 182.*
^k *L. 1. T. 100. II. p. 18.*

III. *Baſil's* next Brother was *Numeratus*ⁱ, (or, as *Conſtantine Porphyrogeneta*^k calls him, *Pancratius*) a Youth of an amiable ſhape, ſtrong body, and no leſs admirable endowments of mind. At XXII. years of age he had given ſignal evidence of his eloquence and abilities in his publick Oration, to the great applauſe and admiration of the Theatre, when on a ſudden he threw up all, and retired into the Wilderneſs, ſettling himſelf in a convenient ſolitude near the River *Iris*, where he enjoyed the company of none but a few mortified old men, whom he provided for by hunting (whereat he was dextrous) and was ready upon all occaſions to attend his Mother. Five years he ſpent in this retirement, when going out one day to hunt, accompanied with none but his dear *Chryſaphius* (whom of all his Domeſticks he had choſen to be the conſtant Companion of his life) they were both brought home dead: A loſs that infinitely afflicted his Mother, and fell heavy (tho ſhe bore it with a maſculine patience) upon his Siſter *Macrina*, who loved him above all the reſt. Next him was *Gregory*, a perſon of excellent learning and great eloquence, made afterwards Biſhop of *Nyſſa* in *Cappadocia*, baniſht and perſecuted by the *Arians*, who notwithstanding all their malicious attempts againſt him, liv'd to a great age, till near the concluſion of this *Century*, though the particular time of his death cannot be recovered.

IV. The laſt of the Brothers, and indeed of all the Children^l (his Father dying as ſoon as he was born) was *Peter*, who was much beholden for the advantages of his Education to the care and tendernels

^l *Nyſſ. vit. Macr. p. 185.*

his Siſter *Macrina*, who ſeaſon'd his early years with religious Principles, and the knowledge of Divine things, and ſo fill'd up all his hours, that he had little leaſure to divert to vain uſeleſs ſtudies. She was Father and Maſter, Tutor and Guardian to him, whom ſhe ſo improved by her prudent councils and inſtructions, that he quickly arriv'd to the utmoſt perfection of true Philoſophy. He had parts capable of any Science, eſpecially a *genius* for Mechanick Arts, which without any help he made himſelf Maſter of, beyond what others with long time and pains are wont to do. And though he attain'd not an equal accuracy and perfection in external literature with his Brothers, yet in the improvements of Virtue he was equal to them. To which end he gave up himſelf to a ſolitary and aſcetic life, joyn- ing himſelf to the retired converſation of his Mother and Siſter, with whom he ſpent a good part of his life. He was peculiarly remarkable for his Hoſpitality and Charity, and when in a time of great famine, multitudes that had heard of his liberal temper flock'd to him into the deſert, he made ſuch plentiful provisions for them, that the place ſeem'd no longer to be a Wilderneſs, But a populous City. *Baſil* being promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Ceſarea*, ordain'd him Pre- byter, as afterwards he was made Biſhop of *Sebaſtea* (that probably that was ſituate in *Cappadocia*, or as *Stephanus* according to the Divi- ſion in his time, in *Armenia*, there being ſeveral Cities of that and the like denomination, *Sebaſte*, *Sebaſtea*, *Sebaſtopolis* in the *Eastern* parts) though when this was, or how long he ſat, or how he diſcharg'd the Affairs of that See, we are wholly left in the dark. Nothing of his Writings remain, but one ſhort Epiſtle to his Brother *Nyſſen*, who at his requeſt, had undertaken to anſwer *Ennomius's* Book againſt *Baſil*, and had deſir'd his advice how to proceed in that Affair. By this ac- count that we have given, we ſee it true what *Nazianzen*^m obſerv'dⁿ in his Funeral Oration upon *Baſil*, that however his Parents were re- nowned for many noble Virtues and honorable Qualities, yet this was the greateſt, the moſt glorious of all, that they were ſo happy in their Children. And perhaps 'tis an inſtance hardly to be parallell'd in any Age, for three Brothers, all men of note and eminency, to be Biſhops at the ſame time.

^m *Orat. XX. p. 322.*

His WORKS.

Genuine.

*Homilia IX. in Hexaëmeron.**In Psalmos Homilia XXII.**Homilia XXXI. varii argumenti.**De baptismo Lib. II.**De vera virginitate ad Letoium Melirens.**Commentarii in XVI. priori Isaie capia.**Adversus Ennomium Lib. V.**Ad Amphilochoium de Spiritu Sancto.**Sermo de Abdicatone rerum.**De vera ac pia Fide.**Proemium Ethicorum de iudicio Dei.**Ethica seu Moralia.**Ascetica, seu de Institut. Monach.**Serm. II.**Regule fufius disputata.**Regula breviores.**Constitutiones Monastica.**Epistola ad Chilopen Anachoretam.**Ad Monachum lapsum, & Virgin.*
*lapp. Epist. III.**Ad Amphilochoium Epistola Canonica, III.**Epistola alie CCCCXXVIII.**Liturgia, sed interpolata.**Conciones Morales XXIV. ex Basilii libris. Per Simeonem Logothetam selecta.*

Supposititious.

*Homil. X^a & XI^a in Hexaëmeron.**De Grammatica exercitatione Libellus (revera Moschopuli.)**De Consolatione in adversis. Lat.**De laudibus eremi, seu vita solitaria (fragmentum ex oper. Petri Damiani.)**Admonitio ad filium Spiritualem. Lat.**Precatio cum sacris operaretur.**Fragmentum Epistola ad Julianum Imp.*

THE

THE LIFE OF
S. GREGORY of NAZIANZUM
BISHOP OF
CONSTANTINOPLE.



S E C T. I.

*His Acts from his birth till his coming from Athens.**The*

The deareness between him and Basil. The place and time of his birth. His Father Gregory brought up in an odd Sect of Religion, called that of the Hypsistarians. What that Sect was. His bigotry in that way; converted by what methods. His baptism; his advancement to the See of Nazianzum. The ill condition of that place at his coming to it. His diligence in its Reformation. The exquisite Piety of his Mother Nonna. The pregnancy of his Parts, and agreeableness of his temper to the noblest Studies. His foreign Education in what places. His Voyage to Athens, and the infinite danger of that passage. His effectual intercession with Heaven. His dangers communicated to his Parents in a dream. The appearance of his Mother to one of his acquaintance in the Ship. His happy arrival at Athens. His joynt studies with Basil, and their generous Emulation. His divine dream concerning Wisdom and Chastity. His acquaintance with Julian, afterwards Emperour, and the Censure he then pass'd upon him.

I.



T. GREGORY of Nazianzum ought by no means to be parted from S. Basil, the great Companion of his Life; a pair of the dearest and most intimate Friends, that we meet with in the whole History of the Church, knit and bound up in so firm a friendship, that as himself tells us^a, they had all things common;

^a Carm. de vit.
Iua. Tom. 2. p. 4.

— — — — — ὁ Ψυχὴ μία
Δυοῖν δέουσα συμπύκτων διαζύσσει.

and that 'twas but one and the same Soul, that united and acted both their Bodies. He was born at *Arianzum*^b (where his Father had a Country house) an obscure Village belonging to *Nazianzum*, a Town of the second *Cappadocia*, situate in that part of the Country called *Tiberina*, a poor, barren, unhealthful, and unpleasant place, and which perhaps had silently pass'd untaken notice of in Story, had not the interest it had in this great man given Reputation to it. He came into the World just about the time of the great *Nicene* Council, as if the divine Providence had design'd him on purpose for an able Champion to defend that Faith, that then began to be so vigorously oppos'd by the *Arian* Faction, and which the Fathers of that Synod took so much pains to assert and establish. His Parents^c were Persons of the better Rank, and no less eminent for their Vertues. His Father (whose name also was Gregory) was a good man, but had been unhappily educated^d in an odd Sect of Religion, a kind of *Samaritan* mixture, made up of *Judaism* and *Paganism*, or rather some select Rites of each: with the *Gentiles* they did honour to Fire, and burning Lights, but rejected Idols and Sacrifices; with the *Jews* they observ'd the Sabbath, and a strict abstinence from some kinds of Meats, but disowned Circumcision; pretending to worship no other Deity but the Almighty, Supreme, and Most high God; whence they took to themselves the name of *Hypsistarians*; a Sect not appearing among the Tribes of ancient *Hereticks*, though something like to it may be found among the *Euphemites*, mentioned by *Epiphanius*^e. It had been

^b Greg. presb. in cit. Naz. p. 3.
^c Nicet. argum. in Naz. Or. XV. vii. Naz. Or. XXV. p. 435.
^d Epist. VI. p. 770.

^e Greg. presb. ibid.

^a Naz. Or. XIX. p. 289.
vid. Or. X. p. 161. XI. p. 178. de vit. Iua. p. 2. de reb. suis. ib. p. 33. Gr. presb. loc. citat.

^f LXXX.

it seems the Religion of his Ancestors, and that wherein himself had been a Bigot in his younger years, the deserting whereof lost him the kindness of his friends, estrang'd^f his own Mother from him, and cut him off of his Estate. All which he entertain'd with greater cheerfulness than others are wont to do the greatest Honours, knowing that though he had lost a Mother upon Earth, he had gain'd a Father in Heaven; and though dispos'd of his Goods, he had secured in Heaven a better and an enduring Substance. The chief Instrument of his conversion was his Wife, who continually plied him with prayers and importunate persuasions, which at length made impression. Indeed he was admirably prepar'd for such a change by the piety of his Temper, and the purity of his Life. He was in a manner a Christian even before his coming over to Christianity: Such his strict care and government of himself, his humility and modesty, his temperance and chastity, justice and integrity, uncorruptness and impartiality in all the great Offices of the Commonwealth which he had undergone. Thus dispos'd, he stood fairer for a compliance with that Religion, wherein he was told these graces would shine with a better lustre, and wherein they would receive their utmost accomplishment and perfection. And an accident happened, which though not very considerable in it self, did yet turn the Scale. He dream'd^g one night, what he had never done before, that he sung that passage in *David's* Psalms, *I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord*. This way of singing seem'd a little strange to him, but withall inspir'd him with a secret pleasure and delight: The good Woman was not to be taught how to improve the passage, which she explain'd and urg'd with all its advantages; she magnified the mighty kindness and condescension of Heaven, pressing him not to be wanting to his own Salvation, nor any longer to resist the call of God, but immediately to break through whatever stood in the way to hinder him. He now yielded up himself to her importunity, and that nothing might be wanting, an opportunity presented it self to crown and compleat it.

^f Naz. Or. XIX. ibid.

^g Id. ib. p. 293.

II. IT happened about this time, that *Leontius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, with some other Prelates of his Province, set out in his Journey to the Council of *Nice*, and took *Nazianzum* in their way. To him he address'd himself, and acquainted him with his earnest desire to be made a Christian; in order whereunto he was forthwith put under the Rites preparatory to his initiation, in the management whereof the Catechist committed a mistake; for instead of making him stand up during his attendance upon the Catechetick Lecture (as was customary for the Catechumens who were Candidates for Baptism) he kneel'd down all the while, a posture proper only to those who were to be consecrated to the Priesthood. They that were present perceiv'd the mistake, but withall look'd upon it as a good Omen of his future advancement to the Episcopal Office. Soon after he was baptiz'd by the Bishop of *Nazianzum*, when at his coming out of the *Baptistery*, an extraordinary light and splendor was seen to shine round about him, beholden by several, who at present took no notice of it to one another, each one thinking the Vision had been communicated to him alone, but especially to the Bishop it appear'd with so surprizing a brightness, that he publickly cried out, and told the

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People, that he had anointed this Person to be his Successor in that place by the immediate Designation of the holy Ghost. Which accordingly came to pass, for upon the Bishop's death, after some considerable vacancy, he was promoted to that See. He found the place in a bad condition, and every thing strangely out of order. It had not been long erected into an Episcopal Station, his Predecessor being the first Bishop, a man indeed of an incomparable Life, but of great plainness and simplicity, destitute of those advantages, which the Bishops of those times were furnish'd with, and which the evident necessities of the Church did require. And yet even he too soon snatch'd away, and the See a long time vacant after his death, so that it was miserably over run with Vice and Error, when our new Prelate entred upon it, who set himself to make a speedy Reformation, and by his prudence and diligence form'd the People to better Manners, and at once brought them under the Laws both of Civility and Religion. Such, and so excellent a Person was this great man's Father; nor was his Mother *Nonna* less eminent for her Sex. A Woman descended of a pious Family, whose Vertues she improv'd to that height, that (if we may believe the account which her Son every where gives of her) she became for Piety the wonder of her Age. Children she had then none at least but one Daughter (if *Gorgonia* was her eldest) and was eagerly desirous ^h of a Son, in which behalf she oft solicited Heaven, promising as *Hannah* did in the like Case, if God gave her one, she would intirely devote him to him. Her Prayers like the others prevail'd above, and God to gratifie her present importunity, was pleas'd in a Vision by night to communicate to her both the shape of the Child she should bear, and the name by which he was to be call'd. And no sooner was she delivered, but careful to perform her vow, she immediately consecrated and gave him up to God.

^b Naz. de vit. f. 1. p. 2. Orat. XIX. p. 272. Gr. Prob. uti supra.

^k Gr. Prob. uti de vit. sua ut supra.

III. A Child he prov'd of ripe pregnant Parts^k, by which and the advantages of domestick Institution, under the Discipline and Government of his Parents, he soon out-strip'd his equals in Learning, wherein he made such quick advances, that his tender years were no hindrance to those improvements, which in others are the attainments of the maturest Age. He was above the little sports and pleasures of Youth, which he generously slighted as vain and useless, and obstructive to the progress of nobler Studies, nature having form'd him to a more grave and serious Temper, so that as his reason grew up with his years, he delighted in reading such Books as were at that time written in defence of the Catholick Cause, and in frequently conversing with wise and good men. The first step of his foreign Education, was to *Cæsarea*, where he put himself under the best Masters. and where I doubt not, he first became acquainted with *Basil*. Having rifled the Learning of that University, he went into *Palestine*, to *Cæsarea Philippi*, where some of the most celebrated Masters of that Age resided, and where the great *Eusebius* then sat Bishop; where he studied under *Theophrastus*^l the famous Orator, and had among other fellow Pupils *Enzoetus*, afterwards by the *Arian* Faction made Bishop of that place. Here he particularly applied himself to the study of Rhetorick, minding the elegance, not the vanity and affectation of that Profession. Hence he removed to *Alexandria*, whose Schools were

^l Hieron. de Script. in Epistol. G. 113.

were famous next those at *Athens*. Having furnish'd himself with the advantages of that Society of Learning, the last Stage he design'd was *Athens*; where he intended to lay the topstone. In order hereunto he went aboard ^m a Ship belonging to *Agina*, an Island not far from *Athens* (the Mariners whereof were his familiar acquaintance) but in a bad season, it being then about the middle of *November*, when the Seas are most rough and stormy, and Navigation, if ever, dangerous. And he found it so: for being arriv'd near *Cyprus*, a violent Tempest suddenly arose, which shook and toss'd the Ship at random, a thick darkness wrap'd them up, so that neither Land, nor Sea, nor Sky could be descried, and this attended with dreadful Thunder and Lightning, as frightful and amazing as the darkness that covered them. And to add yet a deeper accent, Hunger and Famine conspir'd with the common Calamity, their Provisions of Water and Victuals being all lost or spoil'd, though herein seasonably reliev'd by some *Phœnician* Traders, who though in the same danger, ventur'd near the Ship, and supplied that want. The Storm in the mean time encreas'd into a greater rage and fierceness, and continued several dayes, the Ship ran a drift, all the skill of the Master, or the strength of the Sea-men being vain and useless. The Case in short seem'd desperate, and no probability to escape, every man gave up himself for lost, and bitterly bewail'd his unhappy Fate, and the immediate hazard of his life. While our *Athenian* Passenger was taken up with Considerations that more nearly concerned him. The apprehensions of death and another World, had summon'd him to a review of his past Life, and nothing so much troubled him, as the thoughts of his being unbaptiz'd, and thereby unintituled to the Privileges of the Christian State. A Reflection that made him burst out into the most passionate Sorrows, he tore his Cloaths, threw himself upon the floor, mourn'd and cried out with so loud Exclamations, that the very Sea-men laying aside the fence of their common danger, came and sat by him, and wept with him for Company. But recollecting himself, he address'd his Prayers to Heaven, and laid before God those miraculous deliverances and Preservations he had afforded his People in the most imminent dangers, he pleaded the particular care which the Divine Goodness and Providence had heretofore taken of him, that he was his by a most solemn Dedication, and that now a second time he did devote and consecrate himself to him, which he would assuredly make good, were he pleas'd at this time to deliver him. His Prayers were no sooner ended, but granted, the Tempest ceas'd, and the Ship went on securely in its right course, with this farther happy effect of so miraculous a Preservation, that all the Passengers forthwith declar'd themselves resolv'd to become Christians. And what is yet further memorable, this imminent danger at Sea, was at the same time communicated to his Parents in a Dream, who presently betook themselves to Prayers and Tears for his safety; and himself a little after, as soon as the abating of the Storm suffered him to indulge his rest, dream'd that he led in Triumph a certain Fury, a malignant *Demon*, that had been busie to contrive and promote his ruine. Nay, one of his intimate acquaintance, a young man then with him in the Ship, did at midnight, when they were at the greatest *Crisis* of their danger, behold his Mother *Nonna* coming along

^m Proter loci supra. id. Orat. XIX. p. 266. & Carm. I. de reb. suis. G. 3. p. 32, 37.

upon the Sea, and laying hold of the Ship, drawing it safe to land, which was no sooner declar'd, but the weather clear'd up, and the Tempest vanish'd. The Storm thus over, they held on their course, and passing by *Rhodes*, came not long after to *Agina*, (where the Ship-Master liv'd) and so to *Athens*, where he was joyfully entertain'd, and it was soon known what he was, his great Abilities rendering him admir'd, not only by the Scholars, but the chief Professors of that place.

^a Naz. or vit.
sua. p. 4. Orat.
XX. p. 330.
Gr. Presb. id.

IV. HE had not been long at *Athens*, when *Basil*, who had lately studied at *Constantinople*, came thither. And now the acquaintance that was begun before, grew up here into an indissoluble Friendship. They dwelt together under the same Roof, did eat at the same Table, joyn'd in the same Studies, wherein they were not sour'd by Envy, but whetted on by a generous Emulation; nor was the Contention so much which should out-vy and out-go the other, as which should be forwardest in yielding to the other the glory of their eminent attainments. They equally drew in the same paths of Virtue, and nothing so firmly united their Affections, as a mighty zeal and sincere reverence for Religion. They were generally taken notice of for their prudent and grave demeanor, their temperance and abstemiousness, their modesty and chastity, their integrity and contempt of the World, scorning those little Arts, by which others unworthily enrich'd and advanc'd themselves; the firmness and constancy of their minds, which they maintain'd under the heaviest Calamities, and eminently kept up in that terrible Earth-quake that over-run *Greece*, when the courage of so many others sunk and fail'd. I forbear particular instances of the Friendship and Studies of these two great men during their residence at *Athens*, having remark'd enough to that purpose in *S. Basil's Life*. While he thus pursued his Philosophick Studies, he had a not unacceptable Dream, that seem'd to carry something more than humane in it. He dream'd that sitting at his Book, he espied two lovely and beautiful Ladies standing by him in white Garments, one on his right hand, the other on his left. The man (who had taken up unalterable Resolutions for a chaste single Life) beheld them with a rigid frown, asking who they were, and what their business. They familiarly embracing him, answered, don't be troubled, young man, we are very well known to you; the one of us is called *Wisdom*, the other *Chastity*, and we are sent by God to dwell with you, who have already prepar'd in your Soul so neat and pleasant an Habitation for us, and with that vanish'd. And indeed arm'd with a pious and generous Resolution, he maintain'd the Innocency and Integrity of his mind, amidst all the Temptations, and those charms of Company and Conversation, which that place above most others did afford. Amongst others with whom he fell into acquaintance there, was *Julian*, afterwards Emperor, who was come thither under pretence of study, but chiefly to consult the Impostors and Magicians (to whom he was passionately addicted) concerning his future Fortunes. His behaviour there was very odd and indecorous, so that from the usual distortings of his mouth, rolling and wandring of his eyes, the fierceness of his looks, the tossings of his head, and unequal motions of his shoulders, his uneven gait, and excessive laughter, his broken speech, rash and incoherent Questions, and his bold and impious manner of disputing;

Nazianzen

^a Rufin. Prolog.
in op. Naz.
inter Naz. oper.
T. 1. p. 726. ex
ipsis Naz.
Carm. IV. de
Anim. sue ca-
lam. T. 2. p. 71,
72.

^b Naz. Orat. q.
p. 121, 122.
Gr. Presb. p. 12.

Nazianzen was wont to foretel what course he would take, and to say to his Friends, See what a mischief the Roman Empire nourishes in its Bowels, wishing withal, that herein he might prove a false Prophet. Though alas, the course of his after-life too truly verified that Prediction.

SECT. II.

His Acts from his return from Athens, till his being made Bishop of Salima.

His publick Profession of Rhetorick, and great Fame at the time of his leaving Athens. His meeting with his Brother Cæsarius. The excellent learning of that young man, and his refusal of Preferments and Dignities offered him to profess Physick at Constantinople. Nazianzen's Consultation about his future course of Life. Ordain'd Presbyter by his Father. His rescuing his Father from the subtleties of the Arian Impostures, and reconciling him to the Monks. His Oration upon that occasion. Julian's Edict to prohibit Christians teaching of Gentile learning. This Policy countermin'd by the excellent Poems of Nazianzen and Apollinaris. His Father's Courage and Resolution against Julian's Officers. Nazianzen's two invectives against Julian publish'd after his death. His retirement into the Wilderness, and strict course of Life there. His return home to assist the infirmities of his Father. His Apologetick de fuga sua. The death of Cæsarius. A brief account of his Learning, Eminency, and Preferments at Court. His stout resisting Julian's solicitations. His return to Court after the death of Julian. His miraculous escape in the terrible Earthquake in Bithynia. His Brothers Letter to him upon that occasion. His Funeral Sermon preach'd by Nazianzen. His great Charity, and Nazianzen's trouble in recovering his Estate. Whether the Questions and Answers under his name be his.

I. **B**asil had now quitted the University, and *Nazianzen* ^a by the unwearied importunity of the Students was prevail'd with to stay behind, and publickly to profess the Art of Rhetorick, which he did for a little while, managing the Chair with great Honour, both to himself and the University. But the love of his own Countrey, the age and infirmities of his Parents, and the considerable part he had spent of his own Life (being at this time XXX years of Age) made him earnestly desirous to return. So taking leave privately of his Friends, he left *Athens*, and took his Journey ^b by Land to *Constantinople*, where he met with his Brother *Cæsarius*, just then arriv'd from *Alexandria*, where he had so accomplish'd himself in all the polite Learning of that Age, and especially in Physick (to the Study whereof he had particularly applyed himself) that he had not been long in the Imperial City; when his Fame had so far recommended

^a Gr. Presb.
p. 8. de vit.
sua. p. 5.

^b Naz. Or. X.
p. 164.

commended him to the notice and good opinion of all, That public Honours were decreed him, Matches propounded from Noble Families, the dignity of a Senator offered him, and a Committee ordered to wait upon the Emperour, to treat him, that (though the City wanted at that time no learned men in any faculty) yet this might be added to all its other Glory, that *Cæsius* might become its Physician and Inhabitant. These were indeed great Temp. tations to a young Gentleman: But the Authority and Influence of his Brother *Nazianzen* weighed down all other Considerations, at whose persuasions he modestly declin'd the honourable Proposals and Importunities of the City, which was by no means willing to part with him, and accompanied him into his own Country, welcome to all, but especially to their Parents, being made much dearer to them by so long an absence from them. The first thing considerable *Nazianzen* did after his return, was to make good what he had so solemnly vow'd, to consecrate himself to God by Baptism. This done, his next Consult was, in what course of life he should fix himself. He found himself strongly inclin'd to a solitary and monastick life, the pleasures of Retirement and Contemplation being infinitely grateful to him. On the other hand he was inflam'd with a desire, fully to inform himself in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and the divine Mysteries of the Christian Faith, wherein he could not hope for those advantages from a solitary Life, which he might expect from Society and Conversation. He resolv'd therefore upon a middle course, neither wholly to desert the World, nor yet to engage in the Business, and the bustle of it; he could reap the benefits of Contemplation at Home, as well as the devoutest Asce- tick in the Wilderness, and yet at the same time (what he account- ed no small part of Piety) be helpful and assisting to his aged Pa- rents. He look'd upon it as a great part of that divine Philosophy he had attain'd to, to be able to promote the ends of Vertue, with- out the help of a Cell or a Monastery, desiring rather to be, than to seem Religious, it not being the place, but the Life makes the Monk. And his Father to render him more useful both to himself, and to the Church, surprized him into Ecclesiastick Orders against his will. For though he had a singular reverence for the Ministerial and Episcopal Order, yet was he resolv'd not to engage in it. Where- in yet his Father over-ruled him, and ordain'd him Presbyter, which he took the more patiently, considering the necessities of the Church at that time, and how ready Hereticks were to infect the Orthodox, as he tells *Basil* in a Letter ^c upon this occasion. And indeed he had sad experience of their subtle Insinuations in his own Father. For the *Arian* party manag'd by *Acacius* in the Convention at *Constantinople*, held presently after that of *Selencia*, Anno CCCLIX. had, with as much Artifice as they could, refin'd their Doctrine; they pretended out of a mighty reverence to the Scriptures, they could not admit any terms into the exposition of the Faith, which were not found there, and that therefore the Word *Consubstantial* being laid aside, they thought good to express the Article thus, That the Son was in all things like the Father, according to the Scriptures. This smooth pretence impos'd upon several of the Eastern Bishops, and among the rest upon *Gregory* ^d of *Nazianzen*, who receiv'd the Con- fession

^c Ep. XI.
p. 776.

^d Gr. Presb.
p. 10. Naz. Or.
XIX. p. 297.
2d. argum.
2d. Or. XII.
T. 2. p. 632.

fession, and admitted the Persons to Communion. Hereupon the Monks of *Cappadocia* (of all others the most zealous affecters of the Catholick Doctrine) flew off, denying him Communion, a great part also of the People mov'd by their Example, falling off from him. The breach was wide, and every day likely to become wider, had not *Nazianzen* bestir'd himself to make it up. He first convinc'd his Father of the Error which his uncautiousness and simplicity had run him into, which he found him as ready to recant, and to give publick satisfaction to the People; then he dealt with the other party, whom he soon prevail'd with to be reconcil'd. And that he might bind all with a faster Cement, he made upon this occasion, his first Oration concerning Peace, wherein having elegantly describ'd the Monastick state, and given thanks to God for the late re-union, he persuades to a firm and lasting agreement, the advantages where- of he discours'd at large, and the intollerable mischiefs and disorders that division brings upon the World.

^e Orat. XII.
p. 190.

II. *JULIAN* was now got into the Throne. and was become a declared Enemy to Christians; and among the several methods whereby he attempted to suppress and stifle Christianity, this was one. He publish'd a Law ^f prohibiting Christians not onely to teach School (but as the Antients tell us) to be taught the Books and Learning of the *Gentils*. It vext him to see how shamefully he and his Party went down the Wind, and especially that *Basil* and *Nazianzen* had so fill'd the World with the renown of their Eloquence and Learning, and he had little hopes his beloved Paganism would gain ground, while its Adversaries were so able to beat them at their own Weapons, which therefore he was resolv'd to wrest out of their hands. But herein the wife was caught in his own Craftiness, God raising up those, who by their admirable works, abundantly suppli- ed the want of any *Gentile* learning. Among which of chief Note, were the two *Apollinares* in *Syria*; the Father, an excellent Poet and Grammarian, in imitation of *Homer* wrote the whole story, and in- tire antiquities of the *Jewish* Nation, till the Reign of *Saul* in *Heroic* verse, which he divided into XXIV Books, and denominated each, according to the Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet. The rest of the Sa- cred story he represented in other kinds of Verse, either *Comic* like *Menander*, or *Tragic* like *Euripides*, or *Lyrick* in the way of *Pindar*, indeed comprehended the whole System of the liberal Sciences in va- rious sorts of Poetry, still taking his Argument out of the holy Scrip- tures. While his Son, the younger *Apollinaris* (besides his Book *ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας*, which he dedicated to the Emperour, wherein he dextrously defended the Cause of Christianity, and refused the fal- shood and follies of the Pagan Religion) reduc'd the History of the Gospels, and *S. Paul's* Epistles into the form of Dialogues, after the manner, and in the stile of *Plato*, and that with so much Art and Accuracy, that they were capable of vying with the most elaborate and celebrated Compositions of the Ancients. Upon the same occa- sion we were told, ^g that *Nazianzen* compos'd a good part of his Po- ems, comprehending all sorts of divine, grave, and serious Subjects in all kinds of Poetry. By which means, the Christian youth of those times were completely furnish'd, and found no want of those Heathen Authors that were taken from them: Nor did *Julian* pro- ceed

^f Naz. Or. III.
p. 51. 96.
Suet. 1. 3. c. 16.
p. 187. Sec. 1. 5.
c. 18 p. 623.
Nicom. l. 10.
c. 25. p. 55.

^g Gr. Presb.
p. 12. 33.
Zonar. Anecd.
Tom. III. p. 2

^b Naz. Or.
XIX. p. 307.

ceed against the Christians merely by stratagems and arts of subtilty, but by acts of force and cruelty. He lay at this time at *Cæsarea*, where he made them feel the effects of his severity, and thence he sent parties of Souldiers up and down the Countrey, to rout the Bishops, and take possession of their Churches. One Party of them came to *Nazianzum*,^b where the Commander peremptorily requir'd the Church (which the elder *Gregory* had not long since built) to be delivered to him. But the good old man stoutly oppos'd him, daily assembling the People there to publick Prayers; who were so affected with the common case, that the Officer for his own safety was forc'd to surcease his demand, and quietly to retire. Not long after this, *Julian* was slain, and *in that very day his thoughts perish'd*. After whose death *Nazianzum* publish'd two *invective Orations* against him, in which he strains all the sinews of his Wit and Eloquence to the highest Peg, to describe the pernicious Projects, desperate Acts, and miserable death of that unfortunate Prince. Wherein, though the Subjects he treats of, deserv'd a great share of that Satyrical and Sarcastick Rhetorick he bestows upon it, yet must it be confess'd, that some things must be plac'd to the accounts of heat and Animosity, and the Liberty which Orators are wont to take, especially in declamations against an inveterate Enemy, and one too that had particularly design'd his head, had he return'd safe from the *Persian* expedition. But its time now to step back a little, to resume the story which we have left behind.

ⁱ de vit. sua.
p. 6.
^k Or. I. p. 42.
XIX. p. 312.
^l vid. Naz.
Ep. IV. V.
p. 769.

8. THOUGH *Nazianzum*, to comply with the importunity of his Father, and the exigences of the Church, had suffered himself to be engag'd in holy Orders, yet he look'd upon it as a kind of force and Tyrannyⁱ put upon him, which he knew not well how to digest, and it caus'd his natural inclinations^k to privacy and retirement, with so much a greater *Impetus* to return upon him. He had been of late strongly invited^l and importun'd by his dear Friend *Basil* to come to him into his *Pontic* solitudes, and though he desir'd nothing more, yet he knew not as yet how to desert his Parents. But his Brother *Cæsarius* being now return'd from Court, with a purpose to iix at home, gave him opportunity to withdraw, who thereupon presently betook himself to his old Companion; with whom he spent some years in that solitary recess, where he perfectly learnt to despise the World, to correct the extravagancies of nature, to regulate his passions, and to subdue the lower appetites to the Laws of reason and sobriety. He lay upon the ground, fed sparingly upon the meanest diet, wore nothing but what was coarse and vile, he watch'd, wept, and fasted; work'd hard all day, and fast'd hard at night, which he spent many times intire in Hymns or Contemplations; so far from yielding to the Courthship of any pleasure, that he suffer'd it not so much as to address it self unto his thoughts. Nor was he yet so intirely taken up in these severe exercises of mortification, as wholly to neglect his Studies, which he daily improv'd, especially that of the holy Scriptures, which the oftner he read, the better he lik'd, so that in a short time he began to dis-relish those prophane Authors, which before time had stoln away so many of his hours, and had entertain'd him with so much delight.

IV. HE

IV. HE thus imploy'd himself, when the necessity of Affairs at Home forcibly ravish'd him from his sweet retirements. His Father stoop'd under the infirmities of age, and was no longer able to attend his Charge, with that care and diligence he was wont to do; the *Arians* by their interest at Court, carried all before them in every place, turning out, and putting in at pleasure, and by their Agents and emissaries in all parts, perverting men of simple and honest minds. To be helpful to him in these Circumstances, his Father had oft solicited him to return, and besides his own, had us'd the Intercession of Friends to persuade him, till at length he yielded, and came back. He return'd about *Easter*, and took the occasion of making an Oration^m to the People, as afterwards to vindicate himself from those ill interpretations which some men had made of his slight into the Wilderness, he publish'd a large *Apologetical*,ⁿ wherein he shews, 'twas not fear of danger, nor making light of an Ecclesiastick Office, nor discontent that better Preferment was not offered him, that had caus'd him to retire, but a great love to solitude, a fence of his unfitness for an Ecclesiastick Charge, and a dread of the importance and difficulties of the Office: Whereupon he proceeds elegantly to describe the Sacerdotal Office, and what are the genuine Qualifications of a true and well-accomplish'd Prelate, with severe reflections upon the irregular Ordinations, and miscarriages of many in those times. That as to his return, he was sway'd in it by a double motive, his desire to gratifie the Church of *Nazianzum*, who were importunate for his coming among them, and the reverence he bore to his Parents, whose Commands he could no longer resist, and whose necessities call'd for his assistance. Thus he became Coadjutor to his Father, the cares of whose old age he reliev'd by his unwearied pains and diligence, in preaching, opposing and convincing Gainfayers, and all other parts of the Ministerial Function, though some who had been forward to recal him from his solitudes, shewed a great coldness and indifferency to his Ministry, when he was come among them, whereof he complains with some resentment in an Oration^o preach'd on purpose upon that occasion.

^m Or. XII.
p. 673. vid.
Nict. argum.
V. comment. in
hanc Orat.
ⁿ Or. I. seu Ap.
olog. post
sugam.

^o Or. II. p. 46.

V. HE had not long entred upon this Charge, when a sad accident did greatly afflict their Family, the death, I mean, of his Brother *Cæsarius*, who departed this life a little after the terrible Earthquake that hapned in *Bithynia* Octob. 11th. Ann. CCCLXVIII. A Gentleman, whose Parts, Learning, and Vertues made him equal to any, Superior to most of that time. After a pious Education under his Parents, he was sent to *Alexandria*^p, where he soon went beyond his Companions, with great success, travelling through the whole Circle of the Sciences, though he particularly betook himself to the study of Physick, and became so eminent in that Profession, that in his return (as we noted before) he was invited to stay at *Constantinople* upon the most honourable terms, as before his quick Parts, vast Learning, strict Temperance and Sobriety had endear'd him to all at *Alexandria*. He return'd with his Brother into his own Countrey, to which he consecrated the first Fruits of his Profession, not more to his own credit, than the advantage of the places where he liv'd. Here he continued some years, when to the dissatisfaction of his Friends he remov'd to *Constantinople* under the reign of *Julian*; who lov'd

^p Naz. Or. X.
p. 163.

a man of Learning where ever he met him, but was particularly taken with *Cæsarinus*. He had scarce given a *Specimen* of his Learning, and excellency in his Art. when he was made chief Physician to the Emperor, and the highest Honours and Offices at Court not thought too great for him, being at last made Treasurer to the Emperor. It was no small grief and trouble to his Parents (nay, and what others reproach'd them with) that he had thus dispos'd of himself. What the Son of a Christian Bishop thrust himself into the Service and Family of an Apostate Emperor, one that openly defied, and plainly subverted Christianity? Was it for him to engage in Honour and Offices, to hunt after Power and Grandeur, to amass Wealth and Treasure, at a time, when he should think it the richest, noblest and safest Course, with a generous courage to oppose the growing Impieties of the age, and to get as far as he could, out of the reach of the Villanies and Mischiefs of an evil time? How could Bishops ever hope to prevail with others, not to suffer themselves to be carried down the Stream, or to keep themselves from being infected with the Superstition and Idolatry of the times, if they could not first perswade their own Children? With what face could they reprove others for their Faults, that swept not before their own door, and remov'd the Objections that lay at home? All which his Brother represented in a Letter ^a to him, beseeching him to lay down his Offices, and retire, as the only way to secure himself, and to refresh, comfort, and preserve the lives of his aged Parents, at all times ready to tumble into their Graves, but now wholly unable to bear up under the weight of so great a trouble. That if all this sway'd nothing, he would only put him in mind, that one of these two things must be his Portion, either, that continuing a sincere Christian, he must be unequally yoked, with a shameful and impious Tribe, and live unworthy of himself, and the great hopes that had been conceiv'd of him; or if he did go on to pursue Honour and Applause, 'twould betray him to temptation and a snare, and what would prove bitterness in the latter end. The Counsel had its desir'd effect, *Cæsarinus* grew weary of his Attendance at Court, and resolv'd to part with all, rather than make *Shipwreck of Faith and a Good Conscience*. *Julian* had attempted ^b his constancy, with Arguments suited both to his hopes and fears; but these were easily thrown off. Next he sought to run him down by force of Reason, and a warm and brisk Dispute pass'd between them. But *Cæsarinus* stood his ground, and came off Conqueror, and having answer'd all his Sophisms, and rejected all his Offers, in conclusion plainly told him, that he both was a Christian, and was resolv'd to be so. And though notwithstanding all this, the Emperor was unwilling to part with him, yet being then preparing for his expedition against *Persia*, *Cæsarinus* took the opportunity to return. About two years after he went back to Court, when *Valens*, not yet tainted with *Arianism*, was advanc'd to the *Eastern Empire*, by whom he was restor'd to his former Office of *Comes rerum privatarum*, or Treasurer of the Imperial Rents, in which capacity a Referate to him is yet extant in the *Theodosian Code*. Indeed, both *Valentinian* and *Valens* were at strife, which of them should have him, though *Valentinian* was willing to resign him up, as fittest to serve the *Eastern* Emperor. Nor was his present

q Ed. XVII.
p. 779.

† *Orist.* X.
p. 167.

e employment any more than an earnest of what higher Dignities were
 design'd for him. In the execution of this Office he went into Bi-
thyria, where he was when that fatal Earthquake happen'd; which,
 as in other places it left such lamentable footsteps of its rage and fu-
 ry, so particularly overturn'd the great and famous City of *Nice*.
 with the far major part of its Inhabitants, and *Casarius* himself had
 perish'd in the common Ruins, had not the divine Providence mira-
 culously interpos'd for his deliverance, by preserving him and some
 few more under hollow parts of the ruined Houses, so that he es-
 cap'd without any considerable damage. This Accident *Nazianzen*
 immediately laid hold of, writing to his Brother wisely to improve
 what had hapn'd to him, that even the fears of danger might be
 manag'd to very useful purposes, and to the bringing of us nearer
 unto God; that we should not so much resent the evils that befall
 us, as be thankful to God, that we are delivered from them, and in
 all Circumstances of life, whether private or publick, devote our
 selves to him, who is the Author of our Preservation, and whose
 Service we ought not to neglect, for a few little trifling advantages,
 which places of Honour and Profit might bring in; an Admonition
 that perhaps might not be overwelcome to him: That he heartily
 wish'd himself with him, to bear part in the joy of his deliverance,
 and more fully to discourse him about these matters; but if that
 could not be that at least he might out of hand enjoy his compan-
 y at home, where they might jointly solemnize the memory of
 so signal a preservation. *Casarius* understood his meaning, and it
 seems, follow'd his Advice: For soon after, he came home, fell sick, and
 died, and his Funeral was attended with Psalmodies, and lighted Tor-
 ches carried before it; wherein his own Mother bore her part; his
 Funeral Oration was made by his Brother, wherein he especially com-
 mends him for his ingenuous temper, his sobriety, and the strictness
 of his conversation, his care to keep himself in the midst of all his
 greatness, from being corrupted with the snares of the World, and
 the Vices that attend Princes Courts, his Fidelity and Constancy
 to his Religion, and his incomparable Charity to the poor, whom
 by his last Will he made the sole Heirs of his Estate, comprizing
 all in a few words, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold,
 τοῦτο ἐστὶν τὸ βούλημά μου ὅτι ἡλικίαν ᾗ ὁ υἱός μου, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν
 I have be given to the poor. His Estate was considerable (though
 he had lost no small part of it in the fatal Earthquake) but no sooner
 was he dead, but some greedy Officers laid hands upon it, pretend-
 ing it due to them, and that they must be accountable for it to the
 Exchequer, nay, and *Nazianzen* who had possess'd himself of some
 small part of it, and dispos'd it to the use of his Will, was brought
 into trouble about it, insomuch, that he was forc'd to address him-
 self to *Sophronius* the Governor, and intreat him to do right to his
 deceased Friend, one, whom both living and dying he had lov'd and
 honour'd, and that he would pity and relieve those who were in-
 nocently betray'd into so troublesom an Office. The Contest it seems
 was not presently ended, it depending after *Nazianzen* was made Bi-
 shop, as appears from St. Basil's Letter * to *Sophronius* about this ve-
 ry thing, to whom he truly states the case, and begs of him to use
 his Interest with the Treasurer, that the business might be brought

* Vid. titm
 Naz. Carm. l.
 de reb. fam.
 2. c. p. 34.

* Ep. XVI.
 p. 778.

* Naz. ihl.
 p. 173. h. f.
 Ep. LXXXIX.
 j. 156.

* Naz. Ep.
 XVIII. p. 781.

* Loc. supr.
 citat.

Vid. etiam
Naz. Carm. I.
de reb. suis.
T. 2. p. 34.

Ep. XVI.
p. 778.

^u Naz. ibi l.
p. 173. B. 16.
Ep. LXXXIV.
l. 156.

^w Naz. Ep.
XVIII. p. 781.

* Loc. *supra*.
cit. at.

to an Issue, and that he would find out a way, whereby the good man might be freed from the vexatious suit wherein he was intangled. But to pass by that, so great and exemplary were *Cæsarius's* Vertues, that he was invested after his death with the Honour of a Saint, and his name has found a place in the *Martyrologies* ^γ of the Church. *Snidas* says, ^z he wrote several Books, and especially against the *Gentiles*; and at this day there are four Books of *Dialogues* concerning divine and spiritual matters extant ^a under his name. And for his ^β 'tis plain, they went in the dayes of *Photius*, when they consisted of CCXX *Questions* and *Answers*, though they contain somewhat less than CC. at this day. The Style is clear, but Poetical, and the matters themselves accurately enough discuss'd. But 'tis very evident, that the Author of these *Dialogues* liv'd somewhat later than our *Cæsarius*, as is manifest from several Passages and Quotations in them, nor did he tarry, much less publicly teach XX years at *Constantinople*, as is expressly affirm'd in the Title of them. Not to say, that the Argument of them being purely Theological, and of the subtlest Questions and Speculations in Religion, was foreign to a man of his Profession, and unsuitable to his Practice and Course of Life, and who was not baptiz'd neither till a little before his death: And what is more, his Brother in the large and particular accounts he gives of him, has not the least hint to this purpose, no, nor that ever he committed any thing to writing, which if he had, 'tis not reasonable to think he would have pass'd it by.

^γ Vid. *Mort. Rom. Ed. XXV.*
^z In *P. Kar. ed. 1700.*
^a Exs. gr. l. in *Ed. P. P. 1700.*
^β In *Ton. l. p. 545. vid.*
^γ In *N. Or. X. c. 101. CCX. col. 547.*

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

His Acts from his being made Bishop, till his going to Constantinople.

Basil's importunate soliciting him to become Bishop of Sasima, and why. His obstinate refusal of that offer. The sharp Contests between these dear Friends upon that account. Over-ruled by the Persuasions and Authority of his Father, he is ordain'd Bishop of that place. His Apologetick Oration upon that occasion. His Oration to entertain Gregory Nyssen. Anthymus of Tyana his endeavour to gain him over to his side. Nazianzen's utter refusal to desert Basil. His neglecting to go to Sasima. The great inconveniences of that place. His withdrawing to an Hospital, and being remanded thence to the assistance of his Father, submitted to upon what Condition. His Oration made upon that occasion. The Mutiny of the People of Nazianzen against the Imperial Assessor. All things pacified by Nazianzen's Oration. The death of his Sister Gorgonia. Her transcendent Vertues, pious Life, and happy Death. The Death of his Father. His great Age, and many Infirmities. His exemplary Vertues briefly enumerated. The Sermon Preach'd by Nazianzen at his Funeral. This followed by the Death of his Mother Nonna. The holy Life, the admirable graces and accomplishments of that pious and excellent Woman. His retirement from Nazianzum, and presiding over a Society of devout Virgins at Seleucia. Summon'd to the Synod at Antioch. By them oblig'd to go to Constantinople, to support the sinking cause of Catholick Truth, miserably oppress'd by the Arian Factions.

HIS Brother being dead, *Nazianzen* continued at home, performing all dutiful Offices to his Parents, when he was unhappily drawn into new Troubles; which he oft bewails as the greatest inquietude of his Life. *Valens* the Emperor (out of spite, as some conjecture to St. Basil) had divided *Cappadocia* into two Provinces, and had constituted *Tyana* the Metropolis of the Second *Cappadocia*, by which means *Anthimus* Bishop of that See set up for a Metropolitan, and laid claim to the Churches within that Province, formerly dependent upon the See of *Cæsarea*. Basil resented the injury, but knew not how to remedy it, nor to make up the loss, but by erecting some new Bishopricks. Which he did, and among the rest *Sasima* (*ἡ Σάσιμα*) a Town lying within the Verge of the Second *Cappadocia*. A trusty Friend in this Station, he reckon'd would mightily secure his Interest, and keep a fair *Decorum* between him and *Anthimus*, the Town lying between *Cæsarea* and *Tyana*; and none could he think of so fit for this Affair as his dear Friend *Gregory*. To him ^c therefore he proposes it by Letter, which the other rejected with Contempt, as a thing destructive of his beloved privacy, which made him decline all publick Preferment in the Church, but this especially, a place so mean and contemptible in it self, and upon

^c *Naz. O. XX. p. 356. Basil. XXXI. 65. XXXII. p. 765 de vit. fut. p. 7. Or. Prish. p. 14.*

upon all accounts so inconvenient for him. *Basil* nettled with his obstinate refusal, treated him it seems with some severity, calling him a *Reckless* and a *Clown*, and a man that understood not his Interest, and that was resolv'd to forfeit and disoblige his Friends. The other replied with stomach enough, that he knew not wherein he had deserv'd this usage, that 'twas hard for a man first to be abus'd, and then charg'd for complaining of it; that perhaps the best account that could be given of it, was, that his Archiepiscopal Dignity had swell'd him with pride and loftiness; otherwise, abating the eminency of his place, he knew not wherein he was inferior to him, a thing which he himself at all other times was forward enough to allow; that the World talk'd loud of him for this unkind attempt, and that he was weary with making Apologies to defend him from those sharp Censures, that were pass'd upon him, that those who spoke softest, said, it was not according to those strict Laws of Friendship that were between them, that 'twas an instance of great contempt and disrespect, after he had made so much use of his assistance (he means I suppose, his endeavours in promoting *Basil* to the See of *Cæsarea*) he should now cast him away as a dishonourable instrument, good for nothing, and deal with him like the supporters of a new-built Arch, which when the structure is able to stand alone, are taken down, and thrown aside as useless and unprofitable; that he beg'd of him to let him enjoy his ease and privacy, and not to reproach him with sloth and idleness, because he refus'd his offer of *Sisima*, and had no mind to a Bishoprick, while others were contending for them with zeal and fierceness; a quiet life being to him above all other business, wherein if he had more to follow him, the Church would have far less trouble, and the Faith, which now by every Party was made an instrument of Faction, would be preserv'd much more entire and sound: That therefore he should do well to let him alone, and not attempt to rob the new Metropolis of so glorious a prize as *Sisima*, and in the mean time discover (what he ought to keep secret) the unwarrantable design he had in it: That however he dispos'd his Affairs, yet as to himself, he had gain'd these two points from his Friendship, never henceforth to trust Friends, nor to esteem any thing more excellent and valuable than God. To such heats and jars may the dearest, and the firmest Friendship be sometimes expos'd.

II. *BASIL* though meeting with all this opposition, would not however give over the attempt. His own interest failing, he knew no better way to over-power *Nazianzen*, than by gaining over his Father to his Party. He did so, and by his persuasions and commands, he was at last prevail'd with to comply, and accordingly was ordain'd Bishop of *Sisima*; at what time he made an Apologetic Oration^d, directed peculiarly to his Father and *S. Basil*, and let them know what 'twas had made him so unwilling to undertake that charge, at the consideration whereof, he was as much amaz'd, as Children are wont to be at a great flash of Lightning; that the thing being done, it was but reasonable they should be his Guides and Tutors, to instruct him in the true Art of feeding and governing his Flock; with all modestly reflecting upon *Basil*, that he who while they were Fellow-Pupils, had treated him with so much Humanity, should

^d Oration. VII.
p. 142.

should now put such hard things upon him; that he had indeed got the better of him, and carried the day, but 'twas not by argument, but by force; that he should prosperously go on in his pastoral Government, and shew him the way both by his Precepts and Examples, whose happy conduct he was resolv'd to follow. Upon the same Argument and Occasion, and to the same Persons, (though whether at the same time, I know not) he discours'd in another Oration^e, modestly complaining of the injury that had been done him, in drawing him out of the shades of his beloved Solitude, and thrusting him upon the Stage of a publick Life, a thing he little expected from Persons of such intimate Familiarity and Friendship. The next day came *Gregory Nyssen*, *Basil's* Brother, (who probably should have been present at the Ordination) whose arrival (it being then a Festival Commemoration of the Martyrs) he welcom'd with an Oration^f, wherein passing by his own Case, as not proper for that occasion, he principally presses them to imitate the Piety, Purity, Zeal, and Constancy of the Martyrs, to cleanse our selves, and offer up Soul and Body, as a living, holy, and rational Sacrifice; this was the way truly to celebrate the Festival, and render it acceptable to Christ; this the way to honour the Martyrs, and not to meet to eat and drink, to indulge Luxury and Debauchery, things fitter for a Pagan Festival, than a Christian Solemnity. *Anthimus* of *Tyana* quickly heard of the Ordination, whereupon accompanied with some Bishops of his Province, he came to *Nazianzen*^g, under pretence indeed of making a visit to the elder *Gregory*, but the design was to try if he could bring over *Nazianzen* to his Party. He set upon him with all the methods of Insinuation, sometimes congratulating, other whiles intreating, sometimes threatening, and then expostulating; now commending, and anon reproaching, telling him that he ought to look upon him only as his Ecclesiastical Superior, and upon the new Metropolis as the greatest and most honourable. *Nazianzen* vindicated the honor of the See of *Cæsarea*, as the most ancient and true Metropolis of all those parts, nor could he be prevail'd with to stir one foot. So that *Anthimus* departed in discontent, foaming, and charging him with *Basilism*, or an undue partiality to *Basil*, alluding to the charge of the *Athenian* Ambassadors, who accus'd each other of *Philippism*, that is, of a traitorous correspondence with that *Macedonian* Prince. After this, he summon'd him to a Synod, which the other refus'd, as an injury to the Metropolitick Rights; then he wrote to him to intercede, that *Basil* and they might meet, to consult about and debate this Matter. This he embrac'd as an equitable Proposal, referring it to *Basil* to appoint time and place, or whether at all he would meet about it. But I believe it came to nothing. For *Nazianzen* highly dissatisfied with what he had done, never so much as once^h honoured his See with his presence, nor perform'd any one ministerial or Episcopal Act in it. The truth is, 'twas a place that had little in it to invite him. It was a paltry inconsiderable Town, close and narrow, situate upon three great Roads; the common Stage where all the publick Horses and Carriages were lodg'd, the Air unwholesome, the soil barren, and destitute of Water, the People inconstant and Vagrants, the place perpetually full of noise and smoke, and dust and filth. So that he could not but look upon his sending thither, as a Condemnation to a

^e Oration. V.
p. 134.

^f Oration. VI.
p. 136.

^g Nazianzen. Ep. XXX.
p. 197.

^h De vit. sua.
p. 9.

ⁱ Pl. il. p. 14.
Gr. l. iii. p. 14.

Prison or a Dungeon. And it highly aggravated the unkindness, that when *Basil* had above fifty Sees in his Province, he should pick out this, and create it on purpose for so dear a Friend. And yet after all, if he would have gone thither, he could not, for upon his refusal of Submission, his denying to desert *Basil*, and betray the ancient Rights of his Metropolitan; *Anthimus* had seiz'd upon it, so that there could be no hopes for him to reside there with any tolerable comfort, or so much as with safety to his Life.

III. IN these Circumstances he knew not well which way to turn him, but judg'd ^k it the best way for the present to retire, and so withdrew to an Hospital seated in a solitary place, where he pass'd his time in pious Exercises, and the strictness of a Philosophick Life. But neither here could he find any rest. His Father's commands follow'd him close, who earnestly desir'd (if possible) to fix him in his Episcopical Station at *Sasima*; but that being peremptorily refus'd, he press'd him to come home, and under him to take upon him the charge of *Nazianzum*, his great years having disabled him, and in the judgment of all given him a Writ of ease. He knew he had a Temper to deal with, mightily averse to the Incumbrances of a publick Life, and therefore recommended the motion to him, with all the Arts of endearment and soft Insinuation. Taking him gently by the Beard, "Son, said he, your own Father is become your Petitioner, an aged Father to a youthful Son; a Master to one that is a Servant by Nature and a double Obligation. 'Tis not Riches, or great things I ask, "I require no more than that like *Aaron* and *Samuel* you would undertake to minister before the Lord. Despise not the desires of him, who was the Instrument of your being, and let it appear you have an indulgent Father; the thing I request is fair and reasonable, and though it were not, yet remember 'tis your Father requests it, "one who has spent so great part of his Life in the Ministeries of Religion. Gratifie me therefore in this, or else I vow that some body else shall close mine eyes, and commit my body to the ground, "which I intend to inflict as the punishment of your disobedience. " 'Tis but a little time that I have to live, assist me in it, and then I shall leave you to your own Counsels. To this patheticall address *Nazianzen* replied, "Sir, how troublesome soever the commands are "which you are pleas'd to lay upon me, yet for your sake I submit, "and I am content to take upon me the Administration of your cure "at *Nazianzum*, only upon this condition, that when ever you shall be translated into Heaven, I may be perfectly free from all obligation to that charge. Upon these Terms they agreed, and he became his Co-adjutor in the Episcopical Office. Whence the Error of *S. Jerom*^l, *Rufinus*^m, *Socrates*ⁿ, and Troops that follow their Authority, is very obvious, when they make him to have been Bishop of *Nazianzum*, while himself most expressly tells us, that he was not; and that out of reverence to his aged Father, and the mighty importunity of Friends, he only engag'd in it as a substitute for his Father's Life, with open Protestation, that he would be oblig'd no longer, nor succeed him in it. At the entrance upon his charge he made an Oration^p, wherein he addresses himself first to his Father, with whom he expostulates why he had made choice of so weak a

^k *Id. ubi sup.*

^l *In Gr. Naz. c. 117.*
^m *Lib. 2. c. 9. p. 249.*
ⁿ *Lib. 4. c. 11. p. 219. c. 26. p. 242.*
^p *Epist. XLII. p. 804. Orat. VIII. p. 148. p. Orat. VIII. p. 145*

Crutch to support his Age and Cares, and indeed why any at all? His body though infirm and weak, was yet act'd by a Soul brisk and vigorous, and now wholly free from the inordinate Motions of the sensual appetite; that it concern'd him however to have made such a choice, wherein he might not seem to have been led more by considerations of Consanguinity and Relation, than the common Good. Next he turns to the People, whom he acquaints with the force that had been us'd towards him, and how much he had yielded to the Age of his Father, and the importunity of his Friends, and therefore begg'd their assistance according to their several capacities; that he was distracted between two different Principles; his inclination to solitude made him cast an eye to the Mountains and the Wilderness, and long for those happy opportunities of retiring from the Regions of sense, of turning inward, and conversing with God and his own mind; on the other hand the Sacerdotal Consecration that had pass'd upon him, oblig'd him to appear in publick, and to consult the happiness of others, to reclaim men from Vice, and repair the divine Image in them, and to form and build up a peculiar People unto God; that no man ought merely to consult himself, but to promote the good of others, though with some disadvantage to himself, a practice wherein our Lord has set us the most generous Example; that he would as much as might be, reconcile these two courses, neither desert this Ministry, nor yet take upon him a burden too heavy for him, and which his strength would not serve him to go through with; that therefore for the present he would undertake the charge to comply with his Father's Age and Infirmities, but after that he would be free, nor should any man prevail with, or compell him against his Inclination; and though the succeeding in a paternal Charge wanted not some considerable advantages to recommend it, yet that the best and safest course was both for Governors and People to be mutually willing to embrace each other, the Laws of Religion and the Church commanding the Episcopacy, or oversight of the Flock to be undertaken willingly, and not by constraint to have it forc'd upon them.

IV. ONE of the first things he did, after his coming amongst them (if I conjecture the time aright) was his making their peace with the offended Governor. The People of *Nazianzum* either burdened with some unreasonable Taxes, or vex'd with some intolerable Edict, had it seems broken out into evident Symptoms of Tumult and Discontent. Whereat the Governor (whom one of the ancient Scholiasts supposes to have been *Julian* the Assessor of the Imperial Taxes, who had been *Nazianzen's* School-fellow^q, and was his intimate acquaintance) highly offended, flew out into passion, and threatened to make them feel the Justice of his provoked Severity. To pacifie his anger, and to allay the storm, *Nazianzen* gets up into the Pulpit, and makes an Oration^r to them, wherein after he had endeavored to support the minds of the People under their apprehensions of danger, and advis'd them how to behave themselves, neither to be secure or insolent in prosperity, nor yet despondent in calamitous times, but especially to submit to God, the supreme Governor of the World, and to Princes as those that are sent by him to preserve the publick Order and Discipline of Mankind, Obedience to Government

^q *Id. ubi sup. in Orat. XVII. p. 158.*

^r *Orat. XVII. p. 255.*

P p

being

being one of the great Laws of the Christian Religion; he next directs his speech to the Magistrates, whom he beseeches to own and stoop to his Spiritual Authority; and then lastly to the Governor, whom he puts in mind of his pious Education, his Baptism, and strict profession of the Catholick Faith, perswading him by many excellent Arguments, to use his Power with Mercy and Moderation, and to improve that Authority for Christ, which he had receiv'd from him; a Subject which he manages with so much eloquence and strength of Reason, that were there nothing else, this alone were enough to shew him to have been one of the Master Orators of that Age.

* Orat. XL.
p. 172.

V. ABOUT this time died his Sister *Gorgonia*, whose Funeral Sermon [†] he preach'd. She was the Wife of *Vitalian*, a Gentleman in those Parts, by whom she had several Children. A Woman of transcendent Vertues, pious towards God, whose House she frequented; whose Ministers she reverenc'd; charitable to the Poor, whose necessities she relieved, and her House open to all that wanted; prudent and exemplary in her Relations; one who knew how to reconcile the advantages of celibacy with the Conveniencies of a married Life; and to reap the Fruits of both; grave, but not austere; neither merry, nor morose; a great enemy to all modes of artificial beauty; chaste in her Garb, temperate in her Diet, much conversant in watching and abstinence, spending whole nights in singing Psalms, or in reading the Scriptures, or in divine Meditations, or fervent Prayers, wherein she was so frequent, that her knees were grown hard like those of Camels; so modest and bashful, that in extremities of sickness, she would not endure a Physician to come near her, being unwilling that in those Circumstances any man should either see or touch her. She was seiz'd with a very malignant Fever, which attended with some other Complications, rendered her Case desperate beyond the hopes of her Friends, or the skill of Physicians. In this condition she ventured upon a strange unaccountable way of cure. Finding some intermission of her Fits, she got up, and in a stormy night went to Church, where she kneel'd down before the Altar or Communion-Table, and pour'd out her Prayers to Christ, and laying her head upon the Table, protested she would not take it thence, till she had recovered her health, withall pouring out such abundance of tears, that she moistened the pieces of the holy Eucharist, (το ἀσκήματα τοῦ κυρίου ἑσπόμενα, & ἀμύλα, the *Antities* or Figures of Christ's precious Body and Blood, as *Nazianzen* there [‡] calls them) which she had about her; whereupon of a sudden she found her self perfectly restor'd to health. Which yet did not abate her vigorous desires to depart, and to be with Christ, and God granted her request, and was pleas'd by an extraordinary Vision to represent to her the particular day of her Dissolution; which being come, she call'd for her Husband, Children, and Friends about her, and having discours'd incomparably to them, what properly concern'd their several Duties, she fell into a Trance, so that they all concluded her to be dead; but her Lips being perceiv'd still to move, she was found by those who laid their ears close to her, to be repeating of a Psalm, which she had then brought to the Conclusion, *I will lay me down in peace to sleep, and will take my rest*; and with that finish'd her Psalm and her Life together.

VI. HER

VI. HER death was followed not long after with that of her Father, the aged Bishop of *Nazianzum*, then near an hundred years old [¶], after he had sat XLV. years Bishop of that place. His great Age betray'd him to many Infirmities, and those attended with painful and acute Distempers, which grew upon him as he approach'd nearer to death, and wherein he seldom had any Intermissions, but while engag'd in the publick Ministrations, all which time he had perfect ease; whither the intenseness and fervency of his Devotion over-power'd the sense of pain, or God mercifully restrain'd and tied it up, while he was engag'd in so good a work. He was renowned for his strictness and sobriety, his Justice and Integrity even before his conversion to Christianity, as afterwards he became a serious Professor, and a most incomparable Prelate, and though wanting those previous advantages ^{*} of Education which others had, yet he quickly made up all by an indefatigable industry, whereby he arriv'd to an exquisite understanding of the Scriptures, and those Controversies that exercis'd the Church in those times. A constant Friend to, and zealous Defender of the Catholick Doctrine; he found his See miserably over-run with Vice and Error, both which with infinite diligence he rooted up, and that God might be worship'd in a decent manner, he built [†] from the ground a very neat and beautiful, a stately and magnificent Church, elegantly adorn'd with Columns and Portico's, and with all sorts of curious Sculpture and Architecture, wherein though he took in the Contributions of the People, yet the main of it was done at his own charge. In his Garb and Diet he was wont to observe a just Decorum, equally distant from fordidness and curiosity, and though none contented themselves with meaner Food and Cloaths, yet he manag'd it in such a way, as seem'd least liable to vanity and affectation. In his Conversation he was courteous and affable, none more gentle and easy to pardon Injuries; and though nature had form'd him inclinable to passion and quick resentments, yet he never gave way to it, but where zeal against obstinate Offenders made it necessary; to the Poor he was kind and charitable, and indeed a common Father; and what crown'd all, was a man plain and honest, a true *Nathanael*, in whom there was no guile. Amongst other Prelates present at the Funeral was S. *Basil*, to whom *Nazianzen* in the beginning of the Oration which he then made, particularly address'd himself with many singular Commendations, as in the Conclusion [‡] of it he directed his discourse to his Mother *Nonna*, to support her mind under so great a loss; that she was not to wonder at what had happened, all things in this World are obnoxious to change and mutability, subject to decay and dye, the happiness of the other World only being immutable and eternal, to provide for which, is the great business of life, and that therefore there could be no reason to mourn for those that had made so happy an exchange, unless we can be so uncharitable as to rob another of his happiness, merely for our own convenience; if the burden was heavy, 'twas but a little way the had to bear it, she her self being like shortly to follow after; and though they were great comforts she had lost, yet it was to be remembered how long she had enjoy'd them; that it was but fit she should submit to what was best; and she who with so much wisdom and courage had borne the death of her Children in their most flourishing years, ought

* Orat. XIX.
p. 313.

* Ib. p. 296. &
Carm. IV.
de anim. suā
calamit. T. 2.
p. 71.

† Hieron. Timp-
li descriptio-
nem habet. Ibid.
p. 313.

‡ Ib. p. 314.

much more to bear the fall of a tottering Carcase, quite worn out with age and weakness. And indeed the Consolations were proper and seasonable; for the good Woman thus depriv'd of the main Staff of her Life, and her self ready to drop into the Grave (being near of equal years with her Husband) died (as may probably be conjectur'd) soon after. A Woman of incomparable piety, ^z which she inherited as an hereditary blessing from her Ancestors, and which she imparted first to her Husband, and then to her Children; a faithful Wife, and an excellent Mother. Those little arts of fineness and bravery, whereof other Women are so much enamoured, she slighted, accounting the truest beauty to lye in a divine temper of mind, and no Nobility to be comparable to the Virtues of a good life. She carefully administr'd the Affairs of her Family, as if she had had nothing else to mind, and yet attended the duties of Religion, as if that alone had been her business. The Ministers of Religion she was wont to entertain with a profound reverence, beholding them as the Messengers of Heaven, and Stewards of holy things: Her time she spent in Fasting, and Watching, in Prayers, and singing Psalms day and night; in the publick Congregation she was taken up with silent admirations, and her Soul possess'd with so awful a reverence of the Majesty of those Divine Solemnities, that she would never turn her back upon the holy Table, nor spit upon the Pavement of that place, where God was so devoutly worshipp'd, she shunn'd the Converse of the *Gentile-Ladies*, even those of them that were neerly related to her, whom she would not salute with the ordinary expressions of Familiarity, nor eat with those that desil'd themselves with Pagan Idolatrous Worship. In the midst of those many and severe troubles that came upon her, she maintain'd an even temper of mind, whatever Accident beset her, praise was always the first word in her mouth; not a tear in her eye, nor a mourning Habit to be seen upon her upon any of the Churches Festivals. And yet at the same time, none more compassionate of the miseries of others, and more ready to assist them, singularly kind to her indigent Relations, and no less charitable to the poor, a publick Guardian to Widows and Orphans, to provide for whose necessities she reckoned was the only true and durable Riches, and the best way at once to secure and improve an Estate.

VII. BY These heavy breaches in the Family, one following close at the heels of the other, *Nazianzen* was sufficiently wean'd from the place of his Nativity, and looking upon himself as now fully releas'd from the Obligation of his Promise, resolv'd immediately to throw up his Charge. In vain he attempted to procure a Successor to be plac'd at *Nazianzum*, whereupon he retir'd, ^a and went to *Seleucia*, famous for the Temple of St. *Thecla* the Virgin-Martyr, where in a Monastery of devout Virgins dedicated to that Saint, he continued a long time, hoping that in the mean while, the See of *Nazianzum* would have been dispos'd of. He return'd much about the time of St. *Basil's* death, whom to his great trouble he could not attend in his last hours, being himself at that time detain'd by sickness, though afterwards he honoured his memory with an elegant *Eneumistiick*, ^b where in lively colours he describ'd that great man's Virtues and course of life. But the Church of *Nazianzum* remain'd still

^a Orat. X. p. 161. XLIX. p. 290, 291. &c.

^a De vit. sua. p. 9. Gr. Præb. p. 16.

^b Or. XX. p. 315.

a Widow, and so continu'd several years, the greater Affairs of the Church swallowing up the care of that. About this time *Nazianzen* was summon'd to the Synod at *Antioch*, holden Ann. CCCLXXXVIII. to heal the Schism that had so long rag'd in that Church, and to consult about the distracted state of the *Eastern Churches*, miserably harass'd by the late prevalency of the *Arian Party*. In this Council some were deputed to go into one part, and some into another, and among the rest, *Nazianzen*, as one whose polite Parts and Learning could not but render him acceptable to the Court, and capable of coping with the ablest Adversary, was over-rul'd quite contrary to his own inclination (as he expressly tells us ^c) to go to *Constantinople* (the main spring that gave life and motion to the mischievous attempts of the several Parties) there to encourage and assist the Orthodox, and to undertake the defence of the Catholick Cause.

^c De vit. sua. p. 10. vid. quæst. ad Episcop. p. 301, 302.

S E C T.

SECT. IV.

His Acts from his coming to Constantinople, till the meeting of the Great Council there.

His abode at Constantinople; where. His numerous Congregation of Catholics. His Oratory erected into a Church; call'd Anastasia, and why. The mighty Opposition he met with from several Sectaries. His Fame hereby encreas'd. Two of his most noted Scholars, S. Jerom, and Evagrius Ponticus. This Evagrius, who. Nazianzen desired by the Catholics at Constantinople for their Bishop. The beginning of his Troubles upon that account. Maximus the Cynick of Alexandria; who. His notorious juggling and Impostures. His insinuating himself into Nazianzen's favour. His ambitious designs to obtain the Bishoprick of Constantinople. Three Egyptian Bishops privately sent thither for that purpose, who secretly ordain Maximus. Agreat tumult hereupon in the City. Nazianzen's Oration to them at that time. Maximus forc'd to fly the City: Makes his interest among the Western Bishops, who appear in his behalf; solicites his cause at Court, but in vain; flies to Alexandria, and is expell'd thence. The fresh rage and malice of the Arians against Nazianzen. His particular answers to the frivolous Cavils, and scurrilous Reflections which they cast upon him. His mildness and clemency blam'd by his Friends and followers. The Declaration of his Resolution to leave that place. This highly resented by his Auditors. His promise not presently to forsake them. Theodosius his Edict for Confirmation of the Catholick Faith, and suppressing Heretical Conventicles. His arrival at Constantinople, and publication of another Law more express to the same purpose. The date of that Law not corrupted. His expelling Demophilus the Arian Bishop out of the City. The Churches delivered to the Catholics. Nazianzen highly in favour with the Emperor. Preparations for the solemnity of his instalment, and what happen'd at that time. His modest declining that solemnity. The manner of his private life. His sickness, and singular clemency towards an Assassin, that crowded into his Bed-chamber with a design to kill him.

I. **C**OMING to Constantinople, he took up his Lodging with one of his own^a Relations; whom *Baronius* not improbably supposes to be *Nicobulus*; who had married *Alypians* one of his Sister *Gorgonia's* Daughters. Here he found the Catholick Interest at the lowest ebb, the *Arians* during the favourable Government of the Emperor *Valens*, had possess'd themselves of all the Churches, and carried things with so high a hand, that scarce any durst openly appear to own the truth. He first preach'd in his Lodgings to those that repair'd thither (*Valens* his Edict having lately given Liberty to the Catholics) and the Congregation soon grew numerous, and the House by the bounty of his Kinsman was freely bestow'd, and immediately erected and consecrated into a Church, which

^a Or. XXVIII.
p. 484.
^b Ad Ann.
378. p. 400.

which *Nazianzen* entitl'd the Church of *Anastasia*, or the Resurrection, because the Catholick Faith, which in that City had hitherto been oppress'd and stifled, here seem'd to have its Resurrection. Though *Sozomen*^c gives another reason of the name, that while they were one day at their publick Worship, a Woman great with Child fell down from a Gallery into the Church, and was taken up dead. But the Congregation immediately joyning in Prayer to God for her, she reviv'd, and appear'd as one miraculously rais'd from the dead. But the former account is most to be relied on, as being given by him who had most cause to know, I mean *Nazianzen* himself. In this Church he assembled daily, and preach'd boldly, not with more success to his Ministry, not with greater satisfaction to his People, than with trouble and vexation to his Enemies. The *Arians* and *Apollinarians*, an upstart Sect (whose growing errors he also vigorously oppos'd) had their eyes upon him, and were sufficiently apprehensive, how much their Cause was like to be baffled by so able a Champion's carrying the Lists against them. Hereupon they fall to their ancient Artifices of reproach and slander, traducing him to the People as an infamous Heretick, particularly that he maintain'd that there were three Gods, because he had asserted that in the Holy Trinity there were three *Hypostases*, or Persons subsisting, which the vulgar (custom not having as yet fix'd the notion of the word) took for distinct Substances. Having thus prepar'd the minds of the People, they next instigate them to open violence, who thereupon treated him as he went along the streets with showers of Stones, and not content with this, they dragg'd him as a Malefactor before the Magistrate, charging him with Tumult and Sedition. The rage and the clamour was great against him, but he comforted himself at that instant to remember, that though they had the stronger Party, yet he and his had the better Cause; they had the Churches, he had God; they had the People to back them, he had Angels to guard him; they had boldness and confidence, he the Faith on his side; they could threaten, while he could pray; they beat him, and he endure it; they had Wealth and Treasure, he the true Catholick Doctrine: he had 'tis true, but a little Flock, but 'twas securely lodg'd; a narrow Fold, but 'twas free from Wolves, and the assaults of Thieves and Robbers, but which he doubted not daily to see enlarg'd, and that by the accession of those who at present were Wolves, who he hop'd would become not sheep only, but some of them Pastors of the Flock. The accusation being examin'd, was found false and groundless, and he accordingly dismiss'd without further trouble.

II. THE Oppositions he met with did but so much the more encrease his Fame, and the number of his Auditors, and drew to him admirers and followers out of Foreign parts, among which, two were especially remarkable: *S. Hierom*, who having quitted the West, had some years since taken up his abode in the Desarts of Syria, and being ordained Presbyter by *Paulinus* of Antioch, came to Constantinople, and put himself under the Tutorage and Discipline of *Gregory Nazianzen*, an happiness wherein he glories^k at every turn; the other was *Evagrius Ponticus*,^l a Presbyters Son born in Iberia, near the *Euxine* Sea, a man of a subtil Wit, quick and ready Apprehension,

^c 17d. c. 11.
IX. de inst. m.
Anast. p. 28.
Orat. XXXII.
p. 527.
Ecl. c. 52. p. 9

^b De vit. sua.
p. 10, 11. &c.
Gr. Presb.
p. 18, 19.

ⁱ Or. XXV.
p. 440.

^k Ep. ad Nipoc.
T. 1. p. 14.
Catal. in Gr.
Naz. adv. Jov.
l. 1. p. 27. T. 2.
de alibi.
^l Socr. l. 4.
c. 23. p. 234.
Soc. l. 6. c. 30.
p. 686. Nicaph.
l. 11. c. 42.

De vit. Gall.
lib. 1. c. 11.
c. 12. p. 115.
lib. 1. c. 11.

sion, learned and eloquent, of a staid and grave temper, moved neither with Injuries nor Commendations. He studied Philosophy and the holy Scriptures under *Nazianzen*, who made him Arch-deacon of *Constantinople*, as before he had been ordained Reader ^m by *S. Basil*. He was a handsome man, and lov'd nearness and elegance in his Habit, which rendred his Company acceptable to the Ladies; insomuch, that a great man growing jealous of him, laid a design against his Life, whereof being plainly warn'd in a dream, he the next day left the City, and fled first to *Jerusalem*, and then into *Egypt*, where in the famous Monastery of Mount *Nitria*, he engag'd in the strictest Profession of the Ascetic Life, and obstinately declin'd a Bishoprick, when afterwards press'd to it by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*. He was a great Patron of the *Origenian doctrine*, and wrote many Books, which they that are curious may find reckon'd up by *Socrates*, and *Nicéphorus*.

III. THE number of the Orthodox was by this time grown considerable at *Constantinople*; who earnestly desir'd that a Catholic Bishop might be plac'd over them, and *Nazianzen* was the mandesign'd, concurrent with the Peoples desires, wherein were the Vets of almost all the Orthodox Bishops of the *East*, especially his old Friend *Alextius of Antioch*, who stickled hard for it; and *Peter*, *S. Athanasius* his Successor at *Alexandria*, who by Letters congratulated the choice, and gave suffrage for his confirmation in that See. Though the troubles that ensued, rendred it uneasy to him, and soon made him resolve to quit the place. They began thus. There was at *Alexandria* one *Maximus*, ^a by birth an *Egyptian*, by Profession a *Cynick* Philosopher, but withal, a Christian, who pretended to be descended of a noble Family, and that too honour'd with the blood of Martyrdom, and that himself upon the Persecution that arose after *Athanasius's* death, had for his constancy to the truth been banish'd to *Osis*, one of the most uncomfortable Solitudes in *Egypt*. He went habited according to the custom of his Order in a *Pallium*, with his hair growing to its full length, and a staff in his hand, carrying a semblance of the greatest strictness and gravity; and as the men of that Sect were wont, us'd bluntly to address himself to great men, and freely to expostulate with them in matters of right and wrong, and took a liberty to reprove the Vices of the Age, and to censure and correct the miscarriages and indecencies of any Persons of what rank soever. By these smooth and demure pretences he cast a mist before the eyes of the People, and conceal'd his fraud and treachery, his gluttony and covetousness, his pride and ambition, and the rest of those Vices, whereof he was really guilty. However he had gain'd a considerable Reputation in the World, and held correspondence with men of chiefest note in foreign Parts, as appears by *S. Basil's* two Letters ^p to him. And having thus acquir'd a stock of Credit, he came to *Constantinople*, where the first thing he did, was to insinuate himself into *Nazianzen's* acquaintance, who welcom'd his Arrival with an Oration, ^q wherein he expatiated himself in his praises for the Nobility of his birth, his Relation to Martyrs, his own personal sufferings, his Masculine temper, and the admirable course and institution of his Life. All which afterwards, when he came to discover him, and was forc'd in another Oration to set him out in his

De vit. Gall.
p. 12. c. 11.
Epiph. p. 2. c. 11.

De vit. Gall.
p. 12. c. 11.
Epiph. p. 2. c. 11.

De vit. Gall.
p. 12. c. 11.
Epiph. p. 2. c. 11.

De vit. Gall.
p. 12. c. 11.
Epiph. p. 2. c. 11.

his own colours, he tacitly retracted either himself or some other for him, that he might not seem to contradict himself, expunging the Name of *Maximus*, and inserting that of *Hero* the Philosopher, the Title that it bears at this day. Nay, so far had the subtle Imposter made his way, that the good man took him into his House, and to his own Table, instructed him in the mysteries of the Faith, baptiz'd him, and after some time admitted him to the lower Orders of the Church, and indeed communicated to him his most intimate Councils and Transactions. And now the wretch thought himself sufficiently qualified to set up for himself, he saw *Nazianzen* was like to be fixt in that See, and he had not so mean an opinion of himself, as not to think he deserv'd it as well as his Master. To this end he confederated with one of *Nazianzen's* Presbyters, who without any other Provocation than that he himself had not been the Person nominated to the Bishoprick, though in truth he govern'd all under *Nazianzen*, took part with *Maximus*, who accordingly laid their heads together to contrive and carry on the design. And now an Interest is made for him at *Alexandria*; and *Peter* who solately stood for *Nazianzen*, and had by Letters convey'd him his Vote and Suffrage, tackt about, and espous'd *Maximus's* design, and three Bishops (for so many I guess they were) are dispatch'd to *Constantinople* to effect the matter, who set out not long after the Fleet that carried the publick Tribute of Corn that was annually transported to *Constantinople*, the Masters of which ships were *Ammon*, *Apannon*, *Harpocras*, *Strepas*, *Rhodon*, *Anubis*, and *Hermannubis*, whom *Baronius*, by a great mistake makes to have been the Bishops, and thereupon enters into a needless Discourse of the *Episcopi Frumentarii*, and the Corntribute: When as (besides that *Nazianzen* styles them contemptible Seamen) 'tis plain, the Bishops went not on Board, till after the Fleet was set out, the Masters whereof were to go before, to prepare the way, and to promote the design. At whose arrival *Nazianzen* entertain'd them with an Oration ^r in commendation of their City, that had been an impregnable fortress of the true Doctrine of the Church; of *Athanasius*, their late, and *Peter* their present Bishop, both stout Champions of the Faith; and that they themselves coming to the Imperial City, had so readily joyn'd themselves to the Catholic party. And perhaps at this time it was that he made his particular *Encomiastick* ^s in praise of the great *Athanasius*, whose Virtues he fully describes, with a memorable account of his Life and Actions.

IV. *MAXIMUS* found his design mightily strengthned by this Accession of his Countrey-men, and yet to bind the *Egyptian* Bishops firmer to him, he corrupted them ^t with extraordinary Bribes, having to that end by crafty insinuations, and a pretended security given, borrowed large sums of Money of a certain Presbyter newly arriv'd at *Constantinople* from *Thussis*, an Island in the *Aegean* Sea, to buy Pillars of *Preconnesian* Marble, and other materials for the building a Church in that Island. And now the work went on a pace, to which *Nazianzen's* absence contributed a fit opportunity, who, the day before, had upon an indisposition retir'd out of the City to take the Air. That very night the *Egyptian* Bishops privately broke into his Church, and plac'd *Maximus* upon the Episcopal Throne.

Hieron. de script. in Gr. Na. c. 117.

Epistola p. 11. c. 11. p. 115. Na. c. 117.

Orat. XXI. p. 373.

De vit. Gall. p. 12. c. 11.

But morning coming on, and the Report of it being spread about the City, both Clergy and Laity, Magistrates and People, Citizens and Strangers, yea, the very *Arians* themselves flock'd together and in a great fury drove them out of the Church, before they could finish what they had begun, so that being forc'd out thence, they went into a Players House hard by, where attended with a few lewd excommunicate Persons, they cut of his Hair, and consecrated him Bishop of that place; which was no sooner done, but the People storm'd more than before, loading him with all manner of revilings, and blaming *Nazianzen* himself for treating the wretch with so much kindness and humanity, and nourishing such a pernicious Viper in his Bosom. The news hereof coming to him (whose candour and simplicity had rendred him secure, and unsuspicious of such perfidious dealing) he hastned into the City, where he made an Oration to the People, whom he lets know, how great a trouble it had been to him to leave them, which yet made him return with so much the more cheerfulness and rejoicing, and having told them, how much a little absence did accent and increase mutual affection, he reflects upon the great Villany of *Maximus* and his Party, in their late Transactions, describes the temper of a true Christian Philosopher, and by the Characters which he there lays down, weighs himself and his own life and actions. As to his being censur'd for his over-kindness and indulgence to the man, he ingeniously pleaded for himself, that he had been betray'd by the easiness of his temper, always apt to make the best of things, and impos'd upon by subtle Artifices, and feign'd Pretences, that there could be no Fence against an Hypocrite, whose Tongue and Heart went different ways, that we judge of men merely by their words and actions, 'tis God only inspects the thoughts, and sees how 'tis within; that we are commanded to be kind to all, especially them of the household of Faith; that if he be blameworthy for his well-meant Friendship and indulgence to the man, how great a Villain must the other be, that made so ill a use of it, and so perfidiously improv'd it to his ruine.

V. THOUGH the minds of the People were pretty well quieted with his Discourse (whose case was rather to be pitied than blamed) yet did they ferment into a greater rage against *Maximus*, who perceiving upon what uneasy and unsafe Terms he stood, fled the City, and now began to think of the best ways to shoar up his tottering Cause. And first, if he went not in Person, he wrote to at least to the Bishops of Italy then assembled in Synod at *Aquileia*, whom he certified of his Ordination, and that it was ratified by the Communicatory Letters of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* (which he sent therewith to be read in Council) that his Ordination indeed had been manag'd in a private House, but that was because the *Arians* possess'd all the Churches, and that he was forc'd to give way by reason of the Violence which both Clergy and People had offered to him. The Synod unacquainted with the true Circumstances of the Case, approv'd his Ordination, and Right to the place, apprehending *Nazianzen* to have been uncanonically promoted, as for the same Reason they afterwards denyed Communion to *Nestarius* his successor, and therefore wrote to the Emperor, to beseech him to take care in it, and either to restore *Maximus* to the See of *Constantinople*,

* Or. XXVIII.
p. 472.

† De vit. sua.
p. 15. Gr. p.
p. 22.

* Vid. Epist.
Ambros. & Epp.
Ital. ad Theod.
Imper. Conc.
L. 2. col. 1007.

Constantinople, or to summon a General Council at *Rome*, where the matter might be fully canvass'd and determin'd. Nor did *Maximus* stay here, but went to solicit his Cause at Court; a then lying at *Thessalonica*, begging of the Emperor, to restore him by his Imperial Edict. But the Emperor reject'd his Petition, and commanded him to be gone, threatening to take a course with him, if he did not desist. The ambitious man vext with this repulse at Court, swell'd with rage and madness, and not knowing well what Course to steer, went home to *Alexandria*, where having brib'd some to be of his Party, he rudely accosted the aged Bishop (who had sufficiently appear'd in his behalf) pressing him to improve his Interest for the recovery of the Bishoprick, plainly telling him, that unless he procur'd him the See of *Constantinople*, he would eject him, and take possession of his Throne. A fair warning to look about them, inasmuch, that the Governour of *Alexandria* fearing what might be the effects of so wild an Ambition, and such extravagant boldness, immediately banish'd him the City. And what became of him afterwards, we no where find.

VI. Perfect ease and tranquillity is not the Portion of this World. *Nazianzen*, though delivered from the molestations of *Maximus* and his Party, yet found the wind blow hard from another quarter. The *Arians*, notwithstanding the death of *Valens*, and the Edict he had publish'd for permitting the Orthodox Bishops to return to their Sees, yet finding no restraint laid upon them, still openly plaid their Game, and offered all manner of affronts and indignities to the Catholics: Inasmuch, that *Eusebius* the venerable Bishop of *Samosata* in his return from Banishment, was knock'd on the head at *Dolicha* with a Tile thrown by a Woman from the top of a House as he pass'd along the Streets. But their great spite was at *Nazianzen*, whom not daring to attempt by open force, they labour'd to murder his Reputation, and because Malice it self was not able to object any thing material, they pelted him with little trifling Cavils, as, that he was born in a poor and obscure place, descended of mean and ignoble Parents, that he was of a rude uncourtly temper, blunt of speech, and of an austere and unpleasant Conversation, as there were others that charg'd him with a too tame and easy disposition, that let things run which way they pleas'd. These were things that weigh'd little with wise men, but they were the best they had to object. However, not to be wanting to himself especially at this time, he wip'd off these aspersions in a publick Oration^b, wherein he more particularly address'd himself to the *Arian* Party. "As for the mean place of his Nativity he tells^c them, it might be his unhappiness, but not his fault. No man accuses the Dolphin that he is not a Land-animal, or the Ox, that he does not live in the Water. Must he be run down, because he did not build the place of his Nativity, and furnish it with such splendid ornaments of Walls, Theaters, Circuses, Palaces, Porticoes, Forums, such a frequent Populacy, and a noble Senate, as they had at *Constantinople*. He was poor, he granted, and had no Estate or Revenues, kept no sumptuous Table, nor wore costly Garments; things which he did not think reasonable to make the matter of his glory. If he was born in an obscure corner, so was *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and *David*, and *Moses*, and

^a De vit. sua.
p. 16. Gr. p.
p. 22.

^b Or. XXV.
p. 431.

^c Ibid. p. 435.
&c.

"and other great Worthies upon Record in Scripture: Was he a stranger and Foreigner? So was *Abraham*, so were the Apostles, when they were sent to convert the World. As for his Birth and Extract, they mistook the true notion of Nobility; all men with respect to this lower World, are descended of the same mean Original, the true Country and Kindred of great and good men is the *Jerusalem that is above*; 'tis the Soul polish'd by Virtue, and reform'd into the Divine likeness, that challenges the true Nobility; which he that defaces and defiles by sin, and superinduces the Image of the Serpent, that's the man that's base-born and vile, Civil Dignities and Distinctions are but the Scenes and Phantasies of this frail transient Life; things that may be gain'd by money, and lost by poverty, denied or granted at the pleasure of the Prince. In these things you may pride your selves, and boast of the Stories, and the Tombs and the Monuments of your Ancestors; my study is to purifie my self from all fraud and vice, the only way, either to preserve, or to regain Nobility. The moroseness and rusticity which they objected, and his avoiding the pleasures and intercourses of common Conversation, was not pride or an affected singularity, but a serious retiring within himself, to take the more frequent and impartial Account of himself, and his own actions. That they had made mildness and moderation a part of his Crimes, and had charg'd it upon him as a piece of madness and folly, he thank'd them for it; for what was all this to what Christ had suffered? And yet his whole life and death was fill'd with nothing more than instances of meekness and tenderness, of mercy and forgiveness. And if he who was God, scrupled not to do, and to undergo so much, and to lay down his Life for us, shall we think much to forgive a few petty Injuries and Offences to our fellow-creatures? And indeed, that such had been his own carriage among them, he solemnly appeals to themselves, tacitly reproaching them with their own cruel severities. What Rabble (says he) have I ever exasperated against them to revenge my quarrel? What Souldiers have I hired? What fierce and violent Commanders have I pro- ved (as some in the World have done) and those Pagans too, who by that means caus'd their own Idolatrous impiety to triumph over the Christian Faith? What miserable wretches have I besieg'd, while in Prayer they were lifting up their hands to Heaven? When did I ever drown the voice of those who were singing Psalms with the noise of Trumpets, or mingle the mystical Blood of Christ with the blood of the slain, or still the Tears of the Penitents with the cries which slaughter and cruelty extorted from them? What Churches have I turn'd into Tombs and Charnel-houses? What consecrated Vessels have I delivered into impious hands, to be prophan'd to unholy uses? What Altars have I expos'd to the obscene songs, and immodest gestures of wanton youth? Where among us has a Pagan Orator stept up into the Episcopal Throne, and made biting invectives against Christianity: Which of us ever ravish'd or abus'd the holy Virgins, or turn'd wild Beast upon the Bodies of the Saints; or indicted others for burying what the mercy of the most savage Creatures had spared? Did we ever tear off the Flesh of aged Bishops with Iron

"Pincers,

"Pincers, and afterwards Martyr them? Or send Presbyters to Sea in a rotten Ship, and then set it and them on fire? But what need I rub up old sores, when so many fresh Instances are at hand, when men like wild Bores have violently broken through all bounds and limits. Witness the yesterdays Sacrifice of that *Abrahamical* old man, who being newly return'd from Banishment, ye knock'd on the head at noon-day in the middle of the streets, whose Murderers yet at our intercession were spar'd and pardoned. Since I came among you, whose covetous practises have I imitated, what instances of insolent Zeal have I been guilty of, and such as the times well enough would bear? What Churches or Revenues have we contended with you for, though you overabounded, and we are destitute of both? What Imperial Edict have we slighted, much less reviled? What Governours have we courted to ruin you? Or whose Cruelties have we so much as discovered? Even then I cried out with *Stephen*, *Lord lay not this sin to their Charge*, and 'tis still my Prayer, *Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat*. And if it be a fault, that being cruelly treated, I patiently bear it, forgive me this wrong; 'tis but what I have been us'd to.

VII. THE truth is, so great was his Clemency and Indulgence, that the Catholicks themselves began to complain of it, that they had suffered the hardest things, and yet he all the time he had been their Bishop had taken no care to remedy it, nor to improve his Power with great men, and his Interest at Court to put a stop to it, or to return it upon the heads of their Enemies. And what was yet worse than Complaints, by the Insinuations of the Presbyter that had combin'd with *Maximus*, some of the Catholick Party were really made against him. So that oppress'd with these, and other troubles that daily grew upon him, he took up a Resolution to leave the Charge he had there taken upon him, and in the close of his farewell discourse, affectionately perswaded the People to persevere in that Orthodox Faith that he had preach'd to them, and to be mindful of the Labours and Sufferings which he had undergone for that Cause among them. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, but the whole Auditory were surpriz'd with equal resentment and admiration, and Persons of all Ages, Sexes and Qualities came about him, and passionately besought him not to desert his Flock, and thereby betray them to the Wolves, who, with open mouth stood ready to devour them. The good man was miserably distracted with the tears and intreaties of his People, and knew not well, either how to grant, or to deny their importunities. The day was well nigh spent in these kind Contentions, when the People solemnly protested, that not one of them would stir out of the Church, but were resolv'd to die upon the spot, unless he granted their desires, one of the Company telling him openly (which was no small Motive to prevail with him) *Sir with your departure you banish the Catholick Faith out of this City*. Overcome with importunity, he consented to stay with them, till (which was rumour'd, and expected) the *Eastern* Prelates were summon'd to Town, who might release him by choosing a more worthy Person into that place. And with that the People rested satisfied: And in this condition things stood till the new Emperors arrival at Constantinople.

VII:

VIII. *THEODOSIUS* being lately assum'd into a Partnership of the Empire, was come into *Greece* in order to his Wars with the *Northern Nations*. At *Thessalonica* he fell sick, and sent for *Acholinus* Bishop of that See in order to his being baptiz'd, of whom he enquir'd what Faith it was that he profess'd. The Bishop told him, they intirely preserv'd the Faith delivered by the Apostles, and confirm'd by the Council of *Nice*, and that the *Arian* impieties did not infect those Parts. Whereupon he receiv'd from his hands the holy Rites. For indeed he was a great Patron of the Catholick Cause, and a passionate admirer both of the Peace and Purity of the Church. In order whereunto he directed an Edict * to the People of *Constantinople*, dated *Febr. XXVII, Ann. CCCLXXX*, commanding that all his Subjects within his Dominions, should hold no other but the right Orthodox Faith concerning the holy Trinity, according as it was profess'd and taught in the Churches of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, and that all such Professors should be styl'd Catholick Christians, and all others call'd and accounted Hereticks, and that their Conventicles should not be honour'd with the Title of Churches, and they themselves become liable to Civil, as well as Divine Punishments. Towards the latter end of this year, viz. on the *XXIVth. of Novemb.* he came to *Constantinople*, and finding that to be the common Nest and Refuge of the several Heretical Parties, publish'd another Edict † on the *Xth. of January*, which being so great an Evidence of this Emperors Piety and Zeal for the Church, will deserve the Readers perusal.

THEODOSIUS, Gratian, and Valentinian, Emperors, to Eutropius the Prætorian Præfect.

It no place be allow'd to Hereticks for the holding their Religious Assemblies, no occasion permitted for the exercising of their madness and obstinacy. We it know to all, that although this sort of men may have fraudulently procur'd some special Rescript in their favour, such Rescript shall be of no force. Let all such Heretical Assemblies be prohibited, and dispers'd. Let the name of the one only and most high God be celebrated in all Places; and the Nicene Faith deliver'd long since by our Ancestors, and confirm'd by the Testimony and Assertion of our Divine Religion, be had in perpetual observance: Let the desilement of the Photinian heresies, the Uenom of the *Arian* sacrilegiousness, the falshood and perfidiousness of *Eunomius*, and the abominable Prodigies of Sects, together with the monstrous names of their Authors, be banish'd even from common hearing. But he only is to be accounted an Assort of the Nicene Faith, and a true Professor of Catholick Religion, who confesses God Almighty, and Jesus Christ the Son of God, one in Name, God of God, Light of Light, who does not by any denial [of his Divinity] offer Violence to the holy Spirit, by whom we receive what we hope for from the hands of our Heavenly Father; and who according to the tenor of the sound and orthodox Faith, maintains the undivided Substance of the most perfect Trinity, which by a Greek term right Believers call *voia*. These are the Doctrines which we approve, and which are to be enter-

* *Socr. l. 5. c. 5. p. 262.*

* *C. To. lib. 15. f. 1. l. 2. Socr. l. 7. c. 4. p. 708.*

† *Ibid. Tit. V. l. 6.*

entertain'd with Veneration. Whoever adhere not to these, let them cease by crafty Affectations to entitle themselves to the Name of the true Religion, a Name that belongs not to them, and let them be publicly known by their own infamous Appellations; and since we prohibit all sorts of Hereticks to hold their unlawful Assemblies within Towns or Cities, let them be utterly remov'd out of all Churches. And if hereupon the Faction shall forcibly attempt any thing, we command, that with all rigour they be banish'd out of all Cities, that to the Catholick Churches throughout the World may be restor'd to all Orthodox Bishops, that hold the Nicene Faith. Given at *Constantinople* the *IVth. of the Ides of January*, *Eucherius* and *Syagrius* being Consuls. That is, *January the Xth. Ann. CCCLXXXI.*

A learned Commentator ^m upon this Law, thinks the date of the month mistaken for *June* or *July*, and that it was publish'd about the latter end of the Council holden here this year, in Confirmation of the Faith agreed upon in that Synod. But there's no reason to suspect the date, which is the same both in this, and the *Justinian* Code; and whereas he observes a great Conformity both of words and things in it, with the Creed and first Canon of that Council; it cannot be doubted, but that in drawing it up, he consulted with *Nazianzen*, and perhaps some other Catholick Bishops, who directed both Phrase and Matter to the sense of the Church, and to the necessities of that time, and which 'tis like were imitated and made use of by the Fathers of that venerable Synod, who met some months after. But however that was, the Emperor at his first arrival in pursuance of the design, which he had some time before taken up of rooting out Heresie, and re-settling the Peace of the Church, sent ⁿ to *Demophilus* the *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, commanding him either to subscribe the *Nicene* Creed, and reduce the People to Unity and Concord, or to quit the Churches, and depart the City. *Demophilus* knowing 'twas to no purpose for him to contend, assembled the People, and acquainted them with the Emperor's Order. Brethren, said he, 'tis written in the Gospel, if they shall persecute you in this City, flee into another; since then the Emperor drives us out of our Churches, take notice that to morrow we will hold our Assemblies without the City. And with that he departed out of the City, and with him *Lucius*, whom upon *Athanasius's* death the *Arians* had made Bishop of *Alexandria*, who at this time liv'd here in Banishment. Thus were the *Arians* dispossest of their Churches at *Constantinople*, after that they had held them (ever since *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* was translated to that See *Ann. CCCXXXIX.*) for XL. years together. *Theodosius* having made his entry, presently call'd for *Nazianzen*, whom he treated ^o with great kindness and humanity, and among other things told him, that God had sent him to give him Possession of the Church, which he was ready to deliver up into his hands, as the reward of his labors. But the *Arians*, however pretending to submission, were yet resolv'd not so tamely to part with their hold. They fill'd all places with peevish and passionate Complaints, the Emperor they plied with Petitions, as on the other hand they vomited out nothing but Exclamations and Threatnings against *Nazianzen* and his Party, and to make good their words, had prepar'd an armed multitude to make

^m *Jac. Gothofred. in loc.*

ⁿ *Socr. l. 5. c. 7. p. 263. Socr. l. 7. c. 5. p. 709.*

^o *De vita sua p. 20, 21, &c. Gr. Patr. p. 26.*

make resistance. So that the next day, which was to be the Solemnity of the Infallment, the Emperor was forc'd with a strong Military Guard to conduct the poor Bishop through the Streets, which were not only beset with Enemies design'd either by publick Tumults, or private Assassinations to do mischief, but crowded with multitudes of Spectators on every side. As they pass'd along to the Church, a black Cloud suddenly arose, which wrapt them up all in darkness, and threatned them instantly with a most dreadful Storm. This the *Arians* presently caught hold of, and cried out, 'twas a miraculous Testimony from Heaven against the Proceedings of that day, and indeed it struck no little damp and terror into the Catholics. But no sooner were they got within the Church, and the Emperor and the Bishop entred into the Quire, and an Hymn begun to the praise of the great Creator, but in a moment the Cloud dissipated, and the Sun burst out with so amazing a brightness, that few were able to behold it, which greatly animated the Catholick, and confuted the foolish and presumptuous Prefages of the *Arian* Party. And now the cry was from all parts of the Church, and from all sorts of Persons, beseeching the Emperor, as the greatest kindness he could do the City, to place *Nazianzen* on the Episcopal Throne. The good man partly through weakness and infirmity, and partly through affrightment (a desperate Fellow having drawn his Sword at him, though immediately forc'd to put it up again) was not able, as at other times, to make an Oration to the People, and therefore commanded one of the Presbyters to stand up, and modestly acquaint them in his name, that he desir'd them to surcease their Suit, that this was a day of Thanksgiving, and to be intirely devoted to the praise of that God who had heap'd such Blessings upon them, and that what was of further concernment, should be transacted in due time and place.

IX. THE modesty of the answer was not unacceptable, and so the Assembly broke up, and the man became equally dear to the People, and the Prince, who mightily delighted in his Conversation, and (as *Nazianzen* intimates) sometimes plac'd him at his own Table, who yet seldom car'd to come to Court, the Manners of that place not suiting with the strictness and severity of his Temper, which knew not how either to bribe or flatter, or to make use of those little Arts, that render men grateful to Courtiers. He spent his time in Prayer and Fasting, in Preaching and visiting the Sick, retiring sometimes out of the City, partly to repair his health, and partly to enjoy the advantages of solitude. The Revenues of his Church, though very large, he never medled with; and albeit he had fair opportunities thence to have enrich'd himself, he took not one penny of it to encrease his private Estate, but committed the management of it wholly to the Stewards and Treasurers of the Church, not so much as taking an account of the Plate that belonged to it. His thoughts were employ'd about higher and better things, and his time and strength so intirely swallowed up with the Cares and Troubles of his Charge, that his body could bear up no longer. Sickness confin'd him to his Bed, and that presented him with an opportunity of exercising an instance of the greatest Charity. It happened that great numbers of People highly satisfied with what had lately pass'd, crowded into his Room, to pay in his presence their acknowledgments to Almighty God

God for so great Mercies, and to pray for the health and prosperity of the Emperor, and withall to pay their thanks to him, whom they own'd to have been the Instrument that procur'd these Blessings; which done, they departed. The rest being gone, there staid behind a young man with a pale look, long hair, in squalid and tatter'd Cloaths, who standing at the Beds feet, made all the dumb signs of the bitterest Sorrow and Lamentation. *Nazianzen* startled a little at the man and his behavior, asked him who he was, whence he came, and what he wanted? To which he returned no answer, but express'd so much the greater Passion and Repentment, howling, wringing his hands, and bearing his breast, insomuch that the Bishop himself was mov'd to tears. Being at length pluck'd from that place by force, one who stood by told the Bishop; *This, Sir, is the Assassin, whom some had suborn'd to murder you, and had effectually done it, had not the divine Providence interpos'd to hinder him; for this his Conscience has fallen foul upon him, and he's here come ingenuously to confess his fault, and to beg your Pardon.* Whereto the good Bishop replied, *Friend, God Almighty be propitious to you, his gracious Preservation of me obliges me freely to forgive you; the desperate attempt you designed has made you mine; nor do I require any other reparation, than that henceforth you desert your Party, and sincerely give up your self to God.* The news of this accident being spread abroad, mightily advanc'd his Reputation, and rendred him dearer to the City than he was before.

R r

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

The Acts and Proceedings of the Second General Council.

A General Council summoned to meet at Constantinople. The number of Fathers in that Synod. Things transacted in the Council. Their care about the See of Constantinople. Maximus's Title and Ordination vacated. Nazianzen establish'd in that See. The regularity of his Transfation thither, cleared. Matters of Faith discuss'd. The Nicene Confession ratified. A Creed drawn up to explain the other. The FILIOQUE when added to this Creed. The Controversy hereabout between the Greek and the Latin Church. An account of the several Sects and Heresies anathematized by the Synod. The Sabellians. Sabellius who, and what his Principles. Marcellians: the Author and Tenents of that Sect. Photinians. Photinus who, and what his chief Dogmata. Eunomians. This Sect founded by Aetius. A short view of his Life and Actions. His designs carried on by his Disciple Eunomius: the most material passages of whose life are briefly noted. The Opinions, Principles, and Usages of this Sect: not accounted Christians by the Synod. Macedonians. The Council principally call'd with respect to them. A more particular account concerning Macedonius, and the original and progress of this Heresy through the Reigns of the several Emperors. His followers the same in effect with the Semiarrians. In what places they most abounded. Their cunning deportment, and hypocritical insinuations. Treated with by the Synod about their reunion to the Church; but without effect. The Synodal Decree against Hereticks ratified by the Emperour. Canons made by this Council. Two more particularly noted; One, concerning the Bounds of the greater Churches in the East. This headlesly confounded by most with a Law of the Emperor Theodosius concerning the bounds of Ecclesiastical Communion. What Socrates means by Patriarchs, constituted in this Council. The other Canon giving precedence to the See of Constantinople next that of Rome. This the foundation of the after greatness of that Bishoprick. The fuller consideration of this referred to another place.

* Socr. l. 5. c. 8.
p. 264.
Soc. l. 7. c. 7.
p. 711.

I. **T**HEODOSIUS being highly solicitous about the Peace of the Church, at this time torn in pieces with so many several Sects and Parties, had some time since given hopes of convening a Synod to heal those breaches. This he now made good, and to that end Writs are issued out to summon the Prelates of the East, who met at Constantinople in May, Ann. Chr. CCCLXXXI. to the number of CL. all Catholics, besides XXXVI. of the Macedonian Party, who were summon'd also in hopes of Union. And though they were only the Bishops of the Eastern Empire that assembled in this Synod, yet has the Council pass'd the Approbation of the Catholic Church, and in all Ages obtain'd the Style, Honor, and Authority of a General Council. The things transacted in the Synod, may be reduc'd to three Heads, the present Case of the See of Constantinople, Matters of Faith, and Rules concerning Order and the Policy of the Church. The first thing they took in hand, was to settle

the present State of the See of Constantinople, distracted at this time between Gregory Nazianzen the present Occupant, and Maximus the Philosopher, who challeng'd it as his right. The Cause being fully heard and debated, the Fathers proceeded to give sentence in the Case, and unanimously damn'd not only Maximus's claim, but his very Ordination by this Synodal Decree.

* Conc. CP.
Can. 4.

Concerning Maximus the Cynick, and his insolence and irregularity committed at Constantinople; the Synod has decreed, that Maximus neither is, nor ever was a Bishop, nor any of those truly ordain'd, whom he advanced to any order of the Clergy, and that whatever was done in his Ordination, or has been since done by him, is null and void.

Having thus vacated his Title, they next confirm'd Nazianzen in the See, placing him upon the Episcopal Throne, which though with tears and passionate intreaties he endeavored to decline, yet was he at last prevail'd with to accept, upon this consideration, that he should hereby have a fairer opportunity to reconcile and unite dissenting Parties, a thing which above all others he did most desire. It was indeed objected against him by some, that he had been Bishop of Sasima and Nazianzum, and that Translations of Bishops from one See to another were prohibited by the Ecclesiastick Laws, as indeed the XVI. Canon of Nice is express in that Case. But to this Meletius the aged and venerable Bishop of Antioch replied, that he very well understood the mind of those that made that Canon, which was design'd only to prevent Pride and Ambition, which had no place in this Case. Besides, custom had made nothing more familiar than such Translations, and therefore Nazianzen styles those Canons *τομὴς τῆς παλαιᾶς πεποιθῆτος*, Laws dead a great while since, common practice and the convenience of the Church having rendred them obsolete and out of use; and though they should still retain their force and vigor, yet they reach'd not him, who had never been Bishop of Nazianzum, but only Coadjutor to his Father in that Church; and for Sasima, though unwillingly ordain'd to it, he had never come near it, nor exercis'd one ministerial Act in it.

* Cr vita sua
p. 24. Gr. Presb.
p. 29. vid. p. 27.

* Theod. l. 5.
c. 8. p. 206.

* De vit. sua
p. 29.

II. THIS Affair being over, they next entred upon the discussing Matters of Faith. And first they ratified the Nicene Creed, which they commanded to be kept inviolate. But because in that, the Article concerning the holy Ghost was but barely mention'd, which was now become one of the prime Controversies of the Age, and for the Determination whereof, the Council had been principally summon'd, it pleas'd the Fathers to draw up an Explanatory Creed, (compos'd, we are told, by Gregory Nyssen) which they publish'd in this ensuing Form.

* Can. 1.

* Niceph. l. 12.
c. 13. in fin.
† Ext. in Conc.
Chalcid. Att. 11.
conc. Tom. 11.
Col. 342.

WE believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Worlds; Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,

Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered, and was buried, and the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, whose Kingdom shall have no end. We believe in the holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophets. We believe one holy Catholic and Apostolical Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins; look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the World to come, Amen.

The Reader will easily observe that this is one of the three famous Creeds, which our Church has adopted into her solemn Liturgy, and which commonly passes under the name of the *Nicene* Creed at this day. When as 'tis plain 'tis not the *Nicene* Creed (which we have represented in another place) but an Explanation of it, especially in the Article about the holy Ghost, and was compos'd (as the Council of *Calchedon* assures us) by this Synod at *Constantinople*. Though it be no new thing for this Creed to pass under the name of that of *Nice*, *P. Lombard* and others speaking of it under that Title. 'Tis obvious likewise that herein is wanting, what our Creed asserts concerning the holy Ghost's Proceeding both from the Father, AND THE SON, this being added afterwards. The precise time when this so much controverted addition was made, is not easy to be adjusted. In a Provincial Synod (whether the VIIIth, or Xth, it matters not) holden at *Toledo* Ann. DCLIII. we find the Creed with this Addition set down in the first Canon of that Council^a. But this was only the particular Act of that Synod, nor did the Creed thus enlarg'd generally obtain in the *Spanish* Churches for a long time after. About the beginning of the next Age but one, the question^b about the Procession being started by one *John* a Monk of *Jerusalem*, began to be disputed in *France*, and a Synod about this matter conven'd at *Aix An*. DCCCIX. By which several Bishops were dispatch'd^c to *Rome* to treat with Pope *Leo* the III^d, about this Controversie, who earnestly press'd him that the Addition of *FILIOQUE* might be inserted into the Creed. After long debate the Pope declar'd he lik'd the Doctrine well enough, but could not allow that the thing should be added to the Creed; nay, to prevent all mistake or fraud, he caus'd the Creed without that addition to be engraven both in *Greek* and *Latin* upon two Silver Tables, and to be hung up behind *S. Peter's* Altar, there to remain as a standing Monument. About four years after this, the Fathers in the Synod^d at *Arles*, publish'd a Confession of their Faith with this Clause, proceeding from the Father and the Son. Which yet was no more than their private Confession. It seems not to have gain'd any publick place in the Creed, till the time of Pope *Nicolaus* the I. who entred upon that See Ann. DCCCLVIII. and to have been discovered when the Quarrel broke out between him and *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. For so we find *Photius*^e severely charging it upon the *Latins*, as *καὶ τὸν υἱόν*, the height and crown of all their Impieties, that with an unmeasurable boldness they had taken upon them to adulterate the holy Creed, ratified by the Decrees of general

^a I. A. Dismiss. XI. Durand. Ration. l. 4. c. 25. n. 9. p. 251.

^b Conc. T. VI. col. 398.

^c Annal. Inscrut. Auct. a Pith. ed. p. 20. vit. Car. M. per Monach. Ego. lisa. ibid. 274. ^e Ext. Klat. ap. Baron. ad An. 809. N. LXVIII. & conc. T. VII. col. 1194.

^d Ib. col. 1234.

^e Epist. Encycl. (N. 11.) ad Orient. Patriarch. p. 51.

Councils, *νότοις λογισμοῖς, & παρ' ἐργασίαις λόγους*, with false fences, and new invented terms: *ὡς τὸ πᾶν πονηρὴ μηχανήματα*, Oh the inventions of the Devil; and then tells us what he meant by all this, that these Addition-makers made the holy Ghost to proceed not only from the Father, but from the Son also. And so goes on to exclaim against the Fact, and to argue against the Doctrine. And this he speaks of as newly done, and brought by some Western Bishops, (whom amongst other hard words, he calls the new Fore-runners and Ministers of the Antichristian Apostacy) who had been sent to scatter this and some other Doctrines among the *Bulgarians*, but two years before converted to the Faith of Christ. And henceforward the difference between the *Greeks* and *Latins* widened every day, the thing being so much resented by the *Eastern* Churches, that they thereupon broke off Communion with the *Western*, and it became one of the unhappy occasions of continuing the breach to this day. I cannot pass by the uncharitable Censures of the Writers^f of the *Roman* Church, who say that for their obstinate refusal to comply with this Addition, God presently after suffered them, their Churches, Wives, Children, and Estates to fall under the miserable Slavery of the *Turkish* Yoke, and at last *Constantinople* (the Seat of this Church and Empire) to be taken by *Mahomet* the second on the very Festival of *Wassantide*, the time peculiarly dedicated to the honor of the holy Ghost. So partial are men to their own Cause, so ready to make Heaven look alquint upon their Enemies, and the actions of divine Providence Minister to the Designs of their own spite and malice.

III. THE Fathers according to the Custom us'd in Synods, proceeded next to the *Anathematisms*, in general condemning all Heresies contrary to the *Nicene* Faith, but more especially the *Sabellian*, *Marcellian*, *Photinian*, *Eunomian*, *Apollinarian*, and *Macedonian* Heresies; concerning each of which we shall give some short account, as what will reflect no small light upon the Story of those times. The *Sabellian* was set on foot by *Sabellius*^g a *Libyan*, Bishop of *Ptolemais* in *Pentapolis*, who began to broach it about the declining part of the foregoing *Seculum*, under the Reign of the Emperor *Gallienus*. He had been Scholar to *Noetus* of *Ephesus*, from whom he suck'd the main ingredients of his poisonous Principles, which having digested, he vomited up in these impious Assertions, that the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, are but one and the same Person, distinguish'd only by three several names; as in Man there is Body, Soul, and Spirit; the Father answerable to the Body, the Son to the Soul, and the Spirit to the holy Ghost; or as the Sun, which is but one, but has three Powers, Light, Heat, and its circular Form; the Father the subsisting Form, the holy Ghost the Heat, and the Son the Light, who as a Beam was in time shed upon the World, by whom all things were wrought, and then again taken up into Heaven, as a Beam into the body of the Sun; that by virtue of this oneness of Persons, the Father might be said to suffer, whence they are sometimes sty'd *Patripassians*, though that was a name of some more ancient Hereticks, that commenc'd with the very Apostolick Age. Besides the Scriptures, they traded much in Apocryphal Writings, especially a Book which they call'd the *Egyptian* Gospel, out of which they borrowed much of their mystical Non-sence and Blasphemy. *Marcellus* (who is next) was Bishop of *Ancyra*

^f Bellarm. de Christ. l. 2. c. 2. col. 374. & in Chronol. ad calc. lib. de Script. p. 453. Grif. Dring. Bell. a. liq. platis.

Can. 11.

^g Epist. Heret. LXII. p. 222. Theodoret. lib. 1.2 c. 9. p. 223. Ruf. H. E. l. 7. c. 6. p. 252. Aug. de heres. c. 41. col. 19.

in *Galatia*, concerning whom and the rise of his *Dogmata*, we have elsewhere ^h given an account. The main Point of his Heretic lay in this ⁱ, that Christ began to be the Son of God at his Incarnation, that his Kingdom shall continue till the day of Judgment and the end of the World, and then cease, and the Word that came forth, be again resolv'd into the Father, and be no more. And in opposition to this, the Council particularly levelled that clause in the Creed, *whose Kingdom shall have no end*. *Nicetas Choniates* ^k explains his opinions thus; that the Son was a kind of branch springing forth from the Father, and this he call'd *ἐκλάσις*, or the Extension of the Father's Divinity into the Son, whom he styl'd God the Word, which after the Consummation of all things, should be drawn back again into the Father out of whom it had shot forth. The holy Ghost he styl'd *πνεῦμα ἁγίου ὁ ἐκλάσις*, the Extension of the Extension, which came upon the Apostles: in fine, that the holy Trinity was extended or contracted according to the difference of the Dispensation. Disciple to *Marcellus* was *Photinus*, born at *Sirmium*, and afterwards advanc'd to be Bishop of that Sec. A man of acute Parts, and a voluble Tongue, he trod in part in his Master's steps, and reviv'd the long-since condemn'd Errors of *Paulus Samosatenus*, confounding the holy Trinity, and denying our Lord's eternal Existence, he affirm'd the Word to be not essential, but *prolatitius*, and that God made use of it in the production of things *ὡς ὅρατον ἢ μηχανισμῶν* ^l, as a kind of Mechanick Instrument: that Christ that received this Word was but a meer Man, and received the beginning of his existence from the Virgin *Mary*. For these blasphemous opinions he was often sentenc'd and depos'd; and died about the year CCCLXXV.

IV. THE next that follows in the List of the Council is the *Enomian* Heretic. The first Author and Founder of this Sect was *Aetius* ^m. He was born at *Antioch* in *Celestria*, and being left poor by his Father, who was a Souldier, maintain'd himself and his Mother at the Goldsmiths Trade: But having a *genius* for higher things, he applied himself to the study of Philosophy, and especially Logick, wherein he became excellent. Divinity he studied first under *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*, then under *Athanasius* of *Anazarbus*, next under *Antonius* at *Tarsus*, then lastly under *Leontius* a Presbyter of *Antioch*. Being expell'd *Antioch*, he fled to *Alexandria*, where under *Sopolis* a famous Doctor he studied Physick, which he practis'd *gratis*, maintaining himself in the mean time by working at night at his Goldsmiths Trade. He was made Deacon by *Leontius* of *Antioch*, and for his Heretodox notions, especially in asserting the *Anomean* Doctrine, depos'd by the Synod at *Constantinople*, and banish'd by *Constantinus Ann. CCCLIX*. Recall'd, honour'd, and rewarded by *Julian*, and made Bishop during his Reign. Under *Valens* he left *Constantinople*, and sail'd to *Lesbos*, and at *Mitylene* settled himself in a Farm, which *Julian* had bestow'd upon him. But upon *Procopius's* usurping the Empire, he was forc'd to return to *Constantinople*, where he died (as is probable) the year after. Scholar and *Ananienus* to him was *Eunomius*, who became more famous than his Master, and from him the Sect took its denomination. ⁿ He was born at *Dacora* a small Village near *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*. Awaken'd with the fame of *Aetius* he went to *Antioch*, where by the means of *Secundus* a *Libyan* Bishop, he was recommended

commended to *Aetius*, then at *Alexandria*, who took him into his Family, read Lectures to him, and made him his Secretary. Having sufficiently furnish'd himself with his Masters Instructions, he was made Deacon by *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and being sent to Court to solicit the Cause of his Party, was intercepted by means of *Basil* of *Ancyra*, and banish'd to *Midaum*, a Town in *Phrygia*. For the main he ran the same fortune with his Master, and was banish'd with him by the Synod at *Constantinople*. He was by *Eudoxius* ordained Bishop of *Cyzicum*, which he would not accept of, till *Eudoxius* had sworn to him, to recal the Sentence of Deposition pass'd against *Aetius*. Nor did he continue long at his See, the People there not enduring his impious Doctrine. In the reign of *Valens* the Party at *Constantinople* falling out, he went over to *Chalcedon*, where he had Gardens of his own, and there settled, entertaining all that came to him, being upon all occasions consulted as the Oracle of his Sect: upon a Charge of High Treason in being privy to *Procopius* his Usurpation, he was banish'd into *Mauritania*, but was recall'd at *Mursa* in *Illyricum*. By *Theodosius* (into whose Family some of his Gang had crept, whereat that good Emperor was highly offended) he was banish'd to *Halmiris*, a place situate upon the banks of the *Danow*, which being soon after taken by the Barbarians, he was transported to *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*. But his Company was distastful to that People, his lewd Principles being known, and he having writ against, and reflected upon their beloved Bishop *S. Basil*, for whom they had a dear regard. So he was suffer'd to dwell at his own Estate at *Dacora*, not far from that City, where he lived some years, dying about *Ann. CCCXCIV*. whose body when his Followers would have remov'd, to have buried it with his Master *Aetius* at *Constantinople*, *Eutropius* the Eunuch, at that time *Patricius*, and Lord Chamberlain would not suffer it, but commanded *Cesarinus* the *Prætorian Præfect*, to translate and bury it at *Tyana*, and commit the Guardianship of it to the Monks of that place. He procur'd likewise an Edict, for the burning of his Books, and all those of his Party, as containing the sum of all impious Doctrine, making it Capital for any to conceal them. Such were the men, that appear'd in the Head of the most spiteful and inveterate Enemies to the Divinity of the Son of God. As to the Principles which *Eunomius* deriv'd from *Aetius*, and afterwards improv'd, we may in the general observe, that he corrupted the *Arian dogmata* (poysen it self may be made worse) which he advanc'd to a pitch beyond any other Branch that sprang from that bitter Root, so that at last his Followers refus'd to admit the *Arian* Baptism and Ordination; in particular, he held ^o that the Son was made by the Father, and was to be plac'd only in the most eminent rank of Creatures; that he was a Servant, and obvious to change and alteration, and altogether unlike in Nature and Substance to the Father; and that as the Son is the Servant and Minister of the Father, so is the Spirit the Work and Minister of the Son. And though in the account ^p of his Faith, which he presented to the Emperor *Theodosius*, he endeavours to smooth over his Opinions, and to conceal them under odd expressions (confessing that the Son is only like the Father after an extraordinary manner of similitude, and in a proper and peculiar signification, that is, as he explains himself, as he is the Image and

Seal

^h Life of Euseb. N. XIX.
ⁱ Ibid. Epist.
Orient. apud
Socr. l. 2. c. 19.
p. 59. Cyril. Hist.
eccl. Catech.
XV. p. 350.
Euseb. contr.
Marcell. l. 1.
p. 6. Theod. ibid.
c. 10. p. 224.
^k Hist. Orient.
l. 1. c. 4. Hist.
29. p. 338.

^l Basil. in Can.
l. 1. conc. C. P.

^m Philost. l. 3.
c. 15. d. 3. c. 17.
l. 5. c. 1. 2. l. 6.
c. 7. l. 7. c. 6.
l. 8. c. 4. l. 9.
c. 6. Nicet.
Tus. Orth. Fid.
l. 5. c. 30.
p. 479.

ⁿ Philost. l. 10.
c. 6. l. 3. c. 20.
l. 4. c. 5. l. 5.
c. 3. l. 9. c. 4.
l. 10. c. 6. l. 11.
c. 5.

^o Theod. ib. l. 4.
c. 3. Basil. &
Zonar. in Can.
l. 1. conc. C. P.
Philost. l. 6.
c. 2. p. 501.
Socr. l. 6.
c. 26. p. 673.
&c.

^p Ext. ap. Iul.
Ist. Annot. in
Socr. p. 61.
vid. Socr. l. 5.
c. 10. p. 269.

Seal of his Fathers Power and Operation, the Seal of all his Words and Councils) yet does hetherin exprefly assert, that he is *ἐκ ἀρχῆς*; *ἐ ἀρχῆς*, not uncreated, nor without beginning, but that he is the Beginning of the wayes and works of God; that he received Glory from the Father, but did not partake or share with him in his Essence, Kingdom and Glory, and that the Father alone is God over all. Besides all this he is charg'd with asserting, that *Joseph* did in a conjugal way correspond with the Blessed Virgin after her being delivered of our Saviour; which indeed was the peculiar Tenet of the *Antidicomarianite* in the *Eastern*, as it was of the *Helvidians* in the *Western Church*. He is further said by the *Greek Canonists* to have denied that there was really any such place as Hell, or the Torments of the damned; and affirm'd, that these were only Fables invented to fright the World. But this I must confess is not charg'd upon him by any Author of his own time. In opposition to other Sects that dissented from him, he baptiz'd those whom he Proselytized to his Party in a way by himself, using only single Immersion (because he said, he baptiz'd into Christ's death, which he underwent for us, not twice or thrice, but once only) and turning the Heads of the Persons to the bottom of the Water, with their Heels mounted up into the Air. Whether he borrow'd any of his Principles from *Eudoxius*, who was successively Bishop of *Germanicia*, *Antioch*, and *Constantinople*, and by whom he had been prefer'd to the See of *Cyzicum*, or whether *Eudoxius* learnt them of him, is uncertain, 'tis evident, that in the main they held the same Opinions, and therefore the Council here condemns them as the same sort of Hereticks, under the Title of *Eunomians*, or *Eudoxians*, and indeed lookt upon them as such deep-died Hereticks, as wholly to have forfeited the name of Christians: And therefore whereas in their last Canon, they allow other Hereticks to come over to the Catholick Party upon their bare Subscription, and Renuntiation of all kind of Heresie, and Confirmation by Unction; the *Eunomians*; with some few others are to be treated as Pagans, and not to be admitted to Baptism, but by the same Methods and Degrees, that *Catechumens* were, who first came over from *Gentilism* to *Christianity*.

V. THE fifth rank of Hereticks are the *Apollinarists*, they were the Followers of *Apollinaris*, sometimes Bishop of *Laodicea*. A man (as we observ'd before) of incomparable Parts and Learning, but rash and opinionative, and who by being unduly excommunicated, was first tempted to start aside from the Catholick Faith. His Master Error was, that our Lord assum'd a Body without an humane Soul, his Divinity immediately supplying the room of that; which he afterwards mollified, by granting that he had a Soul, but without any mind or understanding. But what were his Opinions, none can tell us better than *Nazianzen*, who in an Oration, or rather Letter to *Nestarius* his Successor in the See of *Constantinople*, out of a Book of *Apollinaris*, gives him this account. That he affirm'd, that the Flesh which the Son of God took upon him to carry through the Work of our Restauration, was not asciticious, but what he had from the Beginning, which he thought warrantable from that of our Saviour, *No man hath ascended up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man, which is in Heaven*: Whence he infer'd, that he was the Son of man before his coming down

* Philost. loc. cit.

* Rufin. l. 2. c. 20. p. 253.

* Orat. XLVI. p. 721. vid. Or. XIV. p. 221.

down from Heaven, and that when he came, he brought his Flesh along with him, which he had in Heaven, essentially united to him before all time: That in this sense he was the *second man that is from Heaven*, and that in that Capacity *τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα*, he had no mind, but that his Deity supplied the place of his understanding; that in his Humanity he had both Soul and Body, but that the mind was supplied by the Divinity of the Word: that beyond all this he maintain'd, that God the only begotten Son, who is Lord of Life, and the destroyer of Death, was himself mortal, and truly suffered in his Godhead, and that during his three days continuance in the state of the dead, his Divinity died also with his Body, and was by the Father restor'd to life again. These were some of his monstrous and extravagant Opinions, which our learned Bishop does at large confute, with all his Arguments and Objections, in his two Epistles to *Cledonius*, written about this very time, while he was yet Bishop of *Constantinople*. There remains now but one sort of Hereticks censur'd by the Council, viz. that of the *Macedonians*, whom the Canon calls *Pneumatomachi*, or opposers of the holy Spirit. Now because the Synod was principally conven'd with respect to these (as is affirm'd on all hands *) I shall a little more particularly enquire into the Rise and Original of this Sect.

VI. WHEN the *Arian* Notions began first to prevail in the World, they were chiefly level'd against the Divinity of the Son of God, he being the only Person that was struck at. And therefore in the *Nicene Creed*, though all imaginable care was taken to secure the Article of his Deity, by stating it in such Terms, as might counterminie all the Subtleties and Sophistical Evasions of its Adversaries, yet is no more said in it concerning the Spirit, than we believe in the *Holy Ghost*; no doubt being as yet started concerning that matter. But afterwards when the *Arian* Party began to subdivide, and break into different Tribes, and one Error like Circles in the Water begat another, every bold Fellow set up to be the Head of a Party, and started some new Notion, as the distinctive Character of his little Sect. And having wiredrawn the Article concerning the Son of God into infinite Controversies and Disputes, they fell next upon that of the Holy Ghost, whose Divinity was first question'd, then denyed, at last he was quite banish'd out of the Trinity, and peremptorily affirm'd to be no other than a Creature. The first that openly broach'd and assert'd this Opinion was *Macedonius*: He had been Deacon under *Alexander* the Reverend Bishop of *Byzantium* (soon after call'd *Constantinople*) who upon his death-bed nominated two Competitors for the place; *Paul*, young, but wise and prudent, and *Macedonius*, aged, but crafty, and of an affected Gravity. *Paul*, was chosen, and under him *Macedonius* commenc'd Presbyter; who took in with the *Arians*. Upon *Paul's* banishment, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* was translated thither, upon whose decease *Paul* was fetch'd back, while the *Arians* ordain'd *Macedonius* for their Bishop, which was manag'd with so much fury and disorder, that *Hermogenes* Commander of the Army was among others slain in the Tumult, whereupon *Paul* was again banish'd, and the Emperor refus'd to Confirm *Macedonius*, who yet not long after sent *Philip* the *Prætorian Præfect* to remove *Paul* (who was it seems return'd to his See) and to invest *Macedonius* in the

* Or. LI. p. 737. LII p. 745.

* Socr. l. 5. c. 8. Soz. l. 7. c. 7. Phot. de Synod. Nitus lib. de Synod. c. 6. Conc. T. 2. c. 1. 975. &c. Balf. & Zon. in Conc. C. P.

* Vid. Epiph. Heres. l. X. c. 17. p. 334. Zonar. Anag. Tom. III. p. 9.

* Socr. l. 2. c. 6. p. 83.

* Ib. c. 12. 13. p. 89.

* Ib. c. 15. p. 92.

S f

Episcopal

Episcopal Throne: Which he did accordingly, but with a very unhappy Accident. For the Souldiers meeting with an extreme Crowd, in a place where there was no room left to make way, and taking it for a premeditated resistance and opposition, fell violently upon the People, MMMCL whereof were kill'd, either slain out-right by the Souldiers, or trampled to death with the Crowd. About the time of the *Sardican Council* *Paul* was restor'd (the necessity of *Constantius's* Affairs then requiring it) and *Macedonius* forc'd to keep his Party together in an obscure private Church. But this held not long, for *Paul* being dispatch'd out of the way, transported to, and strangled at *Caucus* in *Armenia*, *Macedonius* presently leapt into the Chair, and being now rid of his Competitor, shew'd himself what he was, prosecuting all that dissented from him with the most incredible cruelty, instances whereof are too many, and too tragical to be here related. This course he held till the latter end of the Reign of *Constantius*, when in the Synod at *Constantinople*, immediately following that of *Seleucia*, he was by the prevalency of *Acacius* and his Party at Court (besides that the Emperor hated him for his Cruelties, and some other Misdemeanours) depos'd, and *Eudoxius* translated from *Antioch* to that See. Enraged with this Affront, he began more openly to declare his Sentiments than he had done before. He had hitherto gone along with the deepest of the *Arian* Faction, who held the *Diffimilitude Opinion*, these he now deserted, and clos'd with the most moderate Party, who asserted the *ὁμοιούσιον*, or that the Son was in all things of a like Substance with the Father. As for the Holy Ghost, he plainly deny'd it to have the same Honour and Privilege, affirming it to be but a Servant and Minister, only a little more exalted than the Angelical Order. In defending and propagating these Principles, his chief Agents and Assistants were *Eusebius* Bishop of *Sabasta* (who publicly cry'd out, that for his part he would not call the Holy Ghost either a God, or a Creature) *Elenus* of *Cyzicum*, and *Marathonius*, who of a Treasurer to the Army (where he had sufficiently enrich'd himself) had been made by him Presbyter of *Constantinople*, and afterwards Bishop of *Nicomedia*, a man so privy to all his inward Councils, that he was said by some to have been the first Contriver of his Opinions touching the Holy Ghost. By the help of these and some others, he held several Synods of his Party under the Reign of *Julian*, wherein he endeavour'd to draw his Followers into a more close and distinct Body, separate from all the other Clanns of the *Arian* Tribe; particularly they Anathematiz'd the *Acacians*, rejecting the Confession of *Ariminum*, and ratifying that which had been agreed upon in the Syrod of *Seleucia*. And when ask'd why, if they differed in Opinion from the *Acacians*, they had hitherto communicated with them? *Sophronius* Bishop of *Pemphopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, answer'd in the name of the rest, that among the several Dissenting Parties in Christendome, they of the *West* were over-run with the *Consubstantial* Error; in the *East* *Atius* had corrupted the Faith, by introducing the *Arian* Doctrine, of the Sons being of an unlike Nature with the Father. Both Opinions were erroneous and impious; the one rashly confounded the distinct Persons of Father and Son; the other separated their nature quite from each other. These were wide extremes, and therefore they

* Ib. c. 23.
p. 112.

* Ib. c. 27.
p. 117. c. 38.
p. 141.

* Ib. c. 42.
p. 155.

* Ib. c. 45.
p. 158. *Socr.*
l. 4. c. 27.
p. 585.

* *Socr. l. 3.
c. 10. p. 182.*

they judg'd it most agreeable both to Truth and Piety, to take the middle way between both, and to assert the Son to be like the Father *ὁμοούσιον* in Person, And that therefore it was no wonder, if they had communicated with the *Acacians*, who had sometimes held the same thing. Some years after viz. *Ann. CCC LXV.* they procur'd leave from the Emperor *Valens*, to hold a Synod ^k at *Lampscum* in the *Hellepont*, where they again condemn'd the *Ariminum* Confession, and confirm'd that of *Antioch* and *Seleucia*, and restored those Bishops to their Sees, who had been depos'd by them of the Dissimilitude Faction. *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople* was sufficiently nettled at these Proceedings, and complain'd of them to the Emperor: But he being intangled at that time with the Rebellion and Usurpation of *Procopius*, was not at leisure to assist him; till shortly after having suppress'd that dangerous Rebellion, he sent for *Elenus* Bishop of *Cyzicum*, who had been the Prime Dictator of the *Macedonian* Party in the Council of *Lampscum*, to come to him to *Nicomedia*, where he had assembled a Synod of *Arian* Bishops, and where he threatned and forc'd him to subscribe to their Creed. But at his return home, he publicly retracted his Subscription, Protesting he did it for fear, and under force, however advising the People to procure another Bishop to be plac'd over them, he himself having, though through Compulsion, deny'd the Faith. The Citizens heard his request, but lov'd the man too well to part with him upon any terms. But what they would not, *Eudoxius* of *Constantinople* did for him, who having obtain'd a Warrant from the Emperor, came to *Cyzicum*, depos'd and banish'd *Elenus*, and promoted *Eunomius*, *Aetius's* Scribe and Scholar, into his room; who yet did not long enjoy that Place. For the People being exasperated by him, murin'd, and drove him out of the City, who thereupon fled to *Constantinople*, and lived with his dear Friend *Eudoxius*. But I digress too far. *Macedonius* after his being depos'd, settl'd himself in a place over against *Constantinople* call'd *Pyle*; the time of his death is not known: *Sozomen* ^l places it under *Constantius*, but *Nicephorus* ^m says he liv'd a long time after his Deposition, which indeed was not made till within less than two years before *Constantius's* death, *Eudoxius* his Successor entering upon that See. *Ann. CCCLX.*

VII. AFTER his death his Followers suffered not his Opinions to die. In the Article of Christ's Divinity they held a middle ⁿ course between the Catholicicks, and high-flown *Arians*. (Though *Nazianzen* ^o and some others say, that they were found in the Doctrine concerning the Son of God, which yet I must confess I see no Evidence to affirm) in the Catholicick Doctrine they reject'd the word *ὁμοούσιον*, or *Consubstantial* as unscriptural, and Anathematiz'd the *Anomaeans* or *Eunomians*, who assert'd him to be unlike the Father, joyning herein with the *Semiarrians*, in maintaining the Son to be *ὁμοούσιον* of a like Substance with his Father; and accordingly in the first Canon of our present Council are styl'd *Pneumatomachi*, or *Semiarrians*; as *Semiarrians* they allow'd not Christ to be *Consubstantial*, as *Pneumatomachi* they deny'd the Deity of the Holy Ghost. Their Sect increas'd ^p greatly, not only at *Constantinople*, but in *Thrace*, *Hellepont*, *Bithynia*, and the Neighbouring Provinces: And indeed the men were Masters at the art of Insinuation; their behaviour was

* *Socr. l. 4.
c. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7.
p. 211. &c.*

* *Ib. c. 28.
p. 584.
l. 9. c. 46.
p. 798.*

* *Epiph. Heres.
LXXII. p. 371
& p. 360.
Thod. l. 2. c. 6.
p. 73.
Orat. XLIV.
p. 710.*

* *Socr. l. 4. c. 27.
p. 586.*

grave and mortified, their Life a severe and Monastical, their Address smooth and plausible, and accommodated to the humour of the Persons that they had to deal with, and when at any time put to a pinch, by shifting and juggling, and professing themselves Catholics, they knew how to secure their Reputation and their Interest. By these ways they successfully propagated their Opinions, and were become so considerable in those parts, that *Theodosius* for this and some other reasons thought fit to convene a General Council, to which he summoned the Bishops of that Party, hoping to reconcile them to the Catholic Church, from the Doctrine whereof they seem'd not much to differ. And there was the more reason to think so, because they had more than once and again subscrib'd the *Nicene Creed*; so they did at *Antioch*, so at *Rome*, and in several Synods of the *West*, and by that means procur'd the Letters Testimonial of Pope *Liberius*, and several of the *Western Prelates*, and were thereupon receiv'd by the Catholic Party, though upon every occasion they return'd to their old Principles; as was evident, in that when *Gratian* the Emperor publish'd a Law to licence all Sects to act according to their own way, though for some years before they had freely communicated with the Catholics, they then flew off, and Synodically assembling at *Antioch*, decreed against the *Consubstantial* Doctrine, and that none should hold Communion with the Professors of the *Nicene Faith*. Thirty six of their Bishops came to the Council, the Heads whereof were *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*, and *Marcianus* of *Lampsacon*. The good Emperor and the Fathers of the Synod took infinite pains with them to bring them over, putting them in mind of their Promises and Protestations made to *Liberius*, and others in their *Western Embassy*, and that they had of late voluntarily communicated with the Catholics, and that 'twas indecent and imprudent, that they who had once embrac'd the Faith, should now endeavour to subvert it. But the men were obstinate, not to be wrought upon, either by Arguments or Intreaties, and plainly told them, that whatever they might have heretofore said to the contrary, they were resolv'd never to subscribe the *Consubstantial Faith*. With which answer they left the Synod, and went out of Town, and wrote to their Party in all places, that they should not agree to the *Nicene Creed*. For which Contumacy they were together with others condemned by the Council, and with these Anathematisms they ended their Determinations about matters of Faith. I observe no more concerning this part of the Council, than that no sooner was the Synod broken up, but the good Emperor *Theodosius* by a Law bearing date the first of *August*, ratified what they had decreed against these Hereticks, commanding that the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and *Actians*, should have no leave to build Churches in any place, and that if they did, such ground should be immediately confiscated, as also all places where they held their Conventicles, or where their Ministers should be entertain'd. Nay to expose them yet further, he caus'd the Images of *Arius*, *Sabellius*, *Macedonius*, and *Eunomius*, to be cut in Marble, and plac'd near the ground in the publick Forum, not far from the Chamber of the Senate (the very place where *Arius* made his shameful and miserable end) that so all that pass'd by might spit, or throw dirt upon them, or treat them with the most ignominious expressions of scorn and detestation,

* *Vid. Not. Imper. Orient. fol. 3. p. 2.*

* *Socr. l. 5. c. 8. p. 254. & c. 17. c. 7. p. 711.*

* *Socr. l. 3. c. 25. p. 203. l. 4. c. 12. p. 220.*

* *Socr. l. 5. c. 4. p. 251.*

* *C. Theod. l. 6. Tit. V. l. 8.*

* *Cois. de orig. c. 17. p. 64. 11. mon. Ar. Chron. g. l. 4. c. 10. c. 11. p. 17.*

testation, and these Images my Author assures us were still standing in his time.

VIII. THE third thing that fell under the Consideration of the Synod, was the providing some Rules relating to the external Polity and Discipline of the Church. A thing usual in all great Synods. And of the seven Canons that the Council pass'd, four of them are of this nature, whereof two most considerable, the *Second* and *Third*. By the *Second* they fix and state the bounds and limits of the greater *Eastern Churches* according to the Constitution of the then *Roman Empire*. There were under the Government of the *Prætorian Prefect* of the *East* five *Dioceses*, the *East* especially so called, *Egypt*, *Asiana*, *Pontica*, and *Thrace*, each of which contain'd several Provinces under it, the *East* fifteen, *Egypt* six, *Asiana* ten, *Pontica* eleven, and *Thrace* six. According to this form the Fathers setled the Jurisdiction of the Churches in the *Eastern Empire*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should govern *Egypt*, that is, all the Churches within the Political Diocess of *Egypt*; the Bishops of the *East* those of the *Eastern* Diocess, reserving all the Privileges granted to the See of *Antioch* by the *Nicene Canon*, they of *Asiana* within *Asiana*, of *Pontica* within *Pontica*, of *Thrace* within that Diocess; that is, that the Primats, or the Bishops of the chief Metropolis within these several Diocesses, with the assistance of the Bishops that were under them, should manage and direct all common affairs within those bounds, and which could not be conveniently manag'd by the Bishops of every single Province. *Socrates* speaking of this Canon, says, that having divided the Provinces, they constituted *Patriarchs*. Whether by these he meant Patriarchs properly so called, and whether they ow'd their original to the Constitution of this Council, is not easily determinable; 'tis affirmed by some, and denied by others. It seems to be some prejudice to the affirmative, that the Canon itself gives not the least hint of any such matter. Perhaps *Valerius* his conjecture is not improbable, that by Patriarchs *Socrates* means some persons peculiarly deputed, if not by the Synod, at least by the Emperor, to exercise for the present an extraordinary Ecclesiastick power within those several Diocesses, for the settling of Affairs of late much disturb'd and out of order. Thus besides *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*, who had *Thrace*, and *Timotheus* of *Alexandria*, who had *Egypt*, the Patriarchate of the *Pontican Diocess* (says *Socrates*) was committed to *Helladius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, *Basil's* Successor, *Gregory Nyssen*, and *Oreus* of *Meletius* in *Armenia*; that of *Asiana* to *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* of *Antioch* in *Pisidia*; that of the *Eastern Diocess* to *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, and to *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*: where we may observe, that he of *Antioch*, though the first Bishop of that Diocess, is not mention'd, probably because *Meletius* Bishop of that See was newly dead, and though *Flavian* was immediately thrust up into his Room, yet his election was hotly disput'd and contested; upon which account 'tis like the Emperor forbore to nominate him in the Constitution which he publish'd about this matter. However, that the See might not suffer any prejudice, both the Emperor and the Canon make particular provision, that the Rights and Privileges granted to the Church of *Antioch* by the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, should be reserved intire. And I am the more inclin'd to think this to have been

* *Vid. not. Imper. Orient. fol. 3. p. 2.*

* *L. 5. c. 8. p. 265.*

* *Valer. Annot. in Socr. p. 60.*

Socrates

L. 7. c. 9.
p. 715.

Socrates his meaning, because *Sozomen*^d who wrote after him, relates it thus, that the Persons mention'd were appointed as Standards of the Catholick Communion within those several Districts, by whom as by proper Judges, Persons professing the Catholick *Consubstantial* Doctrine were to be tryed, and thereupon be admitted to their Churches. This will be beyond all Dispute; if we consider, that upon the passing this Canon, and the rising of the Council, *Theodosius* put out an Imperial Edict, ^e commanding the Churches in these several Dioceses to be delivered to as many as confess the true Faith of the holy Trinity, and held Communion with the Persons above-mentioned. The truth is, this matter has been not a little obscur'd by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, who 'tis plain, have confounded the Canon and the Law of *Theodosius*, and patch'd up one out of both, when as they were widely different. The Canon is General, and states the constant bounds of those *Eastern* Jurisdictions, that each of those five divisions should be of equal extent with the Civil Dioceses, and that the Bishops of one Diocese, should not ordinarily intermeddle in another. The Edict which was grounded upon, and publish'd immediately after the Canon, was particular, and only temporary, nominating what Persons within those five Dioceses should manage and transact Church-affairs, for the present greatly out of order, and judge who were fit after so many disturbances and irregularities as had lately over-run the Church to be admitted to Communion. This being done, that Edict was of no more force; and is therefore omitted in the *Code of Justinian*, the Power it convey'd being personal, and accordingly long since expir'd. In short, whatever becomes of the Patriarchal Controversie, whereof more perhaps in another place, the meaning of the Canon is evidently this, that those five Dioceses should be the ordinary division of the *Eastern* Churches, and that the Bishops of one Diocese should not interfere with, nor ordain, or exercise any act of Authority and Jurisdiction in another, and that this being observ'd, the Affairs of every Province should be decided by the Synod of that Province, according to the *Nicene* Constitutions. And 'twas but time to provide for this, there having been of late some uncanonical proceedings; thus *Peter* of *Alexandria* took upon him by the three Bishops he sent to ordain *Maximus* of *Constantinople*, as *Meletius* of *Antioch* and some others to translate *Nazianzen* to the same See.

IX. THE other Canon concerns the Dignity and Precedence of the See of *Constantinople*, which for the Honour of the Imperial Court, they advance above all others but *Rome*. The Canon is drawn up in these words.

Τὸν μὲν τοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς πύλης μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης Ἐπίσκοπον; διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ νῦν Ρώμην.
Καὶν. γ.

Let the Bishop of Constantinople have the precedence or privilege of Honour after the Bishop of Rome, forasmuch as Constantinople is new Rome.

* CAN. 28.

THIS Canon laid the first step of that Ascent, whereby the Bishop of *Constantinople* mounted up to rival *Rome*, giving him the next place of Honour; which the Council of *Chalcedon*^e afterwards enlarg'd into an equality, establishing him τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεία equal Privileges with the See of *Rome*, nay, gave him Power as well as Honour, sub-

jecting

jecting to his See the three great Dioceses of *Pontica*, *Asiana*, and *Thrace*, together with the Bishops that were in the barbarous Countries, that is (say the *Scholasts* upon that Canon) the *Alani* and the *Rossi*, the one belonging to *Pontica*, the other to *Thrace*. Nay some^b have so far stretch'd the meaning of our present Canon, as to tell us, that the Preposition *μετ'* (*After*), implies not any inferior degree of Privilege to *Rome*, but only a Posteriority in point of time, which must be confess'd to favour of a critical Nicety. Though it cannot be denied, but that the Fathers at *Chalcedon* so understood it, that by virtue of this Canon, the same Honours and Privileges were conferr'd upon the Bishops of *new*, as had been upon them of *old Rome*, and as such they ratified it with their Sanction. And as in the first Ages of Christianity, scarce any thing more advanc'd the Grandeur and Reputation of the Church of *Rome*, than its being the Seat of the Empire, which Privileges being granted by the Fathers upon that account (as they of *Chalcedon* expressly affirm) so they conceiv'd it but reasonable, that *Constantinople* being now made the Seat of the Imperial Throne, the Church there should bear some proportion to the dignity of the Civil State, and the Bishops enjoy as much Privilege as they did at *Rome*. And indeed the best way to let in light, both upon this and the preceding Canon, and to find what Privileges were granted to the See of *Constantinople* by this Canon, as also by that of *Chalcedon* and some following Councils, were to enquire what Precedence and Power the *Roman* Bishops anciently had, and what they usurp'd. To which purpose I had once thought to have ventur'd the Readers patience upon a digression concerning the ancient Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the gradual encroachments of that See over other Bishops, especially them of *Constantinople*. But because this would be too great an interruption in the Course of the Story, I have chose rather to refer it to a discourse by it self, where the Reader may peruse, or pass it by at pleasure.

^b *Al. Avili. in h. l. vid. atium comment. Ruff. & Zon. ibid.*

SECT.

S E C T. VI.

*Particular Transactions of the Council relating to Nazianzen.
His resignation and departure.*

Dissentions arising in the Synod about the See of Antioch. Nazianzen's proposal in favour of Paulinus ill resented, and Combinations made against him. His free discourse to them upon that occasion. The People troubled at the bare report of his readiness to resign. The Confederacy against him increas'd by the arrival of the Egyptian Bishops. Their Opposition to him, whence. His admirable Oration to them concerning Peace. His Address to the Emperor for leave to resign his See. This very difficultly obtain'd. His eloquent Oration to the Synod at his taking leave. Some passages of that Oration laid before the Reader. The time of his departure, and universal sorrow for it. Nectarius elected to be his Successor. The Occasion of his Name being propos'd among the rest. The Emperor pitches upon him, and persists in his Resolution. The dissolution of the Council.

I. **H**ITHERTO things had gone on smoothly in the Council, when they fell into disturbance and confusion, which began upon this occasion. *Meletius* a good Bishop of *Antioch* died during the sitting of the Council, whose Funeral (as became a Person of his Age and Merits) was attended with an universal confluence of the City, and on several dayes honour'd with Orations by the most eloquent Persons in the Council. And now great Heats arose among them about choosing a Successor in his room, a strong Party being made for *Flavianus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, for whom at last they carried it. *Nazianzen* hoping to reconcile the Differences, propounded a pious and peaceable Expedient, (though his appearing in it, and thereby seeming to espouse the Cause of the *Western* Prelates, as was that of *Paulinus* against them of the *East*, conjur'd up a Spirit, which all his Art and Interest could not lay, the opposite Party in the Synod fermenting into Heat and Passion, who hence took occasion to fall upon him, till nothing would satisfy them, but the throwing up his place; he propounded that *Paulinus*, whom *Lucifer Calaritanus* had ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*, might continue so for the short remainder of his Life, after whose death (which could not be far off) all Competitions ceasing, they might then choose whom they pleas'd, and so a Period be put to the unhappy long-continued Schism of that Church. He told them further, that as to himself, he had unwillingly entred upon the See of *Constantinople*, and though he had spent, and that not unsuccessfully, infinite pains and labours in that place, yet he expected no other reward but from above; that after the Importunities of the People, and their own free Votes had forc'd the thing upon him, it seem'd strange that any of them should go about to undoe their own Act, and endeavor to supplant and undermine him; not that he cared for Riches or Honor, or prided himself in

* Naz. de vit.
fuit. p. 25. Gr.
Presb. p. 29, 30.

in the Title of Bishop of the imperial City, but that he had a tender regard to the necessities of the People, and that it must needs cast an Imputation either of envy or levity upon themselves to run counter to their own late Determinations. However if they had a mind to take that course, he was ready freely to resign his Bishoprick; they might consult and resolve upon what they pleas'd, solitude had never been unwelcome to him, and 'twas his comfort, that though they might separate him from his See, they could never part between him and God. Having ended his Speech, he perceiv'd the Faction to grow strong against him, and the Ancients ready to side with the younger and more heady part of the Council; so he left them, and retir'd to a remote part of the City, purposely to avoid the noise and croud. But no sooner what had pass'd was rumour'd abroad, but a croud of People throng'd about him, and passionately besought him to pity the miserable Flock, which with so much care and pains he had hitherto fed and govern'd. What, would he now throw up the Crop which he had sown, and had brought from so small a handful, to so much maturity and plenty? To whom would he leave his Sheep? He had hitherto spent his strength amongst them, let him give God and them the remainder of his Life, and lay his bones amongst them. He could not but be greatly affected with their Prayers and Tears, yet suffer'd not himself to be mov'd from his Resolution, which he every day found more reason to put into Execution.

II. **F**OR about this time arriv'd *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, with his Prelates and others out of *Macedonia*, who mindfull of the old Quarrel, and meeting with this happy opportunity, remonstrated against *Nazianzen's* being elected to that See, not out of any dislike to him (as they privately told him) but opposition to the rest who had settled him in it without their consent, and to cover their spite with some specious pretext, charg'd them with an irregular procedure in that Affair, especially in allowing Translations from one See to another, condemn'd by the Canons of the Church. Factions thus increasing, he endeavors, if possible, to compose them by an Oration concerning Peace, which he purposely preach'd upon this occasion, wherein he layes before them with all the advantages of his Rhetorick, the great blessings and benefits of Peace, the infinite mischiefs of Divisions and Animosities amongst Christians, how contrary they are to the Principles of our Faith, and how dishonourable to God and to Religion, and what advantages they give to the Enemies of our Faith. "What a disgrace is it (said he^b) and how unbecoming such sage and reverend Prelates, that you who press others to Peace, should fiercely contend with mutual Animosities; no matter what becomes of me, so this great Assembly may but be united. Let this be your prime care and business; I am content to sacrifice my Reputation, and to be accounted rude, blunt, or ignorant, so you may agree. Nay, though I have been far enough from raising the Storm, yet if it may save the Ship, I am not better than the Prophet *Jonah*; throw me into the Sea, and let these Storms and Tempests cease, I can be willing to be condemn'd to an Hospital, or to suffer any thing you shall think fit to inflict, if by that means I may but give being to your Concord. I do not desire any Laws should be violated for my sake; I herein give a Law to my self, not

* Oraz. XIV.
p. 215.

^b de vit. fuit.
p. 29. Gr. Presb.
ibid. p. 31.

"to account any thing hard or uneasy. I unwillingly accepted this
 "Throne, and I now willingly quit it. The craziness of my body
 "minds me of it. Death is a Debt which I owe, and it must once
 "be paid, and 'tis in God's hand when he please to call for it. Adieu
 "dear Brethren, and preserve a just memory of my pains and labors,
 And because where other artifices of malice fail'd, some of them had
 given out, that 'twas not the patronage and defence of Truth, but
 pride and an ambitious Affectation of that honorable See had brought
 him thither; he vindicated himself in a particular Oration^c, where-
 in he appeal'd to the People, whether he had not with all earnestness
 and obstinacy declin'd the place, till he had been with a violent and
 irresistible importunity seated upon that Throne, which he knew not
^α *ἢ πῶς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν λαβόν, ἢ πῶς ἀρραβωνισθὴν*, whether to style a Tyranni-
 cal, or an Archiepiscopal Dignity; that had he been guilty of so much
 vanity and folly, especially in his 'Circumstances, an infirm old man
 broken with Age and Sickness, he should blush to look up to Heaven,
 or to shew his face in that sacred Assembly, and his former pains and
 labors, his course habit, and empty Table, not much better fur-
 nish'd than that of the Fowls of Heaven; his accustomed retirements
 and private Life would rise up against him: but there could be little
 reason to charge him with invading another's See, who had rejected
 one of his own. But alas where passion and anger, malice and in-
 terest govern, it makes men deaf to the fairest reasonings. These
 courses therefore not succeeding, he resolv'd to be no longer a bone of
 Contention, and to that end went straight to Court, where upon
 his knees kissing the Emperor's hand, he told him; "I am come,
 "Sir, to beg a request of you, not Riches or Treasure for my self, or
 "costly Ornaments for the Church, or Honors or Offices for my Re-
 "lations; these are little things fit for narrow and contracted minds,
 "they are greater Matters I design for my self; this only I beg, that
 "I may have leave to be gone, and to give way to the envious and ill-
 "minded; if I like Bishopricks any where, 'tis a great way off; here I
 "disgust my very Friends, only because I value nothing but God; I be-
 "seech you, amongst all the Trophies and Triumphs of your Reign,
 "let this be the greatest, your reducing them to Unity and Concord,
 "whom if the fear of God will not, let your Authority compel them
 "to lay down their Arms; this is the last request of him, whom your
 "Majesty knows you plac'd against him will upon this Episcopal
 "Throne. The Emperor and those that stood by, admir'd the Tem-
 per of the man, and was at last drawn, not without some difficulty,
 to consent to his Petition; whose leave being obtain'd, he had now
 nothing to do, but to take his farewell. To which end in the great
 Church before the CL. Fathers of the Synod, and as many of the
 People as the Church could hold, he made his last Oration^d; the
 whole is admirably worth the Reader's perusal, but to avoid tedious-
 ness, I shall select only such passages as are most material. After he
 had acquainted them in what a woful case he found the Church at
 his first coming to *Constantinople*, what miserable Devastations the
 late Persecutions had every where made of the Catholick Church,
 and had given them an account what Reformation he had wrought in
 his charge, and what Doctrine he had preach'd to them, he comes
 to apologize for himself: "Have we (says he^e) circumvented this
 "People

^c Or. XXVII.
 p. 464. *vid.*
 p. 465, 467,
 468.

^d Or. XXXII.
 p. 510.

^e *Ibid.* p. 522.

"People through covetousness, or as I see many do, sacrificed their
 "interest to my own private gain? Have we at any time disturb'd the
 "Church? *Whose Ours, or whose Afs have I taken*, as the price of your
 "Souls, and have not kept my Ministry pure and uncorrupt? If I
 "have affected Domination, or a sublime See, or have haunted
 "Princes Courts, let that be my only Portion; or if it were, I would
 "soon rid my hands on't: Let me have this as the reward of all my
 "labors, to be delivered from my burthen, and to enjoy my ease;
 "look upon my gray hairs, and have respect to me as a Stranger;
 "substitute another in my room, who may undergo trouble for you,
 "a man strict and eloquent, and who may at once be fit to gratify
 "you, and able to go through with the Affairs of the Church, for
 "such the necessities of this time do call for. You see in what a case
 "I am, my body worn out with Age, Labour, and Sickness, little
 "need have you of such a timorous and feeble old man as I am, dying
 "dayly through care and weakness, and who at this time am scarce
 "able to speak to you. Believe your Guide, whom you were never
 "wont to disbelieve; I am weary, while my mildness and modera-
 "tion is charg'd upon me for a fault; I am weary, while I am forc'd
 "to encounter with rumors and envy, and not only with Enemies,
 "but Friends, who wound more deeply and securely——^f I be-
 "seech you by all that's dear and sacred, do me this kindness to dis-
 "miss me with your Prayers, let that be the reward of my conflicts
 "and trials; grant me a Warrant for my discharge, as Generals are
 "wont to do to their old worn out Souldiers; and let it be, if you
 "please, with an honourable Acclamation at my *Exit*; if not, do
 "your pleasure, 'tis a thing which I will not contend about, 'tis enough
 "that God beholds and will regard my Cause. And as for a Suc-
 "cessor, God will provide himself a Pastor, as once he did a Lamb
 "for a burnt-offering. I only beg this of you, that you would choose
 "such a one as may be the object rather of mens envy, than their
 "pity, who may not be ready basely to comply with every one upon
 "all occasions, but willing to venture the favour and the frowns of
 "men in the doing of what's just and true. The one course may be
 "sweet at present, but the other will turn to account another day.
 Having discours'd thus, he comes in the close to take a par-
 ticular farewell, which he does in this elegant and pathetic *Apo-
 strophe*.

"Farewell *Anastasia*, whose very name speaks Piety, thou that
 "gavest a new life to the Catholick Doctrine, when buried under
 "ignominy and contempt; farewell, I say, thou seat of common
 "Victory, thou *Shilo*, into which we brought and fix'd the Ark of
 "God, after it had wandred up and down in the Desert for Forty
 "years together. And thou great and venerable Temple, the new
 "Inheritance, who owest the magnificence thou now enjoyest to the
 "orthodox Faith, and whom of a *Jebus* we made a *Jerusalem*. And
 "all the rest of you Churches, that approach to it in splendor and
 "beauty, and that like Chains compals about, and connect the fe-
 "veral parts of the City, which we in the midst of all our weakness,
 "enabled by Divine assistance, as contemptible as we were made,
 "were wont to fill in our circular Visitations. Farewell Apostles,
 "the noble Colony transplanted hither, the Leaders of my conflicts
 "and

"and sufferings, though I must confess I have not so frequently celebrated your Solemnities, perhaps because I carried your S. Paul's Satans about with me in the body (a thing conducive to my advantage) the reason why I now depart from you. Farewel my Episcopal Chair, thou dangerous and envied Throne; farewell thou assembly of Bishops, Persons venerable for your Age and Gravity, and all the rest of you that officiate at the holy Table, and Minister before God, who is nigh to them that draw nigh to him. Farewel the Quires of *Nazarites*, the harmonious Psalmodies, nocturnal Stations, the modest Virgins, grave Matrons, the crowds of Widows and Orphans, the eyes of the Poor, alwayes intent upon God and us. Farewel Hospitals, lovers of Christ, and helpers of mine Infirmities. Farewel the affectionate Frequenters of my Sermons, the crowds thronging to the Church, the swift-handed Notaries, and these Railes so often pres'd upon by my greedy Auditors. Farewel Emperors, with your Courts and Courtiers, perhaps not more faithful to the Emperor than to God. Clasp your hands, and with your shrill voice cry out, exalt your Orator. The buisie and insolent Tongue, (as you account it) has been silent towards you, but shall not be alwayes so, but shall fight against you with Hand and Pen, though for the present we have held our Peace. Farewel great City, thou lover of Christ and his Religion; for Ple bear thee Record, that thou hast a Zeal, but not according to knowledge: parting has rendred us more mutually kind. Embrace the Truth, and at length change for the better, worship God oftner than you us'd to do; 'tis no dishonor to alter for the better, but to persist in a bad course, is pernicious and deadly. Farewel East and West, for whom and by whom we are oppos'd and troubled, witness he that can make us quiet, if a few would but give way, and imitate my Resignation. A thing that may be done without any considerable disadvantage; for they lose not God, who desert their Thrones, but secure to themselves a Throne above, much more sublime and safe. But above and beyond all other things, Ple cry, Farewel Angels, the Tutelar Guardians of this Church, and both of my company and departure, so long as my Affairs are in the hands of God. Farewel Trinity, my Meditation, and my Ornament; mayst thou be secur'd to them, and do thou secure and keep safe this my People (mine I call them, though we are now under another management of Affairs) and let me hear the news of it every day, how much thou art increas'd and advanc'd both by the Doctrine and the Life of thy Professors. Little Children, keep that which I have committed to you, remember my being stoned. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen.

We may imagine what impression so passionate an Oration from so dearly beloved a Prelate made upon the minds of the People; Rich and Poor, the Honourable and Ignoble, Strangers and Citizens were equally affected with it, and could not with patience hear of their Pastors being ravih'd from them, insomuch that he himself was forc'd to perswade them, and ply them with such Considerations as were proper to sweeten and allay their grief. Nay very many of the Bishops themselves detecting the rash and violent Proceedings of the Council, shak'd their Heads, and went away. The exact time

De hac re
vid. Or. XXVII.
in init. p. 454.

h. de vit. sua.
p. 30.

of his Resignation is not transmitted to us. If the date of his Will (which we shall produce hereafter) be true, it must be some time after the last of December Ann. CCCLXXXI. seeing he therein writes himself Bishop of *Constantinople*. But this cannot be, the Council it self not sitting so long by several Months. So that there's a necessity with *Baronius* to assert, that instead of *Iulianus*, *Iarbas* crept in to the date by the earlechief of Transcribers, and that the Will was made the day before the Calends of June, that is, the last of May, during the sitting of the Council. And that it must be so, we have this further evidence, it being plain by a Law of *Theodosius* bearing date July the XXXth. of this year, that *Nectarius* was then Bishop of *Constantinople*. Thus after three years stay (*Gregorius* Presbyter by a prodigious error makes it twelve) *Nazianzen* left *Constantinople*, and return'd into his own Country, where he repos'd himself at *Arianzum*, his paternal Estate, where we leave him for a little time, while we return to *Constantinople*, and see what pass'd there.

ad Act. 323.

c. 75. lib. 16.
Tit. 1. l. 3.

vit. Naz. p. 32

III. THE See thus vacated by Resignation, the next thing to be done, was the choosing of a Successor; and what to the Reader will seem strange and admirable, in so great a number of grave venerable Prelates there assembled, not one was pick'd out, but the Election was cast upon a Lay-man, which happened thus. There was at *Constantinople* at that time one *Nectarius* a Senator, a Person of a comly presence, and of a sober and unblamable Conversation, which together with his Gray-haires (never more a Crown of honor, than when found in the way of righteousness) procur'd him an universal reverence and regard. Being about this time to go for *Tarzus*, the place of his Nativity, he came to *Diodorus* Bishop of that See, then one of the Council, to know what Services he would command him into his own Country, and whether he had any Letters to send thither. *Diodorus*, who was just then taken up with the profound consideration of a fit Person for that place, about which there was so ambitious a Competition, beheld the man, secretly lik'd him, and resolv'd to put in for him. Without discovering any thing of his purpose, he carried him to the Bishop of *Antioch*, to whom he propounded the matter, and beg'd his vote. The good Bishop considering how many excellent Persons stood Candidates, smil'd at the motion, however wish'd *Nectarius* not suddenly to depart the City. Upon the day of Election when every Bishop wrote down in a Scrole the names of those Persons whom he thought fit to be presented to the Emperor; the Bishop of *Antioch* set down his, and to gratifie his Friend, put down *Nectarius* at the bottom; The Roll being presented, the Emperor once and again run over the names from top to bottom, and after all, to the amazement of the Synod, pitch'd upon *Nectarius*, a Person unknown to most of them, and upon enquiry found (what still increas'd their admiration) to be not only a Lay-man, but unbaptiz'd. Whereat yet the Emperor's Judgment was no whit shaken, though several of the Synod took Exceptions at it; at last by general consent he was baptiz'd, and pass'd through the Ecclesiastick Orders, and was consecrated to that See. Some few other things of no great moment were transacted in the Synod, after which having address'd themselves to the Emperor, that by his imperial Edict he would ratifie the Acts of the Council, and as by his Letters he had given beginning, so by

a. Ext. Epi.
Cont. Tom. 2.
col. 945.

the

the same way he would seal up the Conclusion of it; and having pray'd to Heaven for his long Life, prosperous Reign, and future happiness, they brake up, and departed into their own Countries.

S E C T. VII.

His Acts from his Resignation to his death.

He is invited to the re-assembling of the Synod at Constantinople; but refuses to come, and why. His excuse sent to the Emperor. His refusal to take upon him the charge of Nazianzum. The slanders rais'd upon him upon that account. Another Synod at Constantinople. The activity of the Catholick Bishops against the prevalency of the Arians. The bold Address of Amphilocheus to the Emperor. Theodosius ratifies the Consubstantial Doctrine, and rejects all sorts of Hereticks. Nazianzen's care and solicitude for the peace of the Church. The employment and Diversions of his retired Life. His frequent Infirmities. His last Will and Testament exemplified at large. This Will when at. His Age, and the time of his death. The Description of his Person and outward shape. His Image whether set up, and worshipp'd in his Church. His Divine Temper of mind. His great Piety and Love to God, contempt of the World, unbia'd carriage, mortification and self-denial, kindness and charity, concernment for the Peace of the Church, calmness and Patience, and immovable Zeal for the Catholick Faith. His natural Parts. Great fame for Learning; accuracy in Theology. Honour'd with the title of THE DIVINE. His way of writing. The excellency and sublimity of his style. His imitation of Isocrates, Basil, he, and Apollinaris, compar'd. His too much indulging the vein of Oratory, gave him to the practice of invoking Saints. His excellent skill in Poetry. Why none of his works epitomiz'd or mention'd by Photius. An account of his Writings.

^a Theod. l. 5. c. 8. p. 207.

^b Ext. Ep. lib. c. 9. p. 208.

^c Naz. Ep. LV. p. 814. vid. Ep. LXVIII. p. 828. & seq. Ep. lib. Ep. LXXIV. p. 842.

THE following year many of these Bishops re-assembled at Constantinople, at what time they receiv'd Letters from the Prelates of the West, attended with others from the Emperor, desiring them to come to a Synod then summon'd at Rome. They excus'd themselves from the Journey for several reasons, which they represented by Legates with Letters ^b directed to Pope Damasus, S. Ambrose, and the rest of the Bishops conven'd at Rome, where in they also acquaint them with the Sufferings and Persecutions of the Eastern Churches, the Faith they profess'd, and which the year before they had ratified in a General Council, and what provision they had made for the greater Churches, of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem. To add the greater Reputation to their meeting, they had among others caus'd Nazianzen to be summon'd to this second Convention at Constantinople, but he plainly refus'd to come to this, or indeed any other Synodical Assembly; experience (he tells them) had sufficiently taught him how little good was to be expect-

ed from Synods, which usually more widen, than heal up differences, where very often they clash and quarrel, wrangle and make a noise, more like a Flock of Geese and Cranes, than an Assembly of wise and grave Prelates: at such meetings Strife and Contention, Pride and Ambition are wont to bear the greatest sway; and a man that interposes as a Judge, shall

sooner corrupt himself, than correct and reform another. That for this reason he had retir'd within himself, and accounted the only safety to lye in privacy and solitude. Besides, he was at this time Prisoner to an heavy Sicknes ^d, which press'd so hard upon him, that he was unable to help himself, and expected every day to breathe out his last. This he desir'd his Friend Procopius (to whom he wrote about this matter) to intimate to the Emperor, and to beg his excuse, which he doubted not would be easily granted, the Emperor having not long since upon this very account, granted him leave to retire. And indeed he was better employ'd at home. At his return he found the See of Nazianzum still vacant ^e, and by that means over-run with error, especially the late Heresie of Apollinaris. And though he was earnestly intreated to take that charge upon him, yet did he obstinately refuse it. This his Enemies took advantage of, to traduce and scandalize him, some charging him with Pride ^f, that he scorn'd the Cure of so mean a place; whereof he acquits himself by a solemn appeal to Heaven, that 'twas only Age and Infirmary, and the desire of a quiet life made him decline it; others reported ^g, that he could not have it, though he would, and that Hellenius Arch-bishop of Cæsarea had laid him aside, and against his will ordain'd another to that place; ^h the falsehood whereof he lays open in a letter to Gregory Nyssen, purposely written on that occasion. And indeed 'twas by his recommendation and effectual intercession ⁱ that care was taken in it, and that the Bishops of the Province met, who ordain'd his good Friend Eulalius to that See. And whereas 'twas objected, that he having been Bishop of Nazianzum, it was not lawful by the Canons, to create another during his Life; he answered, that 'twas notoriously known, that though he had been made Bishop of Sasima, yet he had never been of Nazianzum, where out of reverence to his aged Father, and at the mighty importunity of the People, he had only sojourn'd a little while, and taken upon him the vicarious administration of that Office.

IF we look back a little upon the late Transactions at Constantinople, we shall find, that notwithstanding all the pains which the good Emperor had been at to heal the Churches wounds, yet the breaches continued, and grew wider than before. However he resolv'd to try once more to make them up, and to that end to convene another Synod ^j, whether the heads of the several Parties should be summoned; and advising with Nestorius about it, he gave him order to prepare the most material Points then in difference, that they might be debated with all possible accuracy, and the Faith of the Church reduc'd to one common Standard by mutual consent. And the better to sweeten the humours of the several Parties, he endeavoured to oblige them by acts of Grace, receiving them with Careless,

Οὐδὲν αὖτε συνδεδωκεν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃν παρέδωκεν ἀνέμου μαρτυροῦντων. Εὐθὺς ἔπειτα πάλιν ὁ π. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἀνέστη. Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡρώων ἀνέστη. Naz. de div. c. 11. gener. Can. X. T. 2. p. 22.

^a c. 11. c. 11. Ep. LXXVI. p. 830.

^c Greg. Prob. ib. p. 32.

^f Naz. de reb. suis Can. I. c. 11. Ep. 222. p. 909.

^g Nazian. Ep. XLII. p. 833. vid. Ep. LIV. p. 813.

^h 1. 1. Ep. lib. CXXXV. p. 512.

ⁱ Soer. l. 5. c. 10. p. 257. Soer. l. 7. c. 12. p. 718. Tond. l. 5. c. 16. p. 218.

and conniving at the Exercises of their Religion. The Catholick Bishops were greatly troubled at this liberty indulg'd to Hereticks, not knowing how far those subtle Agents might work upon the good nature of the Emperor. Whereupon *Ambulochius* Bishop of *Iconium* went to him, and in the name of the rest requested, that the *Arian* Conventicles might be suppress'd, and they dismiss'd the City. But the Address being rejected, the good Bishop to convince him of his error by a more sensible demonstration, came a second time to Court, and having paid the usual reverence to the Emperor, took little or no notice of the young Prince *Arcadius*, whom *Theodosius* had but a little before made his Colleague in the Empire. The Emperor quickly discern'd the slightingness of his carriage, and thinking it had proceeded from forgetfulness, call'd to him, and commanded him to pay the accustomed respects to his Son. The Bishop replied, the honor he had given him was enough. Whereat the Emperor began to storm, and told him he look'd upon a contempt done to his Son, as offered to himself. *You see then, Sir,* (replied the Bishop) *how little you can bear an affront offered to your Son, and how angry you are with them that do it; think now with your self, and be assur'd, that God the great King of the World, does much more resent and detest the blasphemy his only begotten Son, as Persius extremely ingrateful to their Saviour and best Benefactor.* The Emperor was quickly sensible of the rebuke, and needed no more Application to dispose him to a compliance with the Petition of the Catholick Bishops. However that things might be carried in the fairest manner, the Synod met in *June* Ann. CCCLXXXIII. But the Emperor having altered his Resolution, of having things canvass'd in a way of publick Disputation, commanded the Principals of every Sect to present an account of their Faith in writing, which they did accordingly. These being brought in, he took the Papers, and retiring into his Closet, earnestly beg'd of God his assistance and direction in the search of Truth. This done, he read over the several Confessions, and only approv'd and set his Seal to that which contain'd the *Consubstantial* Doctrine, the rest he tore in pieces, the Authors of them returning home with shame and sorrow. All which *Theodosius* a few dayes after ratified by two very strict Constitutions^k against all sorts of Hereticks, especially the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, and some others particularly named, prohibiting them under severe Penalties, to meet either in publick or private, either in City or Country, or so much as to ordain any Bishops of their several Parties. But these Laws met with a very slack and gentle Execution.

III. THOUGH *Nazianzen* refus'd to be present at this, or indeed any other Synodal Convention, yet how much he was concern'd for the happy issue and success of it, viz. the Peace of the Church, appears from two Letters of his written upon this occasion: one^l to *Posthumianus*, the *Prætorian* Prefect, to whom also the Emperor had directed the two Laws we mention'd; the other to *Saturninus*^m, the same, probably, who was Consul this year; assuring them, that though he had withdrawn himself from publick Affairs, it was not, as some imagin'd, from any discontent for the loss of the great place he had quitted, and that he could not abandon the common interests of Religion; that his retirement was a matter of choice more than necessity,

^k L. II. & 12.
C. 15. lib. 16.
Tit. V.

^l Ep. LXXI.
p. 828.

^m Ep. LXXII.
ibid.

necessity, and was to him a most welcome and happy opportunity, wherein he took as great a pleasure, as a man that has been toss'd in a long storm at Sea, does in a safe and a quiet harbour. And indeed being now freed from all external cares and troubles, he intirely gave up himself to solitude and Contemplation, and to the exercises of a strict and devout life. At vacant hours he would refresh the weariness of old Age with his Poetical Studiesⁿ, which he generally spent upon Divine Subjects, and serious Reflections upon the former passages of his Life, an account whereof he drew up in *Iambicks*, whence we have deriv'd no inconsiderable parts of our Story. And thus he pass'd the remainder of his dayes, till death overtook him, which he had long expected. Indeed his frequent Infirmities (for though naturally of an healthful Constitution, hard Study, and an over-rigid abstinence had greatly impair'd his health, and subjected him to many severe Distempers, whereof he complains at every turn, especially in his Epistles, these, I say) had kept awake in him a constant sense of his Mortality, and he entertain'd every Sickness as a Messenger of death. He had some years since made his Will, a Copy whereof is still extant, said in the Title to have been transcribed from the Original, subscrib'd with his, and the Witnesses own hands. That it is genuine, there appears no just cause to doubt, the Exceptions to it being weak and trifling, and the thing it self not much controverted by the most nice and critical Censors^o of the Fathers Writings, which therefore we shall here insert as a Monument of ancient Piety, and a Record of this good man's Humility and Charity.

ⁿ Gr. Prish. 7. 33

^o Rivet. Crit.
Sac. l. 2. c. 22.
p. 343.

The most excellent *Flavius Eucherius*, and *Fl. Evagrius* being Consuls, the day before the *Calends* of *January*, [that is, *December* the last.]

I Gregory Bishop of the Catholick Church of Constantinople, being alive and considerate, of a sound Judgment, and perfect understanding, have made this my last Will and Testament, which I will and command to be firm and valid in all Courts and upon all occasions. For I have now declar'd my mind, and have consecrated my whole Estate to the Catholick Church at Nazianzum, for the relief of the Poor belonging to the said Church. For which purpose, according to this determination, I have appointed three Overseers for the Poor, *Marcellus* Deacon and Monk, *Gregory* the Deacon, and *Eustathius* the Monk, who both of them were of my Family. And having still the same affection towards the holy Church of Nazianzum, I continue in the same purpose and Resolution. Whenever therefore I shall happen to depart this life, let the abovesaid *Gregory* Deacon and Monk, who was of my Family, and whom heretofore I manumitted, be heir to all my Estate movable and immovable, where-soever it be (all other Heirs I renounce) upon condition, that he restore my whole Estate, movable and immovable to the holy Catholick Church of Nazianzum, deducting nothing, but what in this my Will either by way of trust, or Legacy I have privately bequeath'd to some few Persons; but that all the rest be intirely refer'd to the said Church,

as becomes one that has the fear of God before his eyes, and knows that I have ordain'd and dispos'd my whole Estate to the use of the Poor of that Church, and have appointed him heir for this very end, that by his means it may be kept safe and without fraud for the Church aforesaid.

The Servants whom I have manumitted either out of my own good will, or according to the command of my Parents of blessed memory, my will is, that they shall still enjoy their freedom, and all their own proper Goods without disturbance or molestation.

Item, I Will, that Gregory the Deacon, my Heir, together with Eustachius the Monk, both of them heretofore of my Family, shall possess my Manor of Arianzum, which came to our Family as part of Reginus's Estate. As for the breed-Hares, and the Sheep, which when I was there, I commanded to be delivered to them, the full and absolute disposal whereof, I committed to them; I Will that they enjoy them undisturbed by the right of Lordship and Dominion. Moreover it is especially my Will, that Gregory the Deacon, and my Heir, who has so faithfully ministered to me, shall by a peculiar right of Dominion have fifty pieces of Gold.

To the venerable Alcyon Ruffiana, my Kinswoman, I have commanded a certain yearly allowance to be paid for her liberal maintenance, which my will is, shall according to the Form of settlement, be duly and without delay paid her every year. And whereas hitherto I could determine nothing concerning her Habitation, not knowing in what place she had most mind to settle; now my Will is, that wheresoever she shall choose, an House be provided for her, suitable to her quality, and to the modest and honest Conversation of a Virgin, which she shall have to her use without any molestation during her life, but after her decease it shall return to the Church. I Will also that she have two Maidens, such as she shall choose, who shall stay with her while she lives; and whom, if they desire it, she shall have power to make free, otherwise they also shall belong to the Church.

Theophilus my Servant, who now waits upon me, I have manumitted, and Will that a Legacy of five Nomismata be paid him. I also set at liberty his Brother Eupraxius, to whom I bequeath five pieces of Gold. I Will likewise that Theodosius my Notary and Amanuensis have his Freedom, and that a Legacy of five pieces of Gold be given him also.

My will is, that pardon be begg'd of my dear Niece [†] Alypiana; (for the other two, Eugenia and Nonna, their Conversation is such, as not to challenge any great regard from me) that I could leave her nothing, having already settled all upon the Poor, or rather herein perform'd the Will of my blessed Parents, who I designed it, to defeat whose intentions were neither just nor safe. Whatever remains of my Brother Casarius's Wardrobe, either Silk, Linnen, or Woollen, or Horse-trappings and Ornaments, I will that they be bestowed upon my said Nieces Children, and that neither she, nor her Sisters, do upon that or any other account create any trouble either to my Heir, or to the Church.

As for my Kinsman (*ὁ γαμβρὸς μου*) Meletius, let him know that he holds the Farm at Apenzinum, which was Euphemius's, by an unjust Title. Concerning which, I have heretofore often written to

to Euphemius, charging him with carelessness and Cowardise, if he did not recover it. And by these presents I testify to all Magistrates and People, that Euphemius is greatly wronged, and that the Farm ought to be restored to him.

I Will that the Purchase of the Farm at Canotala be delivered up to my Son the most reverend Bishop Amphilocheus. For it appears from my Papers, and 'tis what every one knows, that the Contract was discharg'd, and that I receiv'd the Money, and long since gave him up the Propriety and right of Possession.

To Evagrius the Deacon, who has been partaker with me in my many Labours and Sufferings, and who in so many instances has endeav'd his kindness to me, I return hearty thanks before God and men, and for greater things God reward them into his bosom. But that I may not leave him without some small Testimony of my respect and love, my Will is, that he have given him one Friez Coat, one Tunick, two Cloaks, and thirty pieces of Gold. Item, I give to our dear Brother and Fellow-Deacon Theodulus, one course Friez Garment, two of our Country-Coats, and twenty pieces of Gold according to the rate of our own Country. Item, To Elaphius the Notary, a good man, and who while he attended my service, was very diligent and useful to me, I bequeath one Friez Garment, two Coats, three Cloaks, one single unlin'd Garment, and twenty pieces of Gold of the Money of our own Country.

This my Testament I Will shall stand firm and valid in all Courts, and before all Tribunals; or if it take not place as a Testament, yet as my last Will, or as a Codicil, I require that it take place. And whoever shall attempt to overthrow it, shall give an account for it at the day of Judgment, and receive his reward.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost; I Gregory Bishop of the Catholick Church at Constantinople, have reviewed this my Will and Testament, and having approved all things in it, have subscribed it with my own hand, and do Will and Command that it be of full force and Power.

I Amphilocheus Bishop of the Catholick Church at Iconium, was present at the making the Will of the most venerable Bishop Gregory, and being requested by him, have subscribed it with my own hand.

I Optimus Bishop of the Catholick Church at Antioch (in Pisidia) was present when the most reverend Bishop Gregory made the above-written Testament, and at his request have subscribed it with mine own hand.

I Theodosius Bishop of the Catholick Church at Ida was present at the Testament of the most venerable Bishop Gregory, and at his request subscribed with my own hand.

I Theodosius Bishop of the Catholick Church at Apamea was present, &c.

I Hilary Bishop of the Catholick Church at Ilauria was present, &c.

I Themistius Bishop of the Catholick Church at Hadrianople was present, &c.

I Cleodnius Presbyter of the Catholick Church at Iconium was present, &c.

I John Reader and Notary of the most holy Church at Nazianzum, have transcribed and published the Copy of the sacred Will and Testament of Gregory the holy and famous Divine, which was recorded and laid up in the venerable Church committed to my Charge.

IV. THIS Will (as appears from the date of the Consuls, and some other passages in the Instrument it self) was made not long before his Resignation of the See of *Constantinople*, probably upon occasion of that weak sickly condition he was then in. Though whether the Month mentioned in the date be not mistaken, and *January* put for *June*, we have before observ'd cause enough to suspect, and indeed to conclude in the Affirmative. Several of the Legacies bequeathed in it, immediately relate to the Habits and Customs of his own Country, of *Cappadocia*, and the places where his Relations were, and his Estate lay, without the knowledge whereof, 'tis no easie matter readily to understand them. And it is no small justification of the truth and sincerity of this Record, that he so oft elsewhere mentions his devesting himself of his Estate, and settling it upon the Poor. Eight years he lived after his making of this Will, and died in his own Country, and (probably) where he was born, at his own House at *Arianzum*. S. *Jerom*, who finish'd his Catalogue *Ann. CCCXCII.* sayes, that he died three years before that time, that is, *Ann. CCCLXXXIX.* At what time he was arriv'd, sayes *Gregorius* the Presbyter, at a very great Age. And it must needs be so, if it be true what *Suidas* reports, that he lived above ninety years, and died in the XIIIth. of *Theodosius*, *Ann. CCCXCI.* But how this can be reconciled with his being but thirty years old, (which himself affirms) when he was at *Athens*, *Ann. CCCLIV.* I see not. It remains then according to this account, and the date of his death assign'd by S. *Jerom*, that he was LXV. years of Age at the time of his death.

† Inter testimonia veter. Oper. Naz. Prefix.

V. AS to his Person, he (as S. *Simon Metaphrastes* tells us) was of a middle Stature, of a sweet and pleasant Countenance, somewhat pale, but withall of a graceful and amiable look, his Nose a little flat and low, his eye-brows grew upright, his right eye, which a Scar had contracted, look'd a little heavy, his Beard short, but thick, and black in the upper part of it. He was in a great measure bald, what hair he had being Milk-white. His Image made to the Life, was after his death (though not till some Ages after) set up in the Church, where 'twas worship'd (they say) with great Veneration, and became famous for working Miracles, particularly that of *Constantine* the Son of *Leo Armenus* the Emperor, who being struck dumb, by the help of it recovered his Speech. But the best on't is, we are not to be taught at this time of day, what credit to give to reports of that nature, started in the middle and latter Ages of the Church, and what Artifices were us'd after the time of the second *Nicene* Council to justify the Doctrine, and to buoy up the Reputation of Image-worship. Nor does *Cedrenus* (whatever *Baronius* affirms in this Case) say, that *Constantine* worshipp'd the Image, but that he pray'd to God and S. *Gregory*, whose Image was in that place. But whatever he might do after his death, we are sure he did great things while he was alive. His Soul was seasoned with an early fence of Religion, and the Seeds of Piety which his good Mother sow'd betimes, grew up, and produc'd answerable Fruits, and the whole course of his life was but an accomplishment of that solemn Vow which she made to God before he was born, that she would intirely resign him up to him. There was nothing too hard which he could not cheerfully suffer, no interest too dear, which he could not freely part with for God; and though he had excellencies and

‡ Cedren. compend. in vit. Mich. Balb. p. 497.

§ ad Ann. 389.

and endowments that render a man great in the eye of the World, Estate, Honour, Health and Learning, yet he profess'd 'this was the greatest advantage he reap'd by them, that he had something that he could contemn, and by which he could shew how infinitely he valued Christ before them. Never was any less a Slave to the World, whose Frowns and Charms he equally despis'd and shun'd; never any more truly observ'd the just measures of strictness and abstinence, of mortification and self denial. He was of a Temper extremely averse to flattery and servility, and of the two, chose rather to be censured for a Clown than a Courtier, sparing none, but smartly reproving his best Friends when they did amiss. And therefore when some of them expected thanks for the mighty Zeal they had shew'd for his advancement to the See of *Constantinople*, he treated them with so much sharpness for that unkind piece of friendship, that they afterwards flew off, and became his Enemies. His Charity was boundless, and he car'd not within how narrow Circumstances he confin'd himself, so he might but enlarge those of the Poor, whom he plentifully reliev'd all his life, and at his death settled a very considerable Estate upon them. He lov'd his Enemies (whom his Zeal, and the stiffness and bluntness of his Temper had rais'd up to him in no small numbers) and treated them with all softness and gentleness, and could more easily forgive an injury, than another man commit it. He passionately studied the Peace of the Church, and Unity amongst Christians, which with all his interest and eloquence he endeavoured to promote where-ever he came; and he gloried in it as the ancient and honourable Temper of his Church at *Nazianzum*, that it was not rent in pieces by Schisms and Factions, and was therefore frequently called *Noah's Ark*, because they had kept alive among themselves the Seeds of true Peace and Piety, and had alone escap'd that universal Deluge of Dissention and Disorder, that had overslow'd the Christian World. Nothing troubled him so much as to see Christians clashing with one another, for whose reunion he profess'd he could willingly fall a common Sacrifice; and therefore when he considered the admirable Lives of the *Macedonian* Party, in a mighty transport of Zeal he mis'd himself accus'd from Christ, and ready to undergo the most direful sentence, so they might but close with the *Consubstantial* Faith, and be re-united to the Catholick Church. While engaged in the Disputes (as he all along was) of that quarrelsome and contentious Age, he managed himself with all imaginable calmness and Patience, and over-came his Adversaries not more by the goodness of his Cause and the strength of his Reasons, than by the sweetness and the mildness of his Temper. He did not encounter them with fierce Clamours, and virulent Revilings, like many who instead of Reason and Argument, vomit up nothing but bitter Calumnies and Reproaches, and hide a bad Cause under noise and scuffle; just (sayes he) like the Fish *Sepia*, which being in danger to be taken by the Fisherman, throws out abundance of black Matter, which discolouring the Water all about, it safely escapes under that Covert. No, he made it appear 'twas the Cause of Christ he contended for, while he closely imitated him, who was so meek and peaceable, and endur'd the contradiction of Sinners against himself. Though it cannot be denied, but that sometimes, especially in his Invectives against *Julian*,

Orat. I. p. 32.

† vid. Orat. XXVII. p. 42. & Cedren. de reb. suis, p. 32.

‡ Or. XXVII. p. 45. & id. Ep. CXCI. p. 339.

§ vid. Or. XIV. p. 214.

¶ Or. XII. p. 155. XIX. p. 257.

¶ Orat. XLIV. p. 711.

¶ Or. XXXII. p. 518.

Age of the Church, so he was the best Scholar of that Age. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that now and then he too far indulges the vein of Oratory, especially in his *Encomiasticks*, wherein he sometimes takes a liberty of making¹ addresses to the dead, which exceeding times, when Superstition began to advance with a quicker peace, improv'd into formal Invocations, and downy Prayers to departed Saints. But then 'tis to be considered, that as he does not assert this dogmatically, but expresses himself with doubtfulness and hesitancy (*et his admodum*, if there be any Sence in departed Souls of things here below) so 'tis done *more Oratorio*, according to the liberty which Orators are wont to take, who tie not up themselves to strict nice rules, especially his great Master *Isocrates*, who more than once² uses such Schemes of Speech, and from him probably he borrowed them, as his own *Greek Scholiast*³ long since noted in this very Case. Besides his skill in Theology, Philology, Philosophy, and Rhetorick, he was, says *Suidas*, τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα θεῶν, eminent in Poetry, wherein he wisely imploy'd his Talent to the common use and benefit of Christians; witness his incomparable Poems in all kinds of Verse, and upon all serious and useful Arguments, compos'd to the envy and admiration of the best men among the Heathens: So that it was not untruly said of him, that though he had arriv'd to no considerable eminency in his other Writings, yet his very Poems, so much above those of the Ancients, would have proclaim'd him to have been a great and an extraordinary Person. His Works have in all Ages met with a just Esteem and Veneration, and by all men of Wisdom and Judgment have been admir'd and magnified, and held inimitable, and especially his Theological Orations have been accounted (says *Philothheus*)⁴ *Nectar* or *Ambrosia*, and in the holy Language, divine *Manna* and the *Bread of Angels*. And it seems not a little strange to me, that the great and the learned *Photius*, whom nothing escap'd that fell within the ordinary Road of Learning, should have noted nothing out of the Writings of this venerable Father; nor do I believe any other account of it can be given, than that he did it in some part of that Work that has miscarried, or at least in those private Conferences, wherein he was wont to recite to his Brother, and some select friends, the summary recapitulation of what Books he had read (as he tells us in his Letter⁵ to his Brother *Tarasius*) the present *Bibliotheca* being but an account of what Authors he had recited at those meetings, when *Tarasius* was absent. Two considerable advantages *Nazianzen* has had beyond most of the ancient Fathers; one, that few supposititious Tracts have been entitled to him, and those few not worthy of his great name; the other, that not many of his Books are lost, most (if not all) of what he wrote, being (for any thing we know) still extant. Whereof in the last place we proceed to present the Reader with this following account.

¹ *Id. Or. III.*
p. 50. XII.
p. 288. 314. XX.
p. 372. XXII.
p. 397. XI.
p. 186. XVIII.
p. 285.

² *Id. Mor.*
Evag. in init.
p. 189.
³ *In epist. 17 & 18.*
p. 2.

⁴ *Id. p. 331.*

⁵ *Ep. Prefix.*
Biblioth. col. 11.

His

His WORKS.

Genuine.

Apologeticus de fuga sua.
Oratio, postquam factus est Presbyter.
In Julianum Imper. Invektive II.
Oratio post reditum ex fuga.
Oratio ad Gregorium Nyssenum.
Apologeticum cum Salsimorum Episcoporum factus est.
Oratio, cum cura Eccl. Nazianz. ei commissum est.
Oratio de suis sermonibus, & ad Julianum exequatorem.
Oratio funebris in laudem Casarii fratris.
Oratio funebris in laud. sororis sue Gorgonie.
De pace Orationes III.
Oratio in plagam Grandinis.
Oratio de pauperum amore.
Ad cives Nazianz. gravi timore percussos, & prefectum irascentem.
Oratio in laudem Cypriani Martyris.
Oratio funebris in laudem patris sui.
Oratio funebris in laud. Basilii magni.
Oratio in laudem magni Athanasii.
Oratio in Machabeorum laudem.
Oratio in laudem Heronis, revera, Maximi Cynici.
Oratio in Aegyptiorum adventum.
Oratio ad Arianos, & de scipso.
Oratio de moderatione in Disputationibus servanda.
Ad eos, qui ipsum Cathedram CP. affectare, dicebant.
Oratio, post reditum in urbem.
Oratio de dogmate, & constitutione Episcoporum.
Oratio habita in electione Eulalii Doavensium Episcopi.
In illud, cum consummasset Iesus hos sermones, &c.

Oratio in presentia CL. Episcoporum habita.

De Theologia Orationes V.
Oratio Panegyrica in Christi nativitate.
Orat. Panegyrica in S. Lumina.
In Sanctum Baptisma.
In Pascha, & in tarditatem.
Orat. secunda in pascha.
In novam Dominicam.
In Sanctam Pentecosten.
Orat. seu Epistola ad Nectarium CP. Episcopum.
In laudem Martyrum, & adv. Arianos.
Tractatus de fide. Lat.
Ad Cleodonium Presbyterum Orat. seu Epistole II. Epistole alie CCXLII.
Testamentum.
De vita sua carmine Iambico.
Poemata LXIV. varii argumenti carmine Heroico.
Alia LXXVIII. varii argumenti, & diverso metrorum genere.
De Episcopis, & de hominum ingratitudine Quærela. Latine.

Doubtful.

Orat. seu Epistola ad Evagrium monachum de Divinitate.
Significatio in Ezechielem.

Supposititious.

Metaphrasis seu Translatio in Ecclesiastem, quam Gregorii Thaumaturgi opus esse constat.
Christus Patiens, Tragedia: quam ab Apollinare Laodiceno scriptam esse verisimile est.

XX

THE

THE LIFE OF
S. CYRIL,
 BISHOP OF
 JERUSALEM.



S. CYRILLUS HIEROSOLYM.

*His Original uncertain. The first mention of him. The Renown of
 Maximus Bishop of Jerusalem. Cyril ordain'd Presbyter of that
 Church. Made Catechist. His Catechistick Lectures when read. The
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pleas'd account of his Succession to that See. The Relation of it by S. Jerom. Imputations of Arianism unjustly charg'd upon him. Clear'd by Theodorit and the Synod at Constantinople. Another Cyril in those dayes Bishop of Jerusalem mistaken for ours. What contributed to the mistake. The time of his entrance upon that Bishoprick. The miraculous appearance of the sign of the Cross in the Heavens stretching over Jerusalem. Cyrils Letter to the Emperor, giving an Account of that Apparition. Some Remarks upon that Letter. His quarrel with Acacius Bishop of Cæsarea, about the Metropolitick Rights. The great Reputation of the Church of Jerusalem. Recriminations passing between Cyril and Acacius. Acacius in a Palestine Synod deposes Cyril. Strange Confusion about the Persons succeeding in that See during the Arian Prevalency. The different accounts given of this matter represented. A Reconciliation of Writers in this Case impossible. Cyril mortally hated and undermin'd by Eutychius. The Arian intruders wholly omitted by Theodorit. Cyrils Anti-venomstrance to Acacius's Sentence, and Appeal to the Emperor. His retirement to Sylvanus Bishop of Tarsus, and constant Preaching there. His appearing at the Synod at Seleucia, and referring his Cause to the Judgment of that Council. His refusal to withdraw out of the Synod as a Person depos'd. Acquitted and restor'd by the Council. Acacius his Complaint against him to the Emperor. The Crimes charg'd upon him, and aggravated by Acacius. He is again depos'd, and banish'd. His return to the See under the reign of Julian. Julian's great kindness and favour to the Jews, and resolution to repair their Temple, and restore their Worship, upon what account. His Letter to them to that purpose. His Conference with their Chiefs about this matter. What he propounded to himself in this design. Preparations made for the undertaking. Expences allow'd, and Overseers appointed by the Emperor. The Vanity of this attempt declar'd to them by Cyril. Their endeavours in building frustrated by extraordinary storms, earthquakes, and fire from Heaven. Black Crosses impress'd upon the Cloaths of the Jews. Many converted by these miraculous appearances and attestations. The Jews finding S. John's Gospel in a Cave at the clearing the Foundations reported by Philostorgius. The truth of the other particulars abundantly attested. Julian's Command for the building an Amphitheater at Jerusalem. The elegant reflections which S. Chrysostom makes upon this disappointment of the Jews. Cyril's flight, and return a little before the death of Valens. He prefers his Nephew Gelasius to the See of Cæsarea. Gelasius who. Cyril's presiding with others in the second General Council. His publick Vindication by the Testimony of that Synod. The time of his death. The description of his Person. His Character. The Catechetick Lectures his only remaining works. The genuineness of them unjustly question'd. Some exceptions against them considered. Abatements to be made for the plainness and rawness of them, and the unaccuracy of some Expressions. The main design of them to explain the Creed. What that Creed was then us'd in the Church of Jerusalem. His writings.



It has been no small unhappines to the Church that the Acts of so many great and illustrious Persons have been either wholly buried in silence, or that very short and imperfect notices have been transmitted to us. Such among others has been the Portion of this excellent Bishop, concerning whom the Records of the ancient Church have preserv'd few memorable Passages, and a great part of those too so intricate and confus'd, that I should not have thought it worth either my Pains, or the Readers Patience, to pick them up, had I not hop'd by collecting the scattered parcels of his Story to reflect some light upon them, and to free his Name from some gross Imputations, which ignorance or mistake have laid upon it. Who his Parents were, or what his Country is not known, though there can be no incongruity to suppose him born in Palestine, and perhaps at Jerusalem, which I find positively asserted by a late Writer^a, led thereunto, I believe, by no other Authority than bare conjecture. The first time we meet with him is under Macarius, the venerable Bishop of Jerusalem, a man of prime note in the Council of Nice, highly honoured by Constantine the Great, and particularly employ'd by him in his magnificent structures at Jerusalem. By him Cyril is said^b to have received his first Ordination, that is, probably, to the Office of a Deacon; though I must confess, the passage in Sozomen (as now extant in the Greek) as 'tis miserably transpos'd, so being tolerably restor'd, seems more naturally to refer to Maximus's than Cyril's Ordination. Macarius dying, Maximus succeeded in that See about the year CCCXXI. A man of great Name, and deserv'd reputation, having been a Confessor^c under the Maximian Persecution, where, according to the cruel usage of those times, he had lost his right eye, and been disabled in his right leg, the Nerves of it being cut asunder. Nor was he a more resolute defender of the Christian Faith against the Heathens, than he was of the Catholick truth against the Arians, for which he was not a little malign'd, and oppos'd by that busic and potent Faction. By him Cyril was ordain'd Presbyter^d, and under him he exercis'd the Office of Catechist in that Church: A place of great trust, and which he discharg'd with answerable care and diligence, preaching, in Lent especially, almost every day. And here it was, that he read those Catechetick Lectures of his that are still extant, which S. Jerom says^e he compos'd in his younger years, and though he tells us not the just time, yet Cyril himself gives us an hint, by which we may make a very near Conjecture. For speaking^f concerning the rise of the Manichean Heresie, he says, it began just LXX. years before, under the Reign of Probus, and that there were some then alive, who had seen the Heretick. Now supposing, what Eusebius^g plainly asserts, and justifies by the concurrent Computation of the several Eastern Epochs, that Manes began to broach his Heresie in the second year of the Emperor Probus, that is, Ann. Chr. CCLXXVII. the LXX. years will fall in exactly with Ann. CCCXLVII. at what time he preach'd those Lectures to the Catechumens.

^a Hist. Eccl. i. i. illustr. O. Cavall. ad An. 386. p. 180.

^b Soz. l. 4. c. 20. p. 570. vid. Valef. Annot. p. 126.

^c Theod. l. 2. c. 27. p. 109.

^d Hieron. Chr. ad An. Chr. CCCXLIX.

^e De script. in Cyril.

^f Cyr. Catech. VI. p. 141.

^g Chron. ad An. MMCCXCIII.

II. THIS Exercise he, probably, continued till his Promotion to the Bishoprick, which hapned about three years after, upon *Maximus's* being depos'd by the *Arians*, as some say; upon his death, say others, and perhaps more truly. And here we must encounter with the most perplex'd and intricate part of his story, I mean his succession to that See, together with the several vicissitudes and alterations that depend upon it, so brokenly and imperfectly represented by the Writers of that, and the following age, that little certainty can be pick'd up about it. The Account is confusedly hinted by others, but most consistently delivered by *S. Jerom*^b to this effect; that upon *Maximus's* death, *Acacius* Bishop of *Cesarea*, and some others of the *Arians*, offered *Cyril* the See of *Jerusalem*, upon condition, that he should renounce the Ordination that he had received of *Maximus*, which he did accordingly, and serv'd in that Church in the Capacity of a Deacon, and for this was rewarded with that Bishoprick, who thereupon subtilly circumvented *Heraclius*, whom *Maximus* upon his death-bed had made his Successor, whom he divested of his Episcopal Dignity, and reduc'd to the station of a Presbyter. To this others add, that in order to this Design he was guilty of strange compliances with the *Arians*, that he sometimes variedⁱ in matters of Faith, and often in point of Communion; that he was infected^k with the *Macedonian* Heresie, which he afterwards recanted; nay, that he was as zealous^l for the *Arian* Impieties, as his Predecessor had been for the Catholick truth. These are the most material parts of his Charge, to which I must needs enter my dissent, and doubt not to affirm, that as they are fastned upon him, they are built upon ignorance or mistake. Were there nothing else, 'tis enough, that he is vindicated by the Deposition of those, who were as capable to know the true state of things, as *S. Jerom* or any of the rest. *Theodorit*^m speaking of his entering upon the See of *Jerusalem*, says, *he was a most stout and vigorous defender of the Apostolick Doctrine*; and the Fathers of the great Council at *Constantinople* in their Synodical Letterⁿ to Pope *Damasus*, style him *the most reverend, and most religious Bishop Cyril*, and assure us, that he had been rightly and canonically ordained by the Bishops of that Province, and had in several places suffered many very hard things from the *Arian* Party. Than which what could have been spoken more plain and pertinent in his justification? One such authentick and unquestionable Testimony, given by so many, and such venerable Persons, all Catholick Bishops, who liv'd at the same time, and could not be ignorant of his Affairs; who had then his Company with them, and his Cause before them, weighs more with me, than an hundred Reports taken up at second hand, and at a peradventure by Persons at a distance, who neither accounted it their Interest, nor made it their Business nicely to enquire into things, whether they were true or false. Not that I think the things we have mention'd to have been purely fictitious, but rather to have been blended together by a careless confounding of Names and Persons. *Baronius*^o from *S. Jerom* tells us of four several *Cyrils* about this time successively Bishops of *Jerusalem*; but 'tis plain, the Cardinal mistook *S. Jerom*, who speaks but of one and the same Person, succeeding four times during the Interruptions made by the prevalency of the *Arian* Faction.

^a *Ciron. ubi sup.*
p. 21.

ⁱ *Ross. l. 1.*
c. 24. p. 235.
^k *Soc. l. 7. c. 7.*
p. 711. *vid.*
Socr. l. 5. c. 8.
p. 264.
^l *Script. vlt.*
Alb. gr. l. ap.
Atl. l. 2. c. 535.

^m *L. 2. c. 26.*
p. 110.

ⁿ *Ap. Theod.*
l. 5. c. 9. p. 211.

^o *Ad Ann. 351.*
N. XXVI.

Faction. However *Epiphanius* comes in seasonably to our relief, who besides ours, tell us^p of another *Cyril* about the same time Bishop of that See, succeeding *Herennius*, as he did our *Cyril*. And upon him, I doubt not, a great part, if not the whole, of the ill things we speak of must be discharg'd, the identity of Names, conformity of Times, and relation to the same Place, laying an easie Foundation of mistaking the one for the other. And perhaps it might not a little contribute to the mistake, not only that *Acacius* of *Cesarea* being Metropolitan of that Province, *Cyril* could not canonically be ordain'd without his consent, but that *Cyril* himself was sometimes forc'd by the necessity of those times, to hold some kind of correspondence with *Basil* of *Ancyra*, and other Heads of the *Homoiousian* or *Semiarian* Party, and that only in point of mutual assistance, not in joyning with them in their Sentiments and Opinions, for of that, not the least footprint appears in story, nay in that famous Confession of Faith, ^q offered by them to the Synod at *Seleucia* (where he was present, and had a great Tryal to come on, and did most openly side with the *Semiarians*) though it was subscrib'd by XLIII. Bishops, and several of them of *Syria* and *Palestine*, yet is not his name to be found amongst them, nor any intimation of his consenting with them. I add no more, than that *S. Jerom* himself^r elsewhere speaking unquestionably of our *Cyril*, says no worse of him than this, that he was oft driven out of his Church (understand him by the *Arian* interest) and restor'd again; and *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* in his Catalogue^s of Bishops, places him next to *Maximus*, and says, that he was banish'd by the *Arians*, and then mentions those that were set up in opposition to him.

III. HAVING thus clear'd the way to his Episcopal Throne, upon which he entred *Ann. CCCXLIX.* according to *S. Jerom*; *CCCLI.* according to *Baronius's* computation, he had not sate long in it, when a memorable accident hapned, that made a great noise at that time throughout the World. About the time of *Constantinus* his expedition against *Magentius* the usurper, there appear'd^t at *Jerusalem* in the Heavens the sign of the Cross, not streaming forth like a Comet, but in a solid and condens'd body of Light, in splendour exceeding the brightness of the Sun, and being encircled with a Rainbow, which in form of a Crow's compass'd it round about. In length it reach'd from Mount *Calvary* to Mount *Olivet*, for the space of about XV. *Stadia*, or near two miles, and its breadth proportionable to the length. The sight was very terrible and surprizing, and at once fill'd men with Admiration and Amazement, insomuch that the beholders came out of their Houses, threw aside their work, and fled with their Wives and Children into the great Cathedral, unanimously offering up their Prayers and Praises to Christ, and readily acknowledging this a great indication of his Divinity. Nor did it want its due effect, both upon *Jews* and *Gentiles*, many of whom it brought over to the Christian Faith. *Philostorgius* and some others report, that it was seen by both Armies (lying then in the Plains of *Pannonia*) to the great consternation of *Magentius* and his Party, and the no less encouragement of *Constantinus* and his Souldiers. But in this I must suspend my Belief, both because *Sozomen* says, the Emperor heard of it but by Report, and because the Battel with, and Victory

^p *Heret. LXVI.*
p. 275.

^q *Ext. ap. E.*
piph. Heret.
LXXIII.
p. 371, 372.

^r *Discript.*
c. 112.

^s *Chronograph.*
ap. Scal. chren.
p. 308.

^t *Soc. l. 4. c. 5.*
p. 541. *Philost.*
l. 3. c. 26.
p. 490. *Naz.*
Orat. IV. p. 112
Niceph. l. 9.
c. 32. p. 756.
p. 322. *Chron.*
Alex. ad Ann.
Constant. XIV.
p. 678.

Story over *Mageninus* was not till the latter end of the year, many months after this Apparition. It hapned on the VII. day of May about nine of the Clock in the morning, it being then the *Whitsun Festival*, the year after the *Consulship* of *Sergius* and *Nigronianus* (say the *Pastor Consulares* of *Idatius*, but mistake the day which they make to be Jan. XXX.) that is, *Ann. CCCLI.* with whom agree all those who place it at the time of the *Magenian* expedition, and *Galla*, his going unto *Antioch*. The news of this wonderful and extraordinary *Phenomenon* by means of strangers, who at that time had repaid thither out of Devotion to those holy places, was soon convey'd into all Parts, but especially *Cyril* was careful to give notice of it to the Emperor, to whom he presently dispatch'd a Letter, mention'd by *Socrus* and others wherein he gave him an Account of the thing it self, with some Remarks of his own upon it, the whole whereof we shall here insert. "

* *Ann. 344.*
Catech. p. 549

To the most divinely-favoured and Religious Prince,
CONSTANTIUS the *AUGUST.*
CYRIL Bishop of *Jerusalem* sendeth greeting.

IV. **T**HESE first Fruits of my Letters from *Jerusalem*, I send to Your sacred Majesty, being such as may become both you to receive, and me to give: Letters, not stuff'd with flattering Expressions, but which give Account of divine and heavenly Visions, nor which insinuate themselves by Rhetorical Persuasions, but contain holy Evangelical Predictions, justifying their truth by the event of things. Others indeed of such things whence they derive their lustre, may bring golden Crowns, curiously beset with Precious Stones, wherewith they oft adorn your honourable Temples: But we Crown you not with earthly Presents, things that arising from, are confin'd within the verge of this lower World, but we carefully convey to your notice, the divine Efficacy of those heavenly appearances, which have hapned at *Jerusalem* in your Reign. Not that by this means you may be brought out of a state of ignorance, and receive the first Principles of the knowledge of God (for such your improvements in Piety, that you seem able to instruct others in matters of Religion) but that you may be the firmer establish'd in those things, which you are wont to discourse of, and that learning hence how much God has Crown'd your Empire, deriv'd to you is a paternal Inheritance, with greater Honours, and more divine and heavenly Blessings, you may be the stronger incited to offer up, at this time especially, the highest Praises to the Supreme Sovereign of the World, and be inspired with a greater Vigour and Courage against your Enemies, being assured by these miraculous Attestations, that God takes a particular care of your Empire and Government. In the time of your Father *Constantine*, a Prince beloved of Heaven, and of blessed memory, the wholsom wood of the Cross was found at *Jerusalem*, the divine goodness granting it as a peculiar favour to him, who set himself to embrace the true Religion, that he should make discovery of the most conceal'd holy Places. But in your time, Sir, who have so far outgone in Devotion and Piety, God is pleas'd to grant Prodiges, not any longer upon Earth, but from Heaven; I mean, the blessed Cross of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, the only begotten Son of God, the Trophy of his

his Victory and Triumph over death, which shining with extraordinary beams of light, was seen lately at *Jerusalem*. For upon these Holy and Festival days of Pentecost, May the VIIth. about nine in the Morning, a vast and miraculous Cross form'd of light appear'd in the Heavens, just over the holy *Golgotha*, extending it self to the sacred Mount of *Olives*; seen not by one or two, but clearly and evidently by the whole City; nor, as some may suspect, passing by only in a transient glance of fancy, but plainly visible to us below for very many hours together, by its lustre out-dazzling the bright beams of the Sun; for otherwise being overcome, it must have been obscur'd by them, had it not darted out more powerful and resplendent rays of light to the Eyes of the beholders, so that the whole City struck with fear at the amazing accident, not without a mixture of joy and gladness, instantly repaired to the Church, where you might see Persons of all Ages, young and old, men and women, yea the newly-married leaving their bridal Chambers to come thither; Christians both Inhabitants and Strangers, yea and great numbers of Gentiles from other Parts; all of them with one mouth and one accord glorifying our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the only begotten Son of God, and the Author of these miraculous Operations, being convinc'd by real experience, that the most holy Christian Religion lies not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of Power, and was not merely revealed by men, but entrusted to by God from Heaven. Wherefore we the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* having beholden this miraculous Prodigy with our eyes, with all thankfulness, as becomes us, do and will adore the great God, and his only begotten Son, and both have done, and still will in this holy place offer up our continual Prayers for your Government, so dear to Heaven. I thought it not good therefore to suppress these heavenly Visions in silence, but have made it my care to convey them to you as good tidings, and instances of the Divine Benignity; that so upon the good Foundation of the Faith already embrac'd, building a further knowledge of what has thus strangely and supernaturally come to pass, you may have a firmer assurance in our Lord *Jesus Christ*; being confident according to your wonted trust, you may, as one that has God himself for your Assistant, advance the Banner of the Cross, the greatest ground of rejoicing, and cheerfully produce the sign that was shew'd in Heaven; a Representation, at whose appearance the Heavens did greatly rejoice and triumph. This wonderful Prodigy, most religious Emperor, pursuant to the Predictions of the Prophets, and to the words of *Christ* recorded in the Gospel, is now fulfilled, and will hereafter be yet farther fulfilled. For when our Saviour in *S. Matthew's* Gospel communicated to his blessed Apostles the notices of future things, and by them imparted them to others that convers'd with them, he most evidently foretold it, saying, And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in Heaven. This holy Book of the Gospels, when, as you are wont, you take into your hands, you will find these Predictions and Testimonies written there; to which I beseech you, Sir, attend with the greater care and diligence, by reason of those other things there described, and foretold by our Saviour, and which it concerns us with all fear, narrowly to observe, lest we suffer damage from those adverse Powers that watch against us. These first Fruits of my discourses, Sir, I offer to you, being the first Messages I send from *Jerusalem*, to you I offer them, the sincere and most holy worshipper, together with us of *Christ*, the only begotten Son of God, who upon his Cross at *Jerusalem*, did according to the holy Scriptures, work out the Salvation of all mankind, where he overcame death,

Y y and

and by his own precious blood expiated the sins of men, and gave Spiritual Life and Immortality, and heavenly Grace to all them that believed on him. Preserv'd by whose power and goodness, and daily blessed with greater and more eminent advances in Piety, and enrich'd with the Royal stem of a numerous Issue; let God the great King of the World, and the giver of all goodness, grant you a long, peaceable, and a prosperous Reign, and watch over you, as a glory to Christians, and a blessing to the whole World; let him strengthen and adorn you with all Vertue, that you may still shew your accustomed love and kindness both to the holy Churches, and to the Roman Empire, and enrich you with larger rewards of Piety. God Almighty grant you to us, most August and Religious Emperor, for many Periods of peaceable years, and continue you happy and prosperous, a constant Praiser and Professor of the holy and Consubstantial Trinity, to whom, as is most due, be all Glory for ever and ever, Amen.

From this Letter, besides the account it gives of the Prodigy, and the Reflections he makes upon it, we may observe three things with respect to Cyril himself. First, that this Epistle was written not long after his entrance upon the Bishoprick of Jerusalem, being the first Fruits of his Addresses to the Emperor after his promotion to it. And indeed it must be pen'd not many months after, if Baronius has rightly fix'd the time of his Consecration to that See, which he places Ann. CCCLI. this Letter being written about the Month of May in that year. Secondly, that in the close of it he gives an evident intimation of his firm adherence to the Nicene Faith, while he so earnestly prays that the Emperor may ever own and honour τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοῦσιον τριάδα, the sacred and consubstantial Trinity. A plain confutation of those Arian Compliances, which about this very time are charg'd upon him. And yet far stranger is the prejudice and partiality of some late Writers^w, who from this very Epistle infer, either that Cyril was not the Author of it, or if so, that he was an Arian Heretick. Thirdly, that notwithstanding his Declaration against Flattery, yet he prudently uses very soft words, and smooth Insinuations to the Emperor, the better to sweeten his exasperated humour against the Catholics, which by the Artifices of the Arians, seldom fail'd to have a keen edge set upon it. And this was a course which many wise and good men made use of in their Addresses to that Emperor, who passionately lov'd commendation, and was above other men, a fond admirer of himself. But to return.

V. CYRIL was going securely on in the discharge of his Pastoral Cares, when great troubles and disturbances overtook him, the spring and first mover whereof was Acacius Bishop of Caesarea^x, the main Stickler for the Arian Cause, who beheld Cyril not only as his Adversary in point of opinion, but as a Competitor in point of Dignity. The truth is, Cyril looking upon his own as an Apostolick See, thought himself qualified to dispute with Acacius for the Metropolitick Rights. And herein it must be confess'd he went beyond his line; for though all Antiquity had paid a mighty Reverence to the Church of Jerusalem, as a Church immediately instituted by our blessed Saviour, and that in a place which he had honoured with his Birth, Life, Sermons, and Miracles, and had made the Stage of his bloody death, a See founded by the Apostles, and from whence they

^w Riv. Crit. l. 3. c. 11. p. 296, 297.

^x See l. 4. c. 25. p. 583. Theod. l. 2. c. 26 p. 110

issued out to propagate Christianity through the World (in which respect 'tis styl'd the Mother of all Churches by the Fathers of the second General Council) a Church frequented by Persons of the highest Rank in all Ages, either out of Curiosity or Devotion; though upon all these accounts it had a singular Reputation, and the Bishops of it an honourable Character fix'd upon them, and this particularly ratified by the Council of Nice^z, as a thing deriv'd from Custom and ancient Tradition, yet was not this honour granted to it by that Council, but with a Salvo to the Rights of its own Metropolis. Acacius therefore being a man of a daring and haughty Spirit, could not brook the least Competition, but fell upon Cyril with great heat and fury. And hence commenc'd that quarrel, which every day ripened into a wider breach. And now Recriminations are pass'd on both sides, Cyril charging Acacius with Arianism, while he himself (says Sozomen^y) was suspected of joyning with the Homotians, who held the Son to be of like substance with the Father; though Nicephorus, who follows Sozomen in this passage, says^z expressly it was for that he addicted himself τοῖς τοῦ ὁμοίου σχήματι, to those that maintained the ὁμοίου, or Consubstantial Doctrine. And this seems most probable, for why should Acacius quarrel with Cyril, for siding with the Homotians, when he himself at every turn appeared in the Head of that Party, though upon every new occasion he again deserted them, and joyned with the high-flown Arians? And that he might yet further expose him, Acacius charg'd him, that in a time of raging Famine at Jerusalem, when the poor People flock'd to him for relief, after all the Monies were spent, he had sold the Vessels, Utensils, Vestments, and consecrated Hangings of the Church, and that one of the Vestments had been found upon a Woman back that belong'd to the Play-house by the very Person that gave it, who examining where she had it, was directed to the Merchant that had sold it, who confess'd he bought it of the Bishop. Which whether true or false, serv'd well enough for a pretence to expose the good man to popular Odium, and to make their Proceedings against him pass more smooth and current.

VI. UPON these pretences (little and trifling Causes they were, says Theodorit^b) Acacius in a Convention of Palestine Bishops of his own Party depos'd Cyril, and drove him from Jerusalem. Who they immediately substituted in his room, is not agreed on all hands, some saying 'twas Eutychius, others Heraclius, others Herennius, or Erennis, or Avsinus, as 'tis diversly written. The truth is, there's a woful confusion and disturbance in the Succession of Bishops in that See, from the time of Cyril's first Deposition, till his final Restoration, some creeping in as opportunity offered, others being thrust in by the power and interest of the Arian Party. We shall here once for all present the Reader at one view, with the different accounts given in by the Writers of that, and the following Ages.

^y Ap. Theod. l. 5. c. 9. p. 211.

^z Can. 7.

^a Lib. 9. c. 45. p. 757.

^b Theod. l. 5. p. 110.

Cyril. It was laid to his Charge, that he had holden Communion with *Enstathius* and *Elpidius*, who had endeavoured to subvert the Decrees of the Synod of *Melitia*, whereof he himself had been a principal Member; that after his being depos'd by the *Palestine* Bishops, he had communicated with *Basil of Ancyra*, and *George of Laodicea*; that he had confested with *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* about the Power and Rights of the Metropolitanship, pretending *Jerusalem* to be an *Apostolick See*. But that which most exasperated^m the Emperor against him, was the story of his selling the dedicated Vestments of the Church, and their being by that means expos'd to prophane uses. For now the story was again dress'd up, and set off with fresh Aggravations; the Emperor being told, that it was a rich Cope, all wrought with Gold, given by his Father *Constantine the Great*, when he built that Church, to *Macarius* the Bishop, to be worn upon the greater Festivals, when he celebrated the Baptifinal Office; that this Cope *Cyril* had expos'd to sale, and that it had been bought by a common Player, who dancing in it upon the publick Theatre, had fall'n down, and with the fall bruis'd himself, and died. And now, Sir, said *Acacius*, See how fit those men are to judge and pass Sentence upon others, that have such an Assessor to join with them. Having laid this load upon him, they proceeded next to enslave and deprive him, and twelve others with him, whom they depos'd and banish'd. Ten of the Assembly refused to subscribe the Decree for deposing these Prelates, who for their Obstinacy were presently suspended from all Episcopal acts, either of Ministry or Jurisdiction, with further provision, that unless within six months, they complied with the Sentence and Proceedings of the Synod, they also should be deposed, and the Bishops of the respective Provinces chuse others in their room. Notice whereof they immediately dispatch'd to all places, with command, that the Synodal Orders should be observ'd and put into execution.

VIII. IN this state of banishment, *Cyril* continued during the short remainder of *Constantine's* life, who dyed within less than two years after. *Julian*, who succeeded, among other acts of grace and favour, whereby he sought to recommend himself and his Government to the People, restor'dⁿ the Bishops that had been banished in the time of his Predecessor. An opportunity, which *Cyril*, I doubt not, made use of to return to his own See. And indeed there we find him sitting in this Emperors Reign, and that upon an occasion as memorable, as any perhaps that the History of the Church presents us with, which because I presume it may not be unacceptable to the Reader, I shall here relate at large. Among the various methods whereby *Julian* designed to stifle, and if possible, extirpate Christianity, he resolv'd once more to set up and advance the *Jewish* Nation, not out of any kindness to them or their Religion, but because he knew them to be of all others the most spiteful and inveterate Enemies to Christians. He seem'd to compassionate their hard fate, and unhappy Circumstances, and promised them all encouragement and assistance in restoring of their Worship, and retrieving the ancient splendor of their Religion. To which purpose he sent them the following Letter. °

JULIAN

JULIAN to the Community of the Jews.

THE heavy Taxes that have been unwarrantably laid upon you, and those vast sums of Gold you have been forced to bring into the Exchequer, have far exceeded those other Oppressions and Slaverys which in the times foregoing you have undergone. A great part of which I have seen with mine own Eyes, and have discovered more from the Writts that have been directed and issued out against you. And at this time another Assesment is prepared for you, which I have stop'd and prohibited, and out of a detestation of so unrighteous an act, have burn'd the Warrants that lay ready among my Records to be sent out against you; so that none may henceforth be able so much as to affright you with the Report of such a piece of injustice. The Cause of all which injuries is not so much to be attributed to my Brother *Constantius* of worthy memory, as to some men of barbarous Principles, and Atheistical Tempers, that stood about him, and were fed at his Table; whom I took with mine own hands, and threw them headlong into a deep pit, where they irrecoverably perish'd, that so the least monument might not remain of them. For my part being resolv'd to shew you all the favour and kindness I can, I have advis'd my Brother *Julius* the venerable Patriarch, to stop the Tribute that's laid to be impos'd upon you, and that no man henceforth shall abuse your Nation with such intolerable exactions, but that you may to all intents live peaceably and securely under my Reign, and being free from farther trouble, may recommend the prosperity of my Empire in your more vigorous and hearty Prayers to God, the great Creator, and best of Beings, who has been pleas'd with his most holy right hand to place the Crown upon my head. A Service which I cannot otherwise expect from you. For they who are oppress'd with Sollicitudes and Cares, are wont to be Persons of narrow and contracted minds, and cannot with that freedom lift up their hands to God in Prayer, while those who are wholly freed from anxious Cares, and enjoy a calm and compos'd state of Soul, are fittest to intercede for the happiness of the Empire, and to offer up their Devotions to the great God, who alone is able to order and dispose my Reign to the best advantage, and to the most excellent purposes, which I hope and pray he will do. This is that which you ought principally to attend, that so having successfully manag'd my Persian expedition, and the holy City of *Jerusalem* (which you have so long and so earnestly desir'd to see reinhabited) being rebuilt by my endeavours, I may dwell in it, and together with you there offer up our joynt Prayers to the supreme Being of the World.

IX. THIS done, he sent P for the Heads of the *Jewish* Nation, of whom he enquired, why, since the Law of *Moses* oblig'd them to offer Sacrifices, they had laid aside that Custom. They told him, the Sacrifices of their Law were determin'd to a particular place, and might not be offered up any where but at *Jerusalem*, where their Temple was ruin'd, and whence they themselves had been long since banish'd. Hereupon he commanded them forthwith to go and repair the Temple, to retrieve the Customs of their Ancestors, and to Worship God according to the Laws and Rites of their Religion.

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^m T. ind. ib.
c. 27. p. 111.

ⁿ Id. l. 3. c. 4.
p. 127.

^o Jul. Epist.
XXV. p. 152.

P. Sac. l. 3.
c. 20. v. 192.
Soc. l. 5. c. 22.
p. 631. Throd.
l. 3. c. 20.
p. 142. Philost.
l. 7. c. 9. p. 506.
Rufin. l. 1. c. 37.
38. 39. p. 240.
Am. Marvel.
lib. 23. in init.
Naz. Orat. IV.
p. 111. Chryst.
Hom. IV. in
Matth. p. 35.
c. Hom. XLII.
in Act. p. 364.

Herein he drove on a double design, first to draw over the *Jews* to the *Pagan* Superstition, which he rather hoped for, because both agreed in Oblations and Sacrifices, and that he observ'd the main body of the *Jews* took up in the Letter and outside of their Law, and understood little of the spiritual and mystical Sence; and next he hop'd to give a fatal wound to Christianity, and by restoring the Temple and the *Jewish* Worship, against which Christ had pronounced so flat a doom, to prove our Saviour a false Prophet and Impostor. The *Jews*, though they had had near CC. years sad experience of the truth of our Lord's prediction, yet receiv'd the War-rant with a joy inexpressible, it being an opportunity which they had often wish'd, but could never hope for, and were so elated with it, that they began insolently to Scorn and Triumph over Christians, threatening to make them feel as direful effects of their severity, as ever themselves had heretofore done from the *Roman* Powers. No sooner was the news spread abroad, but Contributions came in from all hands, yea the very Women sold their Jewels and Ornaments to advance the Work, and what was wanting, the Emperor commanded should be allow'd out of his own Exchequer, appointing *Alypius* of *Antioch* (who had sometimes been *Propr. esset* of *Brittain*) overseer of the work, with Power to call in the Governour of the Province to his assistance. And now all things were in readiness, the most exquisite Artists drawn together from all Parts, Stone, Bricks, and Timber prepar'd, and all other necessary Materials and Instruments, nay they are said to have made Spades, Mattocks, and Baskets of Silver for the greater Honour to the Work. In short, no help was wanting, even the softer and the weaker sex laid their hands to the Work, and carried out the Rubbish in their Laps, yea the very *Gentiles* refus'd not their assistance, merely out of opposition to the Christians. *Cyril* the Bishop beheld all this, and calling to mind *Daniel's* Prophecy concerning it, and how plainly it had been ratified by our Saviour, openly told them that even now the time was come, that *not one Stone should be left upon another* in that Temple, but that the doom which our Lord had so peremptorily pronounced against it should be accomplish'd. And the Event justified his Prediction. For having digg'd and clear'd the Foundation, on the next day towards night a sudden Storm arose, that carried away those vast heaps of Rubbish which they had thrown into a neighbouring Valley, and dispers'd many thousand Bushels of Lime and Sands which they had prepar'd for the Building. This was follow'd with a dreadful Earth-quake, which cast up Stones from the Foundation, and slew many, and overturn'd some adjoining Houses that slew more, and those that escap'd were drawn out with broken Leggs and Arms, bruis'd and almost wounded to death. And when notwithstanding all this they still attempted to proceed, Balls of Fire broke as 'twere from under the Foundation, and not only burnt their Tools and Instruments, but seiz'd upon and consum'd the Workmen and Spectators. The fright was great, and every man fled to save himself, and the main Crowd drove towards a little Church hard by, wherein they were wont to bestow their Tools, but when they came to it, they found it suddenly shut and barr'd against them (though there was no Person within) and when they attempted to break

break open the Doors, a Fire rush'd out upon them, that destroyed many, and miserably scorch'd the rest, running up and down the streets a great part of that day. At night the Cloaths of all the *Jews* had black Crosses with Stars between them impress'd upon them, which when the Infidels perceiv'd in the morning, they endeavour'd, but in vain, to wash them out, and thereupon partly afraid, partly ashamed, desisted and ran away. And though these strange and miraculous interposals of the Divine Power and Providence brought over some, who being baptiz'd, fought by Prayers and Praises to atone him, whom heretofore they had blasphemed and affronted, yet the greatest part continued still in their ancient obstinacy and unbelief. Of so little force are miracles themselves to convert a People, without the concurrent efficacy of the Divine Grace to recommend them.

X. ONE thing more is related to this purpose. At the clearing the Foundation, a Stone was taken up that covered the mouth of a deep foursquare Cave, cut out in the Rock, into which one of the Labourers being let down by a Rope, found it full of Water to the middle of the Leg, and in the midst a Pillar reaching a little above the Water, whereon lay a Book wrapt up in a fine and clean Linnen Cloth. Being drawn up, the Linnen was observ'd to be fresh and unperish'd, and the Book being unfolded, was found to the admiration of all, but especially the amazement of *Jews* and *Gentiles* to contain the Gospel of S. *John*, with the first words in the Front written in great Capital Letters, IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD, AND THE WORD WAS WITH GOD, AND THE WORD WAS GOD. This last passage I must confess stands upon the single Authority of *Philostorgius*, but he ancient enough, being born within five years after the thing was done. But whatever becomes of this, we are sure the rest of the Story is reported by Persons of unquestionable credit and integrity, some of whom liv'd at that time, and the rest not long after, nay the substance of it related by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Julian's* own Historian, and what is yet more, confess'd by the great Chronologer of the *Jewish* Nation. Let me add what *Orosius* reports, that *Julian* (probably finding himself defeated in his main design) commanded an *Amphitheater* to be built at *Jerusalem* (out of the materials it is like prepared for the Temple) wherein at his return from his *Persian* expedition, he might publicly expose the Bishops, Monks, and all the holy men of that place, and throw them to be devoured by wild Beasts, prepared by art to greater degrees of rage and fierceness, than nature had endued them with. But the Divine goodness cut him off, and he fell into that Pit which he had prepared for others.

XI. I cannot dismiss this Story (wherein yet I have been too long already) without some of those Reflections which S. *Chrysostome* makes upon it, who thus improves the Argument against the *Jews*. Having press'd them home with *Daniel's* Prophecy concerning the final and irrevocable destruction of their City and Temple, he tells them he would make it good from matter of fact. "And because" (*says he*) "had the *Jews* never attempted to rebuild the Temple, they might pretend, that they could have done it, had they set about it, they attempted it no less than three several times; once

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⁴ Philost. l. 7.
c. 14. p. 508.
⁵ & ex 10 N.
eph. l. 10. p. 75.

¹ Zernach Na-
vid. p. 11 p. 36.
vid. Hotting.
H. Eccl. c. 4.
§. 3. p. 207.
² Hist. l. 7.
c. 30. fol. 324.

³ Orat. III.
adv. Jud. Tom.
p. 434 &c.

"under *Adrian* the Emperor, when they brought a greater Desolation upon themselves; next under *Constantin* the Great, who not only dispersed them, but cut off their ears, and branded them with marks of Rebellion upon their Bodies; a thing which the more aged among them might yet remember. But, adds he, that which I am now going to urge them with, is what's plain and evident to the younger sort of them, not being done under *Adrian* or *Constantin*, but in an Emperor's reign in our own time, not above twenty years ago. For when *Julian*, who in impiety outwent all before him, out of a design to pervert them to his Idolatrous Worship, put them in mind of their ancient Rites and Sacrifices, thus and thus was God worshipped by your Ancesters, they ingenuously confess'd, they could not do it out of *Jerusalem*, without offering an immediate violence to their Religion; Give us our City, restore the Temple, let's for the Holy of Holies, let's have an Altar, and then you shall quickly see us offer Sacrifices, as our fore-Fathers did of old. The Wretches neither blushing to accept these things from a Pagan, nor considering that they attempted what was impossible. Had man only destroy'd them, man might have restor'd them; but when 'twas God that laid waste their City, what humane Power was able to reverse the Divine Decree. For the Lord of Hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it; and when his hand is stretched out, who shall turn it back? But grant, Sirs, the Emperor should have restored the Temple, and rebuilt the Altar, as you vainly hop'd he could; could he also have brought down fire from Heaven, without which your Sacrifices would have been impious and unacceptable. However the blind and obstinate Wretches persisted in their Supplications to the Emperor, to joyn with them in the Restauration of the Temple; who accordingly furnish'd them with Money, sent them men of Authority for Overseers, and skilful Artists from all parts, and left no Stone unturn'd, that he might at once lay a Foundation to seduce them over to Idolatrous Worship, and defeat the Prediction of our Saviour. But he who taketh the wife in their own craftiness, soon let him see that the Divine Oracles are impregnable, and that nothing can undermine or overturn the Decrees of God. For no sooner had they set up on this impious Project, and began to carry out the Rubbish, and clear the Foundations, and things were now ready for the Work, but a fire immediately broke out from under the Foundations, that consum'd the Materials, together with the Workmen, and the Jews that beheld it, which when *Julian* heard of, fearing to pull down Vengeance upon his own head, he left off the Attempt. And if you go now to *Jerusalem*, you will see the Foundations lying bare and naked, and if you ask the reason, you'll meet with no other Account than what I have given. And hereof we are all Witnesses; for these things hapned not long since in our own time; and consider what a firm and unshaken Triumph they give to our Cause. For they hapned not in the Reign of Pious and Christian Emperors, lest any should pretend that Christians came with armed Violence, and hindered the re-edification of the Temple; no 'twas then when our Religion was under Hatches, when we stood in danger of our Lives, when all Liberty so much as of

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Gal. 14. 27.

"speaking was taken from us, when Paganism flourish'd, when Christians were forc'd to hide themselves in their own Houses, and others to fly into Deserts and Wilderesses, this was the time when these things hapned, that so impudence it self might not have the least shadow of pretence. And after all this dost thou yet doubt, O thou Jew, when thou seest the Prediction of Christ, and the Testimony of the Prophets, and the event of things plainly demonstrating, and giving Sentence against thee? But 'tis no wonder, for such has ever been the Genius and temper of thy Nation, shameless and contumacious, and always ready to oppose the most clear and evident Demonstrations.

XII. NOTHING further memorable concerning *Cyril* appears during *Julian's* Reign, more than that the Son of a Gentile *Flamen* at *Antioch*, having embrac'd Christianity, for which he was treated by his Father with all imaginable severity, made a hard shift to escape in Womans habit, and being first sheltered by *Meletius* of *Antioch*, was by him convey'd by night into *Palestine*, to *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, who securely harbour'd him while *Julian* liv'd, after whose death he became the means of converting his own Father. How long *Cyril* sat quietly under the Reign of *Valens*, when the *Arian* Interest carried all before it, is uncertain. Probable it is, that towards the latter end of it he reposc'd himself, and perhaps took hold of the Edict which *Val* n. publish'd not long before his death, whereby he recall'd the Catholick Bishops out of banishment; and about that time we find him there. For *Sozomen* speaking of *Theodosius's* entering upon the Government of the *Eastern* Empire, tells us, that the *Arians* at that time had possess'd themselves of all the Churches of the East, except *Jerusalem*; at which time (says *Socrates* *) *Cyril* did yet Govern that Church. About this time the See of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* being invaded by several Competitors, *Cyril* advanc'd his Nephew *Gelasius* to that See. A man (says *Theodoret* *) eminent both for his Life and Doctrine. This was that *Gelasius* *, that translated *Rufinus's* two Books of Ecclesiastical History, written as a supplement to *Eusebius*, into Greek, with a large Preface of his own. But when 'tis added, that he undertook this Work at the request of his Uncle, and especially what some report, that it was carried on by their joyn'd endeavours, this is plainly impossible, *Rufinus* himself not writing that History till several years after *Cyril's* death.

XIII. IN the third year of his Reign, *Theodosius* summon'd the famous Council at *Constantinople*, one of the Chiefs or Presidents whereof (*ἐκκλησιαρχὴς καὶ ἐξαρχὴς*) was our *Cyril*. The Acts of that Synod we have related in the Life of *Nazianzen*; that which is here proper to remark, is the Care they took of the three great Sees; *Antioch*, *Constantinople*, and *Jerusalem*. In the most ancient and holy Apostolick Church of *Antioch* (as they call it) they plac'd *Flavianus*, as Successor to *Meletius*, who dyed during the sitting of the Council. At *Constantinople* they substituted *Nectarius*, in the room of *Nazianzen*, who at the same time resign'd that See. And then for the Mother-Church of *Jerusalem* (so they stile it) they confirm'd *Cyril's* right to that place, whom they honour with the Title of a most reverend and Religious Bishop. They knew he had been for many years oppos'd and persecuted, disgrac'd and depos'd by the *Arian* Faction, and

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* Theod. l. 3. c. 14. p. 137.

* L. 7. c. 2. p. 705.

* L. 5. c. 3. p. 260.

* Epiph. Hæres. l. XXXIII. p. 376.

* L. 5. c. 8. p. 207.

* Phot. Cod. l. XXXIX. col. 209.

* Vid. Theod. l. 5. c. 9. p. 211.

therefore thought it but just to do him right, and whatever malicious insinuations had been spread abroad to the contrary, to declare to all the World, that from the first he had been Canonically ordained to that See, and had all along been a stout Champion against the *Arian* Cause. An account of all which the year following (when the greatest part of them again met in Council at *Constantinople*) they sent in a Letter to Pope *Damasus*, that so the *Western* Bishops might be acquainted with the true state of things, and see that in all these Affairs they had proceeded according to the Rules and Canons of the Church. I give no heed to the *Arabian* Writers^d, who tell us, that in this Synod, the See of *Jerusalem* was erected into a *Patriarchate*, and the fifth and last place in the Patriarchal Dignity allotted to him. A thing not done till many years after. Five years he liv'd after that Council, dying in the eighth year of *Theodosius*^e, *Ann.* CCCLXXXVI. in a good old Age, and in a time of great Tranquility and Peace. For though the former part of his Life was stormy and troublesome, yet God was pleas'd to grant him a calm and undisturb'd repose during the last eight years of his Life. It being sometimes true in a Civil, no less than a Spiritual sence, *Mark the perfect, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is Peace.*

XIV. IN the *Greek Moneon*^f, he is describ'd to have been a man of a middle size, of a pale Complexion, very Hairy, somewhat flat nos'd, and of a full Visage; his Eyebrows growing upright, his Checks well covered with white Hair, his Beard forked, and his whole mien and carriage importing an unpolish'd kind of rusticity. As to his outward Life, he was a man that underwent great changes and varieties of Fortune, passing through Honour and dishonour, evil Report and good Report: Sometimes shining in a place of great Dignity and Eminency in the Church, otherwhiles depos'd and banish'd and followed with all the rage and fierceness of implacable Enemies, and yet going off the Stage at last in a bright and serene Evening. A man of no inconsiderable Learning and Eloquence, of an exquisite Piety, of an unwearied Patience, and quick Zeal and Resolution against the Adversaries of the Catholick Faith. Whose Books, even those of the worst of Hereticks, he read^g in his younger years, on purpose that he might fortify and confirm the minds of his Auditors against the pernicious insinuation of their false Doctrines. And though he has been accus'd, or suspected at least, of leaning to the *Arians*, yet how unjustly, we have shewn before. And indeed he not only acknowledges the *orthodox* or *Substantial* Doctrine (as we see in the close of his Letter to the Emperor) but clearly condemns^h the *Arian dogmata*, as the great Apostacy of that Age, and the forerunner of Anti-christ, men being (says he) betrayed by itching ears, and by smooth words, and soft insinuations seduc'd over into a departure from the truth. His Writings (which the Ancients called *Cyrollia*) were many, whereof few now remain but his Catechetick Lectures, the fruit of his younger years. The whole (besides the *anagogical* or preparatory Lecture) consists of XXIII Sermons, whereof XVIII were preach'd to the *Competentes*, or those who stood Candidates for Baptism; the other five are Mystagogical, preach'd to those who had lately been baptiz'dⁱ, wherein he fully and accurately explains to them the several Parts, together with the particular Rites and

^d *Patrich. Ant. nat. T. I. p. 214.*
Patrich. Ant. nat. T. I. p. 214.
Patrich. Ant. nat. T. I. p. 214.
CP. p. 702.

^e *Nicene. de script. c. 112.*

^f *Nos. 5. 78*
nos. 5. 78.

^g *Catech. VI.*
p. 154.

^h *Catech. XV.*
p. 269. XI.
p. 234.

ⁱ *Id. Catech. XVIII. p. 503.*

Ceremonies (then used in the Church) of the two great Mysteries or Sacraments of the Gospel. To question whether they be his (as some have done) is foolish and trifling, when they are not only quoted by *Damasen*, but expressly mention'd by *S. Jerom*, and cited by *Theodorit*, the one contemporary with him, the other flourishing but a few years after him; besides that the date he fixes from the rise of the *Manichean* Heresie can agree to no other but himself. As for that passage, so much urged by some^k, where he says, 'that the Cross (which was found in the time of *Constantine*, the year after the *Nicene* Council) is extant with us *μέχρι σήμερον* even to this very day, as if this must import the Author lived at a vast distance of time from the finding of it; to this it might be enough to say, that there were at least twenty years between the discovery of the Cross; and this expression, time enough to justify such a Speech at large. But *Cyril* speaks not concerning the discovery of our Saviour's Cross, but that it had lasted several Ages, and was still in being among them^m, ready to be produc'd as a monument of the truth of our Lord's dying at *Jerusalem*. Which is evidently his meaning in that place. And besides this, nothing can be plainer than that *Cyril* oft uses that Phrase to imply no more, than *now*, or at this time. Thus speaking of the Emperors having submitted themselves to Christianity, we see (says heⁿ) the Princes of the World directed and taught by Ecclesiastick Persons *μέχρι σήμερον*, at this day; which just before he had explained by *ἕως παρούσης*, at this present time. And yet it was not then above XL. years, since *Constantine* first embraced the Christian Faith. That now and then a passage should be less accurately express'd, is not to be wondered at by him, that considers, that they were Sermons preach'd in his younger dayes, and then too delivered without any curious Art, any exquisite study or deliberation. In those Lectures that he preach'd *ad Illuminatos*, he admirably trains up Persons for Baptism, by instructing them in all the main grounds and Principles of the Christian Faith. Wherein like a wife and good man he accommodates^o himself to the *genius* and understanding of his Hearers, expressing himself in a plain and familiar style, without any pompous strains of Eloquence, any profound Arguments, or philosophick Reasonings, delivering his mind in easy and simple terms, back'd with frequent Texts out of the holy Scriptures, studiously avoiding all elaborate Compositions, and speaking for the most without any great premeditation, whence they are styled *καταμύθεος* or *extempore Lectures*. But above all the Preparatory Parts of the Christian Doctrine, he is careful to explain to them the several Articles of the Creed, into which they were to be baptiz'd. He had in the fourth Catechise given a short cursory explication of all the important Articles that concern the three Persons in the Trinity, which he afterwards runs over again, and insists upon at large in his Explication of the Creed. And because perhaps it may be both a pleasure and an advantage to the Reader to know what Creed it was, that was used of old in the Church of *Jerusalem* (where the Christian Faith had been first planted, and by whom it had been preserv'd through several ages) this being the ancient *Oriental* Creed mention'd by *Rufinus*, neither exactly the same with that settled by the Synod of *Nice*, nor with that afterwards agreed upon

^k *Riv. Crit. S. l. 3. c. 8. p. 283, 284. aliq. Catech. X. p. 217.*

^m *Ad eund. sensum viâ. que habet Catech. XIII. p. 322. XIV. p. 349.*

ⁿ *Catech. XVII. p. 441.*

^o *Id. Catech. IV. p. 70.*

upon in the Council of *Constantinople*, we shall here for a Conclusion pick up and put together the several Articles of it according to the order, wherein he expounds it, only premising, that the *Constantinopolitan* Creed seems intirely to have been made up out of this and the *Nicene*, there being several expressions in this, which were afterwards adopted into that Creed.

The Creed anciently us'd in the Church of *Jerusalem*.

^a Catech. VI.

p. 118.

^b VII. p. 158.

^c VIII. p. 173.

^d IX. p. 181.

182.

^e X. p. 197.

^f XI. p. 218.

230, 238.

^g XII. p. 245.

254.

^h XIII. p. 281.

ⁱ XIV. p. 325.

^j XV. p. 358.

361, 391.

^k XVI. p. 397.

^l XVIII.

p. 470, 490.

I Believe in one God^a, the Father^b, Almighty^c, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible^d; ^e And in one Lord Jesus Christ, ^f the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Worlds, true God, by whom all things are made; ^g who was incarnate, and made man^h, he was crucified and buried, ⁱ and the third day he rose again from the dead, and ascended into Heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father; ^k and shall come again with Glory to judge the quick and the dead, whose Kingdom shall have no end: ^l And in the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, who spake by the Prophets; ^m in one Baptism for the Remission of sins, and in one holy Catholick Church, and in the Resurrection of the flesh, and the Life everlasting.

His WRITINGS.

Genuine.

Catecheses ad Illuminatos XVIII.

Catecheses Mystagogicæ V.

Epistola ad Constantinum Imp. de Apparitione crucis.

Supposititious.

Oratio de occurso Domini.

Epistola ad Augustinum de miraculis

Hieronymi, Lat.

The end of S. Cyril's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. AMBROSE; BISHOP OF MILAN.




S. AMBROSIIUS.

SECT. I.

His Acts from his birth till the Synod at Aquileia.

The

The time and place of his Nativity, and nobility of his Descent. A swarm of Bees settling about his mouth as he lay in the Cradle. A sportive presage of his future Bishoprick. The care of his Education. His pleading Causes. His Commission to be Governor of Insubria, &c. with consular Dignity. The greatness of the City of Milan. The death of Auxentius Bishop of that See. The providing a fit Successor recommended by the Emperor to the Provincial Bishops. Ambrose's Exhortation upon that occasion. The choice unanimously cast upon him. His positive refusal, and artifices us'd to decline it. His slight: forc'd to come in upon the Emperor's Proclamation. The general joy and satisfaction at his consecration. His Ordination, how far justifiable according to the Canons. Communicatory Letters to him from all Parts. S. Basil's friendly Letter to him. His ordering his domestick Affairs for the better discharge of his Episcopal Office. His Theological Studies under the assistance of Simplician. His diligence in reforming his Diocess, and the exercises of his private Life. The irruption of the Northern Nations into Italy. His flight into Illyricum, and visiting Rome. The cure of a Paralytick Woman, said to be done there by his Prayers. His Books de Fide upon what occasion written. The trouble created him by the Arian Emperess Justina. His impartial advice, and resolute carriage towards the young Emperor Valentinian. His consecrating Anemnius Bishop of Sirmium, and what happened there. Euthymius his design to surprize him, requited with the same punishment upon himself.

I.  T. Ambrose, though by descent a Citizen of Rome, and of a noble Family, was yet born in France, and in all probability at Arles, the Metropolis of Gallia Narbonensis, that being the ordinary residence of the Pretorian Prefect. Indeed Arles was a place of great renown, and as 'twas at this time the Court of the Imperial Lieutenant, so 'twas afterwards the Seat Royal of a Kingdom. A City of that splendor and magnificence, that it is styl'd by Ausonius^a, Gallula Roma, the Gallick Rome, as well for the greatness of the place, as for its being a Roman Colony. Here then we presume to place his Nativity, which happened about the year CCCXXXIII. at what time his Father^b (whose name also was Ambrose) was Prefectus Pretorio Galliarum, or the Emperor's Lieutenant in France, and the other Western Provinces under his jurisdiction, one of the highest places of trust and honour in the Roman Empire. The youngest he was of three Children, Marcellina and Satyrus being born before him. He was nurs'd in the Pretorium, or Governours Palace, and sleeping one day in his Cradle in the open Court, a swarm of Bees settled about his face, and gently crept in and out of his open mouth without doing him the least harm. Which his Father, who was then walking hard by, perceiving, charg'd the Maid that attended him, not to disturb or drive them away, who soon after mounted up aloft into the Air, till they quite vanish'd out of sight. Surpriz'd with the accident, he told those that were about him (and 'twas a true Presage) this Boy, if he lives, will prove a great man. How long his Father liv'd after this, is not known, 'tis probable he died during his Government in those Parts.

^a Clar. urb. cam. 8. p. 239.

^b Paulin. vit. Amb. oper. Amb. Praef. p. 1.

Parts. After whose decease his Mother with the whole Family return'd to Rome, and the place is still shew'd where their House stood, turn'd at this day into a Convent of Benedictine Monks. Amongst the sportive Passages of his Childhood, this is not the least memorable, that when he espied his Mother and Sister kissing the Bishop's hand, (according to the pious Reverence which in those dayes they paid to the Governours of the Church) he merrily offered them his hand to kiss, which he told them they ought to do, for that he was sure he should be a Bishop. His Education was suitable to his Birth, liberal and ingenuous, and as he grew up, he made himself Master of all the Learning that Rome or Greece could afford: and for Religion, he was form'd to that, especially by the Care and Councils of his Sister Marcellina, who having devoted her self to a state of Celibacy, spent her time in the Exercises of Piety and Devotion, and by her converse and example, train'd him up to a life of Vertue, and secur'd him from those snares and vices, which a place of so many Charms and Temptations as Rome was, must have betray'd him to.

II. HE was now grown up to years of maturity, and being accomplish'd with all secular Learning, thought it time to enter upon the publick Stage, and to that end betook himself to practice in the Court of the Pretorian Prefect, where he pleaded Causes with so much smartness and dexterity, that he was soon taken notice of by Anicius Probus lately made Pretorian Prefect of Italy, a Person of great eminency and Authority, who made choice of him to be of his Council. To this Anicius Probus we find a Rescript^c of the Emperor Valentinian dated at Triers Ann. CCCLXIX. in which year, probably, he was advanc'd to that Office. And being to send out Governours into the several Provinces of his jurisdiction, he had an especial eye upon Ambrose^d, to whom he committed the Provinces of Insubria, Aemilia, and Liguria, containing a good part of Gallia Cisalpina, investing him with Consular Power and Dignity, and dispatching him with this short instruction, intimating the mildness and clemency of his Government, go thy way (said he) and govern more like a Bishop than a Judge, little dreaming of what happened afterwards. Thus commissioned, he entered upon his Charge, taking up his residence at Milan, the capital City of the Province, indeed the Metropolis of the whole Italic Diocess, the usual Seat of the Western Emperors, or their prime Ministers; being reckon'd one of the four prime Cities of Italy, and one of the ten greatest Cities in Europe, a place renowned for the Antiquity of its standing, (being built (they say) CCCXXXIX. before our Saviour's Incarnation,) for the pleasantness of its Situation, the largeness of its Circuit, (its very Suburbs equalling many great Cities) the Beauty and Elegancy of its Churches, neatness and stateliness of its Buildings, the fame of its University, ingenuity and dexterity of its Artificers, the temperature of its Air, fertility of Soyl, plenty of Provisions, richness of Traffick, and populousness of its Inhabitants; upon all which, and many more accounts it deservedly bears the title of Milano grande, Milan the great: But in nothing greater than in its honourable relation to that great person, of whom we write, in whom it prides it self, as in its noblest Ornament. Five years he had continued in his Government, which he managed with admirable prudence and justice, when an unexpected accident made a

^c Lib. 1. Cod. Th. Tit. VII. de Offic. Praef. p. 5.

^d Paulin. ib. p. 2.

great alteration in his fortunes, and engaged him in a quite different course of life.

III. *AUXENTIUS* Bishop of *Milan*, the chief supporter of *Arianism* in the *Western World*, had been more than once Synodically deposed : But being a man hardy and confident, still kept his ground, and by his fly innuendua at Court, sometimes plausibly colluding, otherwhiles peremptory denying the things charg'd upon him, had baffled all attempts against him, till death at last put the Sentence into full execution, the man dying *Anno CCCLXXIV*, whose death was no sooner spread abroad, but the Bishops of the Province met together about the election of a Successor, whom the Emperor sent for, and told them, that they whose business it was to be peculiarly conversant in the Divine Volumes, best understood the qualifications of a fit person for that place, that he should be one, who might instruct his people not only by his Doctrine but his Life, set forth himself as an Exemplar of universal goodness and virtue, and make his Conversation give testimony to the Doctrine that he preacheth. Choose such a one (said he) and place him upon the Episcopal Throne, and we our selves will readily submit our Crowns and Scepters to his councils and direction, and as men obnoxious to humane frailties, will receive his reproofs and admonitions as the most wholesome Physick. The Bishops humbly besought his Majesty, that as one capable enough to judge, he would please to nominate the Person. But he modestly declined it, telling them 'twas too great an affair for him to meddle in, and that they themselves were upon all accounts fitter to make a wiser and better choice. With that they took their leave, and went to the Cathedral to consult about it. And now different Interests began to shew themselves : though *Auxentius* was dead, his Party was yet alive, and vigorously contended for a man of their Communion, and big words were spoken of what they would do, if they were rejected ; the Catholics on the other hand labouring as hard for an Orthodox Bishop. Factions grew strong, and the whole City was divided, and things openly tended to a Tumult and Insurrection : which *Ambrose* hearing, and being ready according to the duty of his place to prevent all publick disorder, hasten'd immediately to the Church, where in a grave and patherical Oration he exhorted the people to peace and concord, and to a quiet submission to the Laws. His Speech ended, the voice of a Child was heard from amidst the Crowd, *Ambrose is Bishop*. The hint was soon taken, and as if it had been a voice from heaven the whole Company unanimously cried out, that *Ambrose* should be the man : And herein both Catholics and *Arians* did the more readily consent, in that neither Party seem'd to have got the better of the other.

IV. AMBROSE was infinitely surpriz'd at the passage, and the joyful Acclamations of the people, and peremptorily refused to comply with them. And to let them see how unfit he was to make a Bishop, he put on a rough merciless humour : for going out of the Church, he sat down on the Bench of Justice, and sending for some Malefactors to be brought before him, commanded them to be rackt with great rigor and severity, hoping by this means to take off the edge of the peoples inclination towards him, who yet nothing discourag'd, cried out, *your sin be upon us.* This artifice failing, he cried another,

other, contriving it, that Women of lewd and common fame should be seen publickly going into, and about his house, which he doubted not would be looked upon as highly unbecoming a person design'd for the Episcopal Office. But the people quickly smelt it out to be a piece of pageantry, and with redoubled importunity cried out, *your sin be upon us*. No remedy was now left, but directly to run away. Accordingly at mid-night he stole out of the City, and design'd for *Ticinum* a neighbouring City, but missed his way; and having wandered up and down all night, found himself in the morning again at *Milan* at the *Roman Gate*. He is presently laid hold on, and a Guard set about him, till the Emperors pleasure might be known in the case, without whose leave no publick Officer might be admitted to holy Orders; but in that they met with no opposition, for the Emperor knowing him to be a man of singular integrity easily gave his consent. *Ambrose* in the mean while had again made his escape, and withdrawn himself to the Country-house of one *Laurentius*, a great man, and his intimate friend, with whom he had hid himself. And now they were wholly at a loss how to retrieve him. But the Emperor had given order to the *Vicarius* or Lieutenant of the Civil Diocess to see the thing effectually done; and he had publisht an Edict that none under peril of his head, and confiscation of his Estate should dare to conceal him. *Laurentius* hereupon was forc'd to break up his Sanctuary, and brought him back to *Milan*; and now seeing 'twas to no purpose any longer to resist the pleasure of the Divine Providence, he yielded to lay down the publick Rods and Axes, and to take up the *Crosier*, only demanding that he might be baptiz'd by a Catholic Bishop, for as yet was only a *Catechumen*. So he was baptiz'd, and eight days after with the universal acclamation of the people solemnly consecrated to that See, the Emperor himself (who was present at the Ordination) concluding the Solemnity with his short gratulatory Address to heaven, *I thank thee, O Lord Almighty, and our Saviour, that thou hast made choice of this person to whom I had committed the power over men's bodies, to be intrusted with the Souls of men, and thereby hast declared my Choice to be fit and just*. And indeed the Emperor highly honoured him, and hearkned to his admonitions with a just submission and reverence. And therefore when not long after he complain'd to him of the Misdemeanours of some in Authority, aggravating their faults with great freedom and impartiality, the good Emperor answered, *I was heretofore no stranger to this liberty you take, and yet was so far from opposing, that I freely consented to your Ordination: go on therefore as the Divine Law commands, and cure the distempers and malaises, which we are apt to fall into*.

V. HOW far his Ordination was justifiable by the Ecclesiastick Laws of those times might be disputed. 'Tis certain, it was not strictly regular according to the sacred Customs and Canons of the Church, which disallow tumultuary Elections, especially of unbaptized Laymen, and require^d gradual approaches, and due distances of time both for Baptism and Ordination. But in this case 'tis evident, there were extraordinary appearances of Gods immediate approbation, so that the Bishops that were met about the Ordination judg'd it to proceed *ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ* from a Divine appointment, and the Emperor and the whole City were satisfis'd it was *θεοῦ τιμή*, (as *Socrates* has

Chrod. l. 4. c. 6,
7. p. 156. Sc.
Id. Soc. l. 4.
c. 30. p. 247.
Soc. l. 6. c. 24.
p. 669. Paulin.
ubi sup. Rufin.
l. 2. c. 11. p.
250.

6 *Ibid.* Conc.
 Nicen. Can. 15.
 & Can. 400.
 Can. LXXX.

^a Inc. cit. ubi
vi. B. lls. &
Zonar.

has it) Gods own peculiar Work, *θεῶν ἴδιον* (as 'tis in *Theodori*) a Divine Election. And thus the Apostolick Canons ^a expressly prohibit any new baptiz'd Person to be made Bishop, *ἐκ μὴ πύχνης ἑτέρου ἡλίου*, unless it be done according to the Divine Grace and favour, that is, say the *Scholasts*, *ἐκ μὴ πύχνης ἀποκαταστάσεως ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ*, unless it be some way reveal'd that he ought to be the man. Besides, the Canons in this case were sometimes suspended, either when the minds of the People could not be otherwise quieted, or when the Person elected being of extraordinary Quality, was suppos'd to be highly useful to the Church, and that the necessity of Affairs would not admit the returns and Formalities of customary Ordination: Two instances whereof the Reader may remember we have already noted, the one that of *Eusebius S. Basil's* Predecessor in the See of *Cæsarea*, the other of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. The news of his Consecration being dispers'd abroad, especially by his own Epistles sent as the custom was to the most eminent Prelates, Communicatory Letters arriv'd from all Parts, the *Western* Bishops frankly testifying their approbation of his Ordination. He wrote likewise into the *East*, and among others to *S. Basil*, who was highly pleas'd with his Epistle, and return'd an Answer, ^b wherein he congratulates his Promotion to that See, and that God had made choice of so considerable a Person, a man selected out of the imperial City, and intrusted with the Government of Provinces, a Person eminent for his Wisdom, and the Nobility of his House, for the exemplary virtue and integrity of his Life, the powerfulness of his Rhetorick, and his wise conduct of Secular Affairs, and that he had brought him over to the care and oversight of Christ's Flock: Concluding with this pious Council, "go "on therefore, O thou man of God, and since thou hast not receiv'd "or learnt the Gospel of Christ from man, but that our Lord him- "self has taken thee from among the Secular Judges, and translated "thee to an Apostolick Chair, fight the good fight, correct and re- "form the Distempers of the People, if any be infected with the "Arian Contagion; revive the ancient Tracts and Footsteps of the "Fathers, and by frequent intercourse of Letters build up that Foun- "dation of love and kindness thou hast now laid between us; that "how far distant soever we be otherwise in our Habitations, our "minds and spirits may be near at hand to converse together.

VI. THAT he might with less distraction attend the cares of his Pastoral Charge, his first work was to divest himself of his Estate: His Money ^c and Goods he presently bestowed upon the Poor, his Lands he settled upon the Church, only making his Sister *Marcellina* Tenant for Life; the care of his House and Family he committed intirely to his Brother *Satyrus*, that so he might have nothing to hinder him from the immediate duties of his place. And because the course and manner of his Life had hitherto kept him from conversing much with Theologick studies, he contracted an intimate Friendship with *Simplician* ^d a Presbyter of *Rome*, a man of good learning, and a pious Life, and who had accomplish'd himself both by Foreign Travels, and Domestick Studies. Him he drew over to *Milan*, and to his Tutorage he resign'd himself, by which means he soon arriv'd to a very exact knowledge of the Mysteries and Controversies of the Christian Faith. For which he ever after treated *Simplician* as a

Friend,

^a Aug. Confess.
l. 8. c. 2. col.
136. Amb.
Ep. II. p. 62.

Friend, rever'd him as a Master, and loved him as a Father. Nay God himself seems to have rewarded the pains he took with this good man, so that though at this time he was of a great Age, yet he lived to succeed *S. Ambrose* in the See of *Milan*. With infinite diligence did our new Bishop apply himself to the Reformation of his Diocese, he restor'd the Discipline of the Church, reviv'd the almost decayed Rites and Solemnities of Divine Worship, compos'd Differences among Neighbours, purg'd mens minds from errors, and pluck'd up those *Arian* Tares which for many years had been sown amongst them, so that his Church now enjoy'd a happy Calm. And this opportunity he took of employing his vacant hours in writing; for a little more than two years ^e after his entrance upon that See he wrote his three Books of *Virginibus*, dedicated to his Sister *Marcellina*, wherein he describes the excellency of that state of Life, and lays down Rules for the better conduct and management of it. About this time also, or not long after, he set upon his Commentaries upon *Luke*, and perhaps his three Books of *Offices*, compos'd in imitation of those written by the great *Roman* Orator.

^f Ibid. l. 2. de
Virgin. p. 83.

VII. But these calm Sunshine dayes lasted not long. About the year CCCLXXVII. the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Alani*, *Taifali*, *Sarmate*, and other barbarous *Northern* Nations broke in upon several Parts of the *Roman* Empire, and in the issue fell foul upon one another. We find a Tribe of them settling in *Italy*, ^g in some parts not far from *Milan*. The approach of such fierce and merciless Enemies set the whole Country under a mighty Conternation, to avoid whose fury *S. Ambrose*, and several others fled into *Illyricum*, there to shelter themselves in a miserable banishment, *Nos quoq; in Illyrico exules patria*, *Gothorum exiliis fecerunt*, as his own Words ^h are. This opportunity (if I conjecture right, for my Author fixes no other date, than that it was some years after his Ordination) he took to visit *Rome*, the Seat of his Ancestors, and the place of his Education. Coming thither, he found his Mother dead, and his Sister with her Virgin-Companion, who for many years had joyn'd with her in the same Profession, cohabiting together, as he had left them, who kissing his hand at the first Salutation, he smil'd, *see now* (said he) *you kiss a Bishops hand, as I formerly told you*, referring to a passage in his Childhood, which we noted before. While he continued at *Rome*, he was invited by a noble Matron that dwelt in the *Transiberine* Region, to celebrate the holy Eucharist in her House (probably the common Confusions, and great Power of the *Gentiles* at that time at *Rome* had made the publick Congregations less safe or convenient:) which being noised in the Neighbourhood, a Woman that kept a publick Bath, but who then lay bed-rid of a Palsie, caused her self to be conveyed thither in a Chair, and importun'd the holy Bishop to intercede with Heaven for her. And while he was praying over, and laying his hands upon her, she caught fast hold of his Garments, which he embrac'd and kiss'd, which was no sooner done, but she found her strength return, and forthwith rose up and walked. Long he continued not in exile, before the Providence of God made way for his return. For *Frigerid* the Emperor's General having totally vanquish'd ⁱ that swarm of barbarous People, slew *Farnobius* their

^a Am. Mercell.
l. 31. p. 1851.
videtur id est.
Fast. Consul.
p. 59.

^b Comm. in
Luc. l. 10. c. 21.
Tom. 5. p. 148.
Paulin. ubi
supra.

^c Am. Mercell.
loc. cit.

Com.

Commander, and a great part of the Army, and the rest that escap'd the Sword, he drove quite out of *Italy*.

VIII. THE *Eastern* Empire was in the mean while miserably infested with these *North* inroads, for whose relief (*Paul* being then in the remote *Eastern* parts) *Gratian* (Son of the late deceas'd Emperor *Valentinian*) rais'd an Army, but hearing that some of the *Germans* had invaded *France*, was forc'd for the present to turn his Forces against them. But before he march'd, he wrote to *S. Ambrose*, to come to him, and more accurately to instruct him in the so much controverted Articles of the Christian Faith, and that both by Word and Writing. Which he did, and upon that occasion wrote his Books de *Fide*, dedicated to the Emperor, which he enlarg'd to five, therein fully discussing the Questions which the *Arians* had started concerning the Son of God, and the Doctrine of the Trinity; to which as an Appendage he afterwards added (which the Emperor by Letter particularly desired of him) his three Books de *Spiritu Sancto*, to prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. And now began those Troubles that exercis'd him the greatest part of his Life. *Justina*, the Empress Dowager, reliet of the elder *Valentinian*, had by means of his Uncle *Cerealis* advanc'd her young Son *Valentinian*, *Gratian's* half-Brother, to be his Colleague in the Empire. A great Patroness she was of the *Arian* Party^a, but had cunningly dissembled her Inclinations that way during the Life of her Husband. Who being now dead, she began openly to season her Son with those impious Principles, and to instil into him a dislike of *Ambrose*, whom yet she resolv'd first to attempt by fair means, and to that end for her Son upon him. The good Bishop gravely put him in mind of the Faith and Religion of his Father, advising him to keep the Portion that he had received, inviolable; he shew'd him the difference between the *Arian* and the Catholick Doctrine, that the one had been immediately deriv'd from the mouth of our Lord and his Apostles, the other quite contrary, being plainly repugnant to the Divine Revelation. The young Prince impatient of Contradiction, grew into Choler, and commanded his Guards to surround the Church: Which yet nothing dismay'd the holy man, who smil'd at it as a vain scare-crow. Whereat the Emperor being more exasperated, openly commanded him to come out of the Church. That, replied the Bishop, *I can never willingly consent to, I will not betray the Sheepfold to the Wolves, nor deliver up the holy Church to such impious intruders. If you have a mind to dispatch me, you have Swords and Spears within, do't here. Such a death I am ready most willingly to undergo.* But of this more afterwards.

IX. It hapned about this time, *Ann. CCCLXXX.* that the See of *Sirmium* was vacant. *Justina* that had a quick eye upon all advantages, took care presently to make a Party there for the Promotion of an *Arian* Bishop. To oppose whose Designs *Ambrose*^c immediately hastned thither, (and a learned man^e observes, and urges it as an evidence that *Illyricum* was then under the Jurisdiction of the See of *Milan*) and being sat down in the Episcopal Chair, a Maid of the *Arian* Party confidently came up to him, and taking hold of his Garmēt, endeavour'd to pull him down to a Party of Women, who stood ready to have murdered, and thrown him out of the Church; but

^a *Evangel. ap. Ambros. l. 2 p. 35.*

^b *Tirod. l. 5. c. 13 p. 216.*

^c *Paulin. p. 23*

^d *Phil. Bortr. Pitham. P. II. c. 4 p. 177.*

but he told her, though I be unworthy of so venerable an Office, yet it becomes neither you nor your Profession, to lay violent hands upon the meanest Bishop. For which you have reason to fear the Judgment of God, lest some mischief do betal you. And so indeed it came to pass. For the next day she dyed, and was buried, whose Funeral (to let the World see how easily he could return good for evil) he attended to her Grave. An Accident that struck a mighty Terror into the whole Party, and made them for that time desist. So having peaceably ordain'd *Anemnius* to that See, he return'd to *Milan*, where he found the evil Spirit of *Arian* Malice and Revenge still haunting him. *Justina* laid Snares for him in every place, and made as many against him, as she could by any Arts get over to her Party. Some she corrupted with Bribes, others she attempted by promising them Places of Honour and Dignity, if they would seize him in the Church, and forcibly carry him into Banishment. This several attempted, but in vain, God still Protecting him: Nay *Euthymius* more zealous than the rest had taken a House adjoining to the Church, and thereinto privately convey'd a Chariot, into which he design'd suddenly to clap him, and then hurry him away. But his Mischief return'd upon his own head. For the next year on that very day that he intended to surprize *Ambrose*, he was himself put into the same Chariot, and carry'd into Banishment. So visibly many times is the Lord known by the Judgment which he executeth, while the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands, while they sink down into the Pit that they make, and in the Net which they hide, is their own foot taken. However either by misinformation or importunity they had so far prevail'd upon the Emperor *Gratian*, that he seiz'd one of the Churches, which they had sued for, but kept it in his hand, and upon better thoughts without any sollicitation soon restor'd it to *S. Ambrose* back again.

^e *Ambros. de Sp. S. l. 1. c. 1. p. 117.*

SECT.

SECT. II.

His Acts from the meeting of the Synod at Aquileia, till the death of Gratian.

The Arians Petition the Emperor for a publick hearing. A Synod indicted at Aquileia. The time of meeting, and number of Bishops. The proceedings of the Synod against Palladius and Secundianus, two Arian Bishops. The Charge press'd by Ambrose, and the bustling replies of Palladius. His exceptions against his Judges, and the manner of Procedure. His Sentence pass'd by particular Votes. The Condemnation of Secundianus, as also of Attalus and Valens, two Arian Prefbyters. Synodal Letters written to the Emperors. The truth of the Acts of this Council defended against Chiffletius. Another Synod at Aquileia about the case of Ursicinus. Synodal Epistles to Theodosius about the Union of the Eastern and Western Churches, the Schism at Antioch, and the case of Nazianzen and Maximus at Constantinople. Ambrose his Book de Incarnationis Dominicæ Sacramento written upon what occasion. The rise of the Priscillian Heretic. The Author of it vigorously oppos'd by Ambrose. The Quarrel between him and Macedonius a great Officer upon that account. His unadvised interceding for the Pardon of a condemned Nobleman. The Rebellion of Maximus, Governour of the Army in Britain. His murdering the Emperor Gratian, and usurpation of the Empire. S. Ambrose his Embassy to him. The death of his Brother Satyrus, and his Funeral Oration for him.

I. NOTWITHSTANDING the vigorous endeavours of the Emperess *Justina*, the Arian Cause lost ground in the *West*, and being press'd hard upon by the Catholics, they appeal'd to a more publick hearing, pretending they were mis-represented, and that they would stand or fall by the Confession made some years since in the Synod at *Ariminum*. In order hereunto *Palladius* and *Secundianus*, two Arian Bishops, and the only chief sticklers for the Cause, petition'd *Gratian* at his coming to *Sirmium* for a general Council, to be conven'd out of all parts of the *Roman Empire*, hoping that if they could effect this, whatever they might want in the *West*, the *Eastern Prelates* (among whom lay the strength of their Party) would turn the Scale. And the Emperor it seems had granted their Request. Which when S. Ambrose understood, he represented to him the inconvenience of the thing, that a General Council was wholly needless in this Case, the adverse Party being inconsiderable, and that himself, and some of the Neighbour Bishops were abundantly enough for their Confutation, that it was unreasonable for the sake of two rotten Hereticks (as the Council Styles them) to trouble the Governors of the Church through the whole Empire, many of whom were upon the Account of distance, age, infirmity, or poverty, altogether unable to take so long a Journey, or to be absent from their Cures. Hereupon a Synod out of *Italy* and the Neigh-

^oVid. Gratian. Epist. inter gesta Synod. A. quill. Conc. T. II. col. 975. & Epist. Synod. ib. col. 993.

Neighbouring Provinces was indicted at *Aquileia*, where met of *Italian, Dalmatian* and *French* Bishops with the Legates from *Africk* and *France* to the number of XXXII. S. Ambrose, I conceive, as Metropolitan was President of the Council, to whom the ^{* A Pappadiis} *Synodicon* without any warrant joyns *Ascholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*; his name neither appearing among the rest, nor so much as once mention'd in all the Transactions of the Synod. Several private and preliminary Conferences the Fathers had with the two *Arian* Bishops, but no good being done, they met in a Synodal Assembly *Septemb. V. Ann. CCCLXXXI.* and the President having propos'd that for the clearer justification of their actions, the Proceedings of the Synod might be entred upon Record, the Emperor's Letter was first read, whereby they were summon'd, and constituted Judges of the Cause before them. Then was read an Epistle of *Arius*, containing the chief points of his dogmata, and *Palladius* required to declare what he thought concerning it. *Palladius* answered, that by the Emperor's Letters which they had read, it was evident, that they had been the Cause, why there had not been a full and general Council, that the Bishops of their Party (meaning the *Orientalists*) were absent, and therefore they could not answer. Ambrose replied, that this was done in compliance with the Custom of former times, whereby the *Oriental* Bishops were wont to assemble in the *East*, and at the same time the *Western* in the *West*. However to take away all pretence of cavilling, the Prefect of *Italy* had sent a Summons to them of the *East*, that if they pleas'd, they might convene with them; but they keeping to their old course, had staid at home. The other pleaded, that it was a fraud, and that they had herein circumvented and imposed upon the Emperor, and therefore he was not obliged to answer. But Ambrose setting aside the Case of the *Eastern Prelates*, press'd hard for a positive answer: You have heard (*said he*) *Arius's* Epistle read, you are wont when challenged, to deny your self to be an *Arian*, either now condemn him, or defend his Cause. But the crafty Heretick would not be drawn out of his old reserve; he told them, they were an incompetent Judicatory, that he had promis'd indeed to make good his Cause, but in a lawful trial, that he was come thither in expectation to have found a General Council, whose decision he would not anticipate by answering there, where those of his own Party were wanting. After a great deal of wrangling about this matter, they debated the Letter of *Arius* from point to point, where in the main disputing Part lay upon Ambrose, who took up, and retorted the broken answers which *Palladius* gave to the several Interrogatories, the Fathers at the end of each denouncing an *Anathema* against the maintainers of every Point, as may be seen in the Acts of the Council, extant * at large. In which 'tis not unpleasant to observe what Artifices the man makes use of to save himself; sometimes he endeavours to escape by subtle and sly Evasions, as when he owns our Lord to be the true Son of God, but when press'd to it, would not acknowledg him to be true God; and to be good, but would not say, he was a good God, refusing to express himself in any other terms than these, a good Father begat a good Son. Sometimes he pleaded he could not answer, in that he had not Notaries of his own to take what pass'd, pretending partiality on their side, and

^{* Contra T. II. col. 979. &c.}

and therefore required that his own Notaries might be admitted. Which being granted, he flew off from that. Otherwhiles he required, that the People might be indifferently let in as Spectators and Judges of what pass'd on either side; which though 'twas not absolutely denied, yet S. Ambrose told him, that in those matters 'twas the place of Bishops to Judge the Laity, and not the Laity to Judge the Bishops. In short, throughout the whole Procedure, whenever he was pinch'd with a Question or an Argument which he could not evade, he presently retired to his common Refuge, that they were not a General Council, and to such a one only he was oblig'd and resolv'd to answer: Particularly he excepted against the President as an incompetent Judge, charging him with impiety and injustice; and when *Sabinus* Bishop of *Placentia* asked him what impieties he had to object against *Ambrose*, he gave them no other reply than before, that he would answer in a full Council, when all Persons concern'd were present. S. Ambrose answered, *I desire to be charg'd and convicted in the presence of my Brethren, if I, who strenuously assert the Faith, seem impious to you, speak out and say, what are those impious assertions I am guilty of.* But the bold man thought fit to let that Accusation fall, which he was not able to make good. After near seven Hours dispute (for so long the Session lasted) S. Ambrose pass'd Sentence upon him, pronouncing him unworthy of the Episcopal Office, and that a Catholick should be ordained to his See; which was ratified by an universal *Anathema* of the Synod denounced against him. After which at the Presidents motion all the Bishops did in order one by one give their particular Votes for his Condemnation. Next they proceeded to *Secundianus*, and having for some time disputed the case with him, could drive him to no other resolution, than that he confess'd our Lord to be the true only begotten Son of God, but would not explicitly assert, that he was the true God, whereupon the like Sentence was pass'd upon him. With them also the Synod censur'd and condemned *Attalus* a revolted Prefbyter, a man it seems of great age, having been present with *Aerippinus* his Bishop in the *Nicene* Council, the determinations whereof he had together with his Bishop subscribed, but afterwards recanted, and shelter'd himself under *Valens* the intruding Bishop of *Petavie*, a City in *Pannonia*, who being for his misdemeanours publicly thrust out by the People, had betrayed the Country to the *Goths*, in whose barbarous Habit he dress'd himself, and appeared in the Head of them against the *Roman* Army, and now went up and down the Country, which he fill'd with unwarrantable Ordinations, and though summon'd to the Council, and himself not far off (having taken up his Station at this time at *Milan*) yet refused to appear. *Attalus* being urg'd with his Subscription, refused to give any answer, and so suffered Judgment to pass against him. All which being dispatched, the Council arose, having deputed Legates to the Emperors, and by them a Letter ⁷, wherein they give them an account of what had been transacted in the Synod, praying in the close that they would cause the Synodal Sentence to be executed, and prohibit the followers of *Phorinus* (who notwithstanding the imperial Edict to the contrary, still kept up their meetings at *Sirmium*) any longer to hold their unlawful Conventicles. It must not here be forgotten, that a learned

⁷ Ext. ib. col. 993.

man has not long since called the Acts of this Council into Question, which he conceives to be a pure fictitious Scene, compos'd by *Vigilius* Bishop of *Tapsus*, a City in the Province of *Byzacium* in *Africa*. He grants there was such a Synod, and such proceedings in it against *Palladius*, but that the genuine Acts of it are lost, or have not yet seen the light, and that *Vigilius* writing against the *Arians* took up this way, and feign'd this formal story purely out of his own head. His Arguments, though many, are very weak and trifling, and do not deserve an operose Confutation, being such as may be levelled against almost against any ancient writing; nor is there any more just reason to question these, than the Acts of most ancient Councils. The whole stress of his bold conjecture rests upon no firmer a bottom than this, that *Vigilius* affirms that he had written against *Palladius* (who had answered S. Ambrose) and immediately without any other Warrant he concludes, that the proceedings of this Synod were part of that Book, and as such he has publish'd them in his Collection of *Vigilius's* works. Nor does he produce one Syllable of any Writer, either of those or the following ages to justify what he says, or any ancient Copy, that ascribes these acts to *Vigilius*. And if such a Liberty may be taken, what can be safe? Farewel all ancient Monuments, when a confident conjecture may dispose of them, how, and to what use it please. And whereas he urges, that *Vigilius* wrote the Acts and Disputations of *Arian* and *Athanasius* before *Probus*, appointed by the Emperor to be Judge and Moderator, and that in the way of a formal historical Account, when as all was but a feigned Scheme; 'tis granted he did so. But then withal, 'tis evident both that ancient Manuscripts entitle that piece to *Vigilius*, and which is more, *Vigilius* himself elsewhere ^a expressly owns that he did draw up those Discourses, which he did not intend as a real History, but only as personated Acts and Disputations. Of either of which there is not the least title in our case. But enough of this matter.

II. About this time, either in this, or in some other Synod presently after assembled at *Aquileia*, they debated the case of *Ursicinus*, who had lately made a miserable Schism in the Church of *Rome*, and befought the Emperor *Gratian* ^b not to hearken to his Petitions, or be overcome with the importunities of that bold man. And perhaps in the same Synod it was (wherein also S. Ambrose presided) that they wrote ^c to the Emperor *Theodosius*, to let him know in how fair a way things were towards an union, between the *Eastern* and the *Western* Churches, and what advances they had made towards it, and that they had lately condemn'd the errors and the followers of *Apollinaris*. By a second Letter ^d (if at least it was in the same Convention) they gave him thanks for restoring the Catholick Bishops to their Sees, praying him to interpose in the business of *Antioch*, where though *Paulinus* was Survivor to *Merebas*, yet another had been put in; and this done by consent of *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*, whose succession to that See they conceiv'd irregular, *Nazianzen* himself being plac'd in it to the exclusion of *Maximus* (by whose false Suggestions they had been so far impos'd upon, as to espouse his Cause, and to admit him to Communion) And therefore they befought him, either that *Maximus* might be put into Possession of that See, or that the Cause might be debated and adjust'd in a General Council at *Rome*. In answer

Bbb 2

where-

^a P. Fr. Chiff. fol. 17nd. *Vigil. Tapf.* §. 4. p. 33 &c.

^a Contr. Eutyph. l. 5. c. 2. p. 58.

^b Ext. Epist. lib. ccl. 998.

^c Ext. ibid. col. 1006.

^d Ibid. col. 1007

whereunto the Synod at *Constantinople* re-assembling the following year, sent them word that they could not assent to a General Council in the *West*, but thought good to give them an Account both of the Faith they had agreed in, and the care they had taken in providing for the Sees of *Antioch*, *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*, which elsewhere we have more particularly related.

III. AMBROSE being return'd to *Milan*, found his Enemies a little more calm for the present, though what they could not effect by open attempts, they sought to do by secret snares, and by putting affronts upon him. Amongst the rest, two Gentlemen^a of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor *Gratian*, being of the *Arian* Party, came to him, and gave him a Subject to discourse upon, the Mystery of our Lord's Incarnation, promising that they would be at the Church call'd *Portiana* the next day to hear him. The expectation was great, and the Congregation full; when the two Courtiers, who design'd nothing but a Scene of ridicule and scorn, took their Horses and rid out of Town. But God, who will not be mock'd, no not in his Servants and Ministers, met with them. They had not gone far, when their Horses threw them, and both miserably perish'd. The Congregation in the mean while grew impatient, and would stay no longer, so that the Bishop was forc'd to go up into the Pulpit, and discourse upon the Argument that had been propounded to him, telling the Auditory, that he was come thither to pay his Debt, but he found not there his yesterdayes Creditors to receive it, and then went on to explain that Mystery, which he publish'd in a just discourse^b, *de incarnationis Dominice Sacramento*. Much about this time *Priscillian* a noble *Spaniard*, Rich, Learned, Eloquent and Witty, set up for an Heretick, and form'd a Sect out of the very dregs of the *Gnostic* and *Manichean* Errors and Impurities, with a few Rites and Principles borrowed from others. For which he was with some of his Party banish'd^c his own Country, and fled to *Rome*, where endeavouring to vindicate himself, he was rejected by Pope *Damasus*, who refused to see him. Then he came to *Milan*, where he found as cold entertainment from *S. Ambrose*. Being thus disappointed in his hopes of Patronage from these two great men, he began to turn his Projects, and try what he could do at Court in procuring an Edict for his Restoration; which he effected by bribing and corrupting *Macedonius*, Master of the Offices (as he was called) a place of great Power and Authority about the Palace. *S. Ambrose* oppos'd it we may be sure what lay in his power, for which *Macedonius* bore him a grudge ever after, inasmuch that when he came^d one day to the *Pretorium* to intercede with him on the behalf of another; *Macedonius*, who had some intimation of his coming, commanded the Gates to be shut up against him, so that being denied all entrance, left this message for him, tell him (*said he*) the time will come, when he himself shall fly to the Church, and shall not be able to enter, though the Doors be not shut against him. Which came to pass after *Gratian's* death, when a Warrant being sent to seize him, he fled for Sanctuary to the Church, but could not find his way into it, although the Doors stood wide open, and so was apprehended. Nor was it all the contempt which great men at Court cast upon him, could discourage him from improving his interest there for all pious Offices, whereof one instance especially

^a Paulin. ubi sup. p. 4.

^b Ext. Tom. II. p. 177.

^c Sulp. Sev. Hist. S. l. 2. p. 153, 169.

^d Paulin. id. p. 8.

especially shews both his Courage and his Charity. A Pagan Gentleman^e of some Authority had spoken disparagingly of the Emperor *Gratian*, as a Son unworthy of so great a Father; for which he was arraign'd and condemn'd to dye. And being led forth to Execution, *S. Ambrose* pitying the man's Case, went to Court to intercede for his life. The Emperor at that time was diverting himself with private Hunting in the *Amphitheater*, so that he stood for some time amongst the Guards at the Gate. But none offering to go in and acquaint the Emperor, he betook himself to the Postern, whereat the wild Beasts us'd to be let in, and crowding in along with the Keepers, went directly to the Emperor, whom he never left solliciting, together with the Courtiers that were about him, till he had procur'd the man's Pardon, and sav'd his Life.

IV. ANN. CCCLXXXIII. a great Revolution happened in the civil State. *Maximus*, a *Spaniard* by birth, say some, but a *Brittain*, say others, (I conceive him of *Spanish* Extract, but born in *Brittain*, deriving his Pedigree from *Constantine* the Great) had been Commander in *Brittain*, Colleague with *Theodosius*. And finding his Companion advanc'd to the Empire, and himself neglected, he made a Party in the Army, who proclaim'd him Emperor. Immediately he convey'd his Forces^f over into *France* and *Germany*, where, by the assistance of the barbarous People, he quickly secur'd all these *Western* Parts to his Obedience. The news whereof arriving at Court, *Gratian* advanc'd with an Army to encounter him, and met him not far from *Lyon* in *France*. Five several dayes the fight continued more or less, till *Gratian* observing a part of his Army to desert him, began to retire with three hundred Horse. But the other Party adding Treachery to Rebellion, stuck at nothing to secure their Victory. For *Andragathius*, *Maximus's* General of the Horse, conveying himself into a close Horse-litter, gave out, that the Empress was come thither to her Husband. *Gratian* suspecting nothing, pass'd the *Roan* to meet her, and was no sooner come near, but *Andragathius* suddenly leapt out of the Litter, and stab'd him. A Prince of great Virtues, and singular Piety, but unhappily cut off in the very flower of his age. And now *Maximus* rag'd at pleasure, and having treated all those of *Gratian's* Party that fell into his hands with exquisite cruelty, prepar'd to march for *Italy*. To prevent which *Valentinian* dispatched *S. Ambrose* upon an Embassy to him, who by the gravity of his Person, the authority of his Office, his humble Address, and eloquent Insinuations stop'd his journey at that time, and kept him on the other side the *Alpes*. A work of equal danger, difficulty, and success, considering the Circumstances of affairs at that time; though *Paulinus* who was afterwards his Secretary, by a strange mistake confounds it with a second Embassy some years after. This year he buried his dear Brother *Satyrus*, a Person eminent for his Virtues, and Employments. He had lately been in *Africk* and *Sicily*, and though advis'd by his Friends not to return home, where all things were running headlong into extream confusion, he could not be perswaded, resolving not to desert his Brother in such an evil time, and impatient of delay, put himself on Board an old rotten Ship, which yet brought him safe to shoar, where Landing, he went home and died, much about the time that his Brother was to take his journey for *France*.

^e Socrus. l. 7. c. 25. p. 747.

^f Socr. l. 6. c. 11. p. 270. Socr. l. 7. c. 13. p. 720. Hier. Epitaph. Nepot. p. 26. vid. Zosim. Hist. l. 4. p. 740. qui paulo aliter habet.

^u Ext. Tom.
III. p. 13.

France, who bewail'd his death, and describ'd his virtues in a large and eloquent Oration at his Funeral, comforting himself under so severe a stroke, with the consideration, that he was taken away from the evil to come, and that his eyes did not see those Calamities and Devastations that were begun elsewhere, and then hung directly over Italy.

SECT. III.

His Acts from the death of Gratian, till the end of the Contest between him and Symmachus.

The confidence of the Gentiles at Rome upon the usurpation of Maximus. The Party headed by Symmachus Provost of the City. Their former Petition in the name of the Senate countermin'd by an Anti-remonstrance. Symmachus employ'd again to petition the Emperor for the restoring the Altar of Victory. S. Ambrose his elegant and passionate dissuasive sent to the Emperor about this matter. A Copy of the Petition sent him by the Emperor. Symmachus's Address to the Emperor in behalf of Paganism and the Altar of Victory, and S. Ambrose his excellent Reply to that Address exemplified at large. Symmachus accus'd to the Emperor. Another Petition of his in behalf of the Gentiles. Banish'd Rome, and why. His recantation, and re-admission into favour.

I. **T**HE Confusions that threatned the Roman Empire by the death of Gratian, and the prosperous Usurpation of Maximus, who was attended with vast numbers of the barbarous People, and the timorous nature of Valentinian, a Prince young, and unexperienc'd in the World, and frighted at this time with the daily news of the Invasion of Italy, gave some kind of new Life to declining Paganism, the Gentiles at Rome hoping now to recover the abolish'd Rites of their Religion. The Party was headed by Q. Aurelius Symmachus, a Person of more than ordinary Note and Eminency, an admirable Scholar, expert Statesman, and the most accomplish'd Orator of that age; he was some years after made Consul, and was at this time Provost of Rome, but withal a great Bigot for Paganism, passionately addicted to the Gentile Rites. About two years since^h an attempt had been made this way: Some few of the Senate assuming to themselves the name of the whole, had petition'd the Emperor in behalf of their Religion, which when the rest, who were Christians understood, they immediately publish'd an *Anti-remonstrance*, wherein they declar'd, that this had been done without either their Privy, or Consent, that they absolutely disown'd any such request, protesting both publicly and privately, they would never come to the Senate, if this was granted; a Copy of which Re-

^h Amb. Ep.
XXX. p. 114.

monstrance Pope Damasus sent to Ambrose. But finding now a more favourable season, it was again set on foot, and Symmachus, as the most considerable Person, employ'd in the name of the Senate, to prefer a Petition and Remonstrance to the Emperor, (for though *pro forma* it was inscrib'd to all of them, yet was it presented only to Valentinian) to beseech them to re-settle their ancient Religion. Particularly that the Altar of Victory (which stood, as some will have it, in the Capitol, but in truth was generally plac'd in the Senate-House, and being moveable, was carried to any place where the Senate assembled, and had been more than once quite taken away by preceding Emperors) might be restor'd, the Salary heretofore allow'd to the Vestal Virgins, (whose number at this time at Rome was seven, all Persons of noble and honourable Extract, who according to ancient usage officiated in the Worship of the Gods for the publick safety and prosperity of the City, as a Pagan Geographerⁱ that wrote under Constantius informs us) and lately taken from them, might be restor'd, together with the Revenues in Land formerly bequeath'd to the Vestal Colledge, and that it might be lawful for any to bestow what Legacies he pleas'd upon them. A Cause which he insinuated with great smoothness and subtilty, and manag'd with all the Advantages that could be given it by the Zeal of a Pagan, and the Eloquence of an Orator. No sooner did S. Ambrose hear of this, but he wrote^k to the Emperor Valentinian to put a stop to it, representing to him, that as the Empire was under them, so they themselves were accountable unto God, from whom they could not expect Protection and Security, unless they sincerely Worship'd him the only true God, the supreme Sovereign of the World, and gave no way to Superstition and Idolatry; that his Majesty having so openly declared his devotion for the Christian Religion, 'twas a wonder how any could hope to make use of his Authority to establish the Gentile Rites, or his Exchequer to defray the Charges of their Sacrifices, especially they who had never been sparing of the blood of Christians, who had pull'd down their Churches, and had denyed them the common Liberty of teaching Children; that the things they petition'd for had been long since taken away by the Edicts of former Emperors, and lately by his own Brother Gratian of famous memory, whose pious Constitutions he ought not to violate, and though they had been wanting herein, yet he himself ought to have done it, that he should take care that no man should impose upon his tender unexperienc'd years, much less an Idolatrous Gentile; great men were to be regarded, but God to be preferr'd before all, whose Cause here was neerly concern'd, and to whom to give precedence, could be no injury to any. Was it fit that Christians should be forc'd to come to the Senate, and take their Oaths before a prophane impious Altar? should this be allow'd in his Reign? What was this but to acknowledg an Idol to be an Almighty Being? could men have the face to beg of him to command the Altar to be erected, and to bear the Charge of their prophane Sacrifices? A thing not to be done without plain sacrilege and impiety. That therefore he besought him not to sign any such Warrant, and as a Bishop conjur'd him by the Faith that he profess'd, wherein all the Bishops had joy'n'd with him, but that it

ⁱ Pet. apd. d. script. gr. l. a. 60. theofred. edit. p. 34.

^k Epist. XXX. ibid.

"was

"was look'd upon as a thing incredible, that such a thing should ever have been mov'd in his Consistory, or petition'd for by the Senate; as indeed it was not, but only by a small inconsiderable Party, that assum'd to themselves that august venerable name, the far greater number being Christians. That he should do well herein to advise with his Colleague and Parent the Emperor *Theodosius*, whom in all other cases he was wont to consult, and much more ought in this, no Cause being greater and more important than that of Religion; that were it a matter of civil cognizance, he should leave it to others to undertake, but being that of Religion, 'twas proper for him as a Bishop to meddle in it; to which end he desired his Majesty to send him a Copy of the Petition, and he would return a full answer to it, that so his Colleague being perfectly inform'd of all things, might take order in the Case: That if he acted contrary to this Advice, they that were Bishops must declare that they knew not how to bear with it; his Majesty might come to Church, if he pleas'd, but he would either find there no Bishop to minister to him, or one that would oppose him, and let him know, that the Church of God takes no gifts from him, that restores and beautifies Pagan Temples, that Christ's Altar rejects his Offerings, who erects Altars to Idols. What would he answer to his deceased Brother, who must needs repent that ever he made him a Co-partner in the Empire, which by his care of Religion he had left secure and firm, and by this means would receive a more fatal Blow, than that death's wound that had been given him by his Enemies. Nay what would he answer his Father, whose Piety this course must needs reproach, who could never have believ'd so great a wickedness should be attempted, that *Gentiles* should sacrifice in that publick Court, that is, that Pagans should insult and triumph, while Christians were by, and against their wills forc'd to be present at those Heathen Solemnities. That therefore he humbly besought his Majesty, that reflecting how great an injury the passing such an Edict would be first to God, and then both to his Father and his Brother, he would take that course that should appear to be most acceptable to God, and most advantageous to himself.

II. Upon the receipt of this Letter *Valentinian* sent him a Copy of the Petition, which he thoroughly canvass'd, and fully answered in every part. And because perhaps it may be no unpleasant entertainment to the Reader to see these two great Persons entering the Lists, and arguing the case at large, I shall here (though it be somewhat prolix) present him both with *Symmachus's* Address, and *S. Ambrose's* Reply; intreating the learned Readers Pardon, if the Translation be not exactly to his mind, it being perhaps a far more difficult task, than at first sight it may appear, satisfactorily to render either the one, or the other into *English*. The Address runs in this form¹.

¹ *Symmach.*
L. 10. *Epist.*
LIV.

To

To my Lords the Emperors, VALENTINIAN, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIVS; SYMMACHUS Prefect of the City.

AS soon as the most illustrious, and your ever loyal Senate, had taken cognizance, that the Vices of the times were subdued by the Laws, and the infamy of the past ages expiated by the piety of our present Princes, they, following so good an Example, have thought fit to improve the present occasion to express their grief, and again to constitute me the messenger and manager of their Complaints, who find themselves deny'd the privilege of access to their venerable Prince by the arts of bad men, because they foresee, that, when he knows their grievances, he will do them justice. I therefore in a double Capacity, both as your Deputy do promote the publick good, and as the Envoy of the Citizens of Rome recommend their desires; in this we are all agreed, because at length men are grown so wise as not to espouse the factions of Courtiers, when they manage their private Feuds. For to be respected, to be honour'd, to be lov'd is a more welcome piece of Grandeur, than to be an Emperor; for who can endure, that private quarrels should obstruct the happiness of the Commonwealth? The Senate justly prosecutes those men, who prefer the satisfactions of their own Ambition before the reputation of their Prince; while it is the Employment of our time, and industry to be a guard, and security to your Clemency. For when we keep, and defend the Constitutions of our Progenitors, the Laws, and Sanctions, and as it were the fate of our Country, what do we, but advance the glory of the Times? Which is never greater, than when you, that are concern'd, think nothing lawful, that thwarts the practices of your forefathers.

And to that end we humbly request that state of Religion may be restor'd to us, which for so many ages hath been beneficial to the Republick; and certainly if we reckon up the Princes of either persuasion, we shall find that your immediate predecessor was no Enemy to those usages, but he, who went before him, a great admirer, and observer of the Rites, we plead for; if therefore the piety of the ancient Emperors be insufficient to make an Example, let the smooth, and artificial carriage of those, who immediately preceded you, incline you. Who is there so much a Friend to the Barbarians, as not to complain of the loss of the Altar of Victory? We are cautious with respect to Posterity, and are willing to avoid whatever wears the portraiture of ill-luck; let us therefore, if we despise the Deity, at least pay respect to the name, for your Majesties are already much, and for the future will be more indebted to Victory. Let those slight this Deity, who have never experimented its favours, but I could wish, that you would not desert a Patronage, that hath been so instrumental to the magnifying of your Triumphs. Every man is a votary to that Goddess; for no man can deny, but that which he professes to pray for, ought to be honour'd. But if the fatal Omen will not affright you, yet at least the Altar ought to be left untouched, as an Ornament of the Senate-house, and let me beg you, that what Religion we were brought up in when we were boys, we may, now we are old, leave to our posterity. Custom is a second nature, and we cannot but love what has been bred up with us.

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You see, that the design of the August Emperor Constantius, and that deservedly, prov'd abortive, and all such Patterns are to be avoided by you, which you find by experience to be of no long continuance. By this means you contrive a way how to eternize your Fame, and Majesty, that Posterity may find nothing in your management of Affairs fit to be reform'd. [This Altar being taken away] where shall we swear to observe your Laws and Statutes? What Notion of Religion shall affright the profligate from Perjury? It is true, God is every where, and the perfidious Wretch can be in no place safe, but yet the awe of a Deity present with us in such a place, is a mighty instrument to deter men from vice. That one Altar preserves the whole People in Unity; that one Altar keeps every private Person from breach of trust, nor does any thing give greater authority and reverence to our Decrees, than that they are made by Senators sworn at these Altars. Shall therefore the Habitation of the Gods be profan'd by Perjuries? And will our most venerable Princes think this a likely and probable Course, who are themselves secur'd in their Persons and Government by the Oaths of their Subjects?

But you will object, the most August Emperor Constantius did the same. Let us rather imitate the rest of the actions of that Prince, who would never have adventured on such an attempt, had any of his Predecessors so mistook the measures of Government; for the miscarriages of former Princes are lessons of Correction to their Successors, and that man easily amends, who is warn'd by the ill Example of those that went before him. It happened, that that Prince, your Majesties Predecessor, in attempting so great an innovation, was not aware of the envy and discontent that attended the Action. But will that defence serve your turn, if we willfully imitate, what we remember hath been formerly disallow'd? Let your Majesties take Patterns from the other actions of that Prince, which are fitter to be transcrib'd; he took away nothing from the privileges of the Vestal Virgins, he consider'd the Revenues of the Priesthood on the Nobility, and out of the Exchequer allowed the Expences of the Sacrifices, and other Religious Observances, and being attended in Pomp by the Senate through all the Streets of that immortal City, cast his eyes pleasantly on the Temples, read the names of the gods, to whom they were dedicated, written over their gates, made inquiry into the Original of the Buildings, and admired the piety of the Founders. And whereas himself was of another persuasion, yet he was never willing to abolish, and extirpate this that was the Religion of the Empire; for every man hath his peculiar Rites, and Modes of Worship. The Supreme Divinity that governs the World, has assigned several tutelary Guardians to every City: For as every man at his first conception has a distinct Soul, so has every Nation a particular genius allotted to it. To these considerations we may add also the advantage of these Rites, which does especially recommend these Deities to men; for whereas all the Reason that asserts a Divinity, is in a great measure in the dark, whence can we better derive our knowledge of the Gods, than from the remembrance and instances of our former Prosperity? Now if Antiquity be sufficient to render Religion venerable to us, we ought to preserve that Faith, which hath continued for so many ages, and to follow our Parents, who herein happily trod in the steps of their Progenitors. Let us imagine Rome it self now present, and thus pleading her Cause before them.

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“O you best of Princes, you Fathers of your Country, reverence my gray hairs, which the Rites of Religion have brought me to, and grant, that I may serve Heaven with the formerly-establish'd Ceremonies, for I do not repent me of them. Let me live according to my ancient Customs, being a free City. 'Twas this way of Worship brought all the World under my Laws, these Rites kept Hannibal from my Walls, and repell'd the Gauls from the Capitol; and have I been heretofore so often refused that I may, now I am grown old, be handled with Severity? Shall I see what new institution this is? Sure I am to reclaim old age, is an unseemable, fruitless, and dishonourable undertaking. We therefore beg your leave, and in that security for our Country Gods, and for our private Deities. It is but just, that that Divinity which all men adore, should be esteemed but one. We cast our eyes on the same Stars, the Heaven is in common, and the same World incloses us. What matters it, by what methods men make enquiry after truth? One Path does not lead to the knowledge of so great a secret.

But (it may be objected) these are the Discourses of men, who are at too much leisure. We now tender you our Petitions, we do not dispute, or contend. Consider what great Benefit has accrued to your Exchequer, by taking away the Privileges and Revenues of the Vestal Virgins? Our most liberal, and munificent Emperors deny that, which the most frugal, and parcimonious freely gave; and which the Vestals regard only as 'tis an honourable stipend and recompence of their Chastity. For as their Vail is an Ornament to their heads, so it is one of the Insignia of their Priesthood, that they are exempted from all sort of Offices, it is but the bare name of freedom from Impositions, which they desire, for their Poverty secures them from all great Payments. But perhaps it may be said, those men advance their Reputation, that lessen their Revenue, because those Virgins, who have dedicated themselves for the publick safety gain in Merits, what they lose in their Revenues. But let such Methods of filling your Coffers never be practis'd, the Treasury of good Princes is not to be augmented by the Ruins of the Priests, but by the Spoils of their Enemies; and will the greatest gain make Compensation for the envy which will attend you?

But because Covetousness is a Vice, with which you are unacquainted, this makes their Case the more deplorable, who have lost their former subsistence. For whatever is alienated under those Princes, who have conquer'd the love of Riches, and hate Rapine and Extortion, only turns to the detriment of him who is the loser, but gratifies no appetite of him, that seizes it: The Lands, which were given by the Will of your dying Progenitors to the Vestals and their Officers, are now detain'd by your Exchequer; but let me beseech you, O you Ministers of Justice, that your City may enjoy the private Legacies bequeathed to holy uses. Let men securely make their last Wills, and be assur'd they have not to deal with Covetous Princes, but such who will ratifie what they have bequeath'd. Decemur light, I beseech you, to make the World thus happy. This one Example creates great disquits to all dying Persons; doth the Religion of the Romans not come under the Protection of the Roman Laws? By what name shall we call the alienation of the sacred Patrimony, which no Law, no Accident ever made liable to Confiscation. Freed-men receive Legacies, nay Servants are not deny'd the Privilege of having what is bequeath'd to them by Will, only the noble Virgins, and the Attendants on these Ceremonies, upon which the fate of the Empire does so much depend, are ejected

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out of their Estates, which have devolv'd on them by Inheritance. To what purpose is it to vow Virginity for the safety of the Republick, and to call in the assistances of Heaven to eternize your Empire, to assist your Armies, and to second your Troops with unseen, but friendly Powers, and to make ardent and effectual Prayers for the safety of all your Subjects, and at the same time to be deny'd those common Priviledges which belong to them, equally with the rest of your People. It is better at this rate to serve men than the Gods. We injure the Commonwealth, which never yet got any thing by being ingrateful. Let no man think, I am now only an Advocate for the Cause of Religion; such attempts as these have been the Source and Original of all the Calamities, that have befallen the World.

Our Parents testified the honour they had for the Vestal Virgins, and the Priests of the gods by making Laws for their competent maintenance, and honest Priviledges; and this donation continued in its integrity, till the days of our degenerate Bankers, who have converted the Revenues of sacred Chastity into a stipend for the vilest Porters. A fact presently attended with a publick Famine, and all the Provinces were decr'd in their expectations of a plentiful Harvest; the fault was not in the Earth, nor do we charge it upon the Stars; norst did eat it, nor was it choak'd with Darnel. It was the Sacrilege that was then committed, that made the year barren; for who could expect to have Bread, when the Religious were robb'd of their dues? Verily if there be any other Example of a like Calamity, let us impute their great Famine only to chance, or to the various seasons of the year; a dry wind was the cause of this barrenness; and now men live upon the buds of Trees, and the poorer sort of Boors are again forc'd to eat Acorns; did our forefathers ever lye under such astonishing Judgments, when the Ministers of Religion were maintained by an honourable allowance out of the publick Treasury? When were men forc'd to shake the Oak for meat, or to sustain themselves with the roots of Herbs? When ever happened it, that the wants of one place were unsupplied by the plenty of another as long as the Corn was in common distributed to the People, and to the sacred Virgins; for the provisions made for the Priests were a primary Cause of the fertility of the Countrey, and it was rather a kindness done to your Land, than a piece of Charity to the holy men. Do you make any doubt, whether that was anciently given to procure a General plenty, the taking away of which the present scarcity has sufficiently reveng'd?

But some men may say, there is no reason, that the Expences of another Religion should be born by the publick; let such a determination never find a place in the minds of our excellent Princes, that what was given to a few Persons to hold in common, should be accounted as if it belong'd to the publick Revenue; for whereas the whole Commonwealth does consist of single Persons, whatever proceeds from the Republick, becomes presently the Property of Individuals. You, we acknowledg, superintend, and govern all things, but withal, you are the keepers of every man's Liberties, and Justice sways more with you, than insolent Licentiousness. Do but consult your own munificent thoughts, whether they can esteem those things to belong to the Publick, which you have already appropriated to other uses. Whatever Profits have been once devoted to the honour of the City, cease from thenceforwards to belong to the donors, and what was in its Original a largess, by custom and time becomes a debt.

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That man therefore attempts to fill your sacred mind with a vain fear, who affirms, that you are conscious of being accessory, and consenting to the Donation, unless you incur the Envy of cancelling such grants. May all the unknown Tutelary Deities of all Sects and Opinions be favourable to your Clemency; but above all, may those Powers which were so propitious to your Ancestors, become your Guardians, may they defend you, and you adore them. We intercede for no other Religion, but that which secur'd the Empire to your Majesty's sacred Father, which gave that fortunate Prince a legitimate Issue to succeed him; that blessed Prince looks down from Heaven, and beholds the tears of the Priests, and looks upon the breach of their Priviledges, which he kept inviolable, as an affront put on himself. Afford also this assistance to your Brother of blessed memory, as to rectifie what he did by other mens Councils rather than his own; and conceal that action of his, which he was ignorant was so displeasing to the Senate; for it appears now, that therefore the Ambassadors we sent were debar'd his presence, lest the publick determination might come to his knowledge. It is for the honour of the past transactions, that you make no scruple to abolish that, which we will make appear, was no act of that Princes.

III. Such was the Plea, which this man of Policy and Eloquence made for his Religion; and 'twas the best the Cause would bear. Whereunto S. Ambrose, much advantag'd by the goodness of his Cause, return'd this following Answer.

AMBROSE Bishop to the most blessed Prince, and most Gracious Emperor VALENTINIAN the August.

WHILE the most excellent Governor of the City, Symmachus, hath made an Address to your Majesty, that the Altar, which hath been remov'd from the Roman Senatehouse, might be restor'd to its pristine place and honour, and you, O Emperor, though of green years, yet of gray-headed Piety have disapprov'd the Request of the Gentiles; in the same moment, that I heard of the Petition, I offer'd this Anti-remembrance, in which although I have taken care to insert whatever might be necessary to answer his Suggestions, yet I demanded a Copy of his Narrative; I do therefore in this Discourse answer all the Reasons of his Relation not out of any distrust of your Constancy in the Faith, but out of a provident Caution, and a strong Persuasion, that you will impartially examine the merits of the Cause, presuming to beg this one favour of your Majesty, that you would pass your Judgment, not according to the flourish and eloquence of the Expressions, but the weight and moment of the Arguments: For the Tongue of the wise and learned man (as holy Writ informs us) is as choice Gold, which being enamel'd with the Ornaments of Discourse, and embellish'd with the beautiful structures of Eloquence, as so many pleasing and well-mixt colours in a Picture, by these methods charms the Eyes, and so makes an entry into the mind, and by such representations engages the Passions, but the Gold, if you narrowly inspect it, though in its extrinsick value it be Money, in its intrinsick is but Metal. Examine, I beseech you, and canvass the Religion of the Gentiles; they boast of

of matters of great value and excellence, but in truth they defend what is enfeebled, and worn out with old age, and incapable to prove truth on its side; they talk of God, but they adore Idols.

Three things the most excellent Prefect of the City hath made use of in his Relation, upon which he lays the greatest stress of his Defence; that Rome, as he says, is an humble suppliant for the retrieval of her ancient Rites, that it is injustice to alienate the Patrimony of the Priests, and the Vestal Virgins; and that when the attempt was made, there hapned a general Famine. In the first Proposition the Venerable Metropolis of the Empire is introduc'd, cover'd with tears, and expressing her griefs in a passionate and persuasive Oration, requiring the Restoration, as he makes her speak of her pristine Ceremonies, for that this was the Religion that expell'd Hannibal from the Walls, and recovered the Capitol out of the hands of the Gauls. By which method of reasoning, while he strives to magnifie the piissance of the Gentle Deities, he betrays their impotence; did not Hannibal a long time insult, and trample on the Roman Rites, and though your gods fought against him, did he not so successfully pursue Victory, that he encamp'd his triumphant Army under the very Walls of the City. Why did they suffer themselves to be Besieged, for whom their gods took up Arms? As for the Gauls to what purpose is it to speak of them, whom the shattered relics of the Roman Forces had never been able to have oppos'd, had not their Enemies been betrayed by the noise of the affrighted Geese? See what Guardians are deputed to the Charge and Tutition of the Roman Temples. Where was your ador'd Jupiter at that time? Was it he who in the shape of a Goose called Manlius to the rescue of the Capitol? but why should I deny, that the Heathen Rites have given assistance to the Roman Arms? For even Hannibal himself worship'd the same mock-Deities. Let them therefore choose which they will own, if the Heathen Ceremonies were triumphant in the Roman Conquest, they were overcome and baffled in the Carthaginians; if the men of Carthage by the assistance of their gods got the Victory, what advantages did the Inhabitants of the Roman Empire receive from the same tuition? Let therefore that invidious Complaint of the Roman People be sifted, that great City never issued out any such Commission; but with greater reason addresses her self to her Children in a far different harangue.

"To what purpose do you tire me with your multiplied Sacrifices, and dye me with the blood of the innocent Herd? The Trophies and Signs of Victory are not legible in the Fibres of a Beast, but in the courages of the Militia; I used other methods of Discipline, when I put on Laurel for the conquest of the World. It was the valour of Camillus, that de-seated that triumphant Army, which had taken possession of your Walls and the Fortifications of the Capitol, and retriev'd those Standards which the Gods themselves could not defend, and those whom Religion was too weak to affright, his bravery destroyed. Why should I remark the achievements of Attilius Regulus, who conquer'd for the Romans by dying for them? Scipio Africanus won his glory not by lying prostrate before the Altars in the Capitol, but by charging the Troops of Hannibal, and reaping Triumphs with his Sword. Tell me not that these were the observances of the Antients, I hate those Ceremonies that were used by the Nero's. Why should I mention those Emperors whose Reign was of no longer duration than a month or two, and whose Funerals immediately succeeded their assuming the Royal Purple? Or is that a new thing, that the Barbarians

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"have deserted their own Habitations to make Irruptions into the Roman Territories? Were those Emperors Christians, when by an unparallel'd but miserable example, the Father wore Chains in Persia, while his Son trampled on the Liberties of the Senate and People, and gave mankind a Specimen, that the promises of Victory which the Augurs made them, were vain and fallacious? Was there not at that time an Altar of Victory? I am ashamed of my former failings, and notwithstanding my gray hairs, these Reflections cover me with blushes. I am not troubled to be with the rest of the World, a convert in my old Age, and the reason is, because it is never too late to be wise, and to be good. Let those aged Persons blush, who are past the hopes of amendment. 'Tis not length of years, but Piety of manners that gives an honourable Character; nor is it a disgrace to change at any time for the better. In this only was my condition on like that of the Barbarians, that I had no knowledge of the true God.

The manner of your Sacrifice, is to be sprinkled with the blood of slaughtered Cattel; and is it reasonable to expect the Oracles of the living God from the entrails of a dead Beast? Come and learn on Earth the practice of an heavenly Warfare, we reside in this World, but there is the Scene of our engagements. Let me learn the Mysteries of Heaven from that God, who made me, not from man, who cannot give a rational account of himself; who can give an account of God better than himself? And how should I credit you, who confess your selves, that you understand not what you adore? For, says he, one day's Journey will never bring a man to the acquaintance of such grand Mysteries; but what you are ignorant of, that we understand by divine Revelation; and what you seek for by conjectures and guesses, that we are assured of by the Wisdom and Veracity of our God. In these things therefore there is no agreement between you and us. You are suppliants to the Emperors, that they would be favourable to your Gods, but we are Petitioners to the Son of God, that he would be propitious to the Emperor; you first make a God, and then adore it, but we think it a great injury to the Deity to imagine, that that must be accounted a God, which owes its being to a man. God is not willing to be worship'd in Images cut in stone; nay your very Philosophers make a sport of such ridiculous observances. But if you therefore deny Christ to be God, because you cannot believe that God could dye (for you are ignorant that it was only his humane Nature that fill under the Power of the Grave, while his Dignity was exempted, which hath now rescued all his Followers that believe in him from death) who can betray more imprudence than you, who when you pay your Devotions, affront the Deity, and derogate from his worth, while you pretend to treat him with honor, as you do in making a Block your God, and paying divine Honors to it; a most disgraceful piece of worship. And while you refuse to believe that Christ could dye, do you not by this very obstinacy do honor to him?

But the antient Altars (as he goes on) ought to be restor'd to the Images, the ornaments to the Temples. Let them tender such a Petition to an Heathen Prince, a Christian Emperor knows no honor due to any but the Altar of Christ Jesus. Why do they compel the hands and mouths of holy men to administer to the promotion of their sacrilegious Designs? Let the Tongue of our Prince be employed in re-sounding the Praises of his Saviour, and celebrate him only, whose goodness he experiments, because the heart of the King is in the hand of God. Did ever any of the Hea-

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then Emperors erect an Altar to Christ? While therefore they Petition for the Restoration of what was formerly theirs, they give the Christian Emperors an encouragement by their example to consider, what defence they ought to pay to the Religion, which they profess, while the Gentiles postpone all things to their Superstition. While we have begun, let us go on; we (being excluded) glory in our Sufferings, they are troubled at their losses, and what they account an injury, we reckon among our Trophies; they never did us greater honors or favors, than when they pass their Edicts, that all the Servants of Christ should be scourg'd, should be banish'd, should be martyr'd; what their infidelity thought a punishment, that Religion turn'd into a blessing; view those men of invincible courage, and you'll find our belief has been encreas'd and propagated by Injuries, Poverty, and death it self; while they are persuaded, that unless their Religion be maintained by the publick, it can no longer continue in being.

Let, says he, the Vestal Virgins enjoy their Immunities. Let those discourse at that rate, who cannot be convinc'd, that Virginity may be preserved without a recompence to encourage the undertaking, let those give Money to maintain Chastity, who distrust the strength of their Virtue. And yet what is the number of those Virgins, who are thus hired to maintain their Purity? When you reckon all that are admitted Vestals, you can scarce find seven who have taken the Vows upon them; and yet these are the multitude of Votaries, who are known to be of this Society by the peculiar dress of their heads, by the pompousness of their Purple Robes, by their numerous attendants on each side of their Chaires, by their great Privileges, and their rich Revenues, and by a set number of years, which they are obliged to consecrate to Virginity; let them but seriously contemplate, and look on our Professors, they may see all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities in love with Modesty, Chastity, and Virginity; the curious filleting of their hair is far from being an ornament of their heads, let them put on a coarse Vail, that may become famous by its serviceableness to the interests of Chastity; a Virgin is then best adorn'd, not when she strives to augment, but when she fights the charms of her beauty, 'tis not the richness of their Purple, nor the delicacies of Luxury, but frequent Fastings, and continued Mortifications, that give a lustre to their performances, not their Privileges, nor their Revenues; to conclude, all the Practices of our Virgins are such, that you would think the design of advancing Chastity is rather hindered and restrained, while the Duties of it are exercised; but on the contrary, while the Offices of Chastity are performed, the study of it is promoted; for Chastity is truly advanc'd by that, which to you seems to destroy it. She is not a Virgin, who is sway'd by profit, not by the Dictates of Virtue to be so, nor is that true purity, which must be purchas'd for such or such a time, by those that will offer most to maintain it. The first Victory that true Chastity makes, is to subdue the love of Money, for covetousness is the greatest Enemy to, and most potent supplanter of modesty.

But let us take it for granted, that the Virgins ought to be maintained at the charge of the Publick; how shall the Christian Votaries be taken care of, what Exchequer shall be sufficient to provide for them? Or if they answer, that these endowments are the peculiar Patrimony of the Vestals, are they not asham'd, who usurp'd the whole income under the Heathen Emperors, not to permit us to be sharers with them under those who are Christians? They also make complaints that the Priests, and other Officers of Religion are not provided for at the publick Charge, and want that Alimony

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which is their due; and upon this subject what a noise, what a multitude of complaints disturb our ears? While on the contrary by some late made Laws, the Religious among us are denied the privilege of being incof'd in private Patrimonies, and no man complains, for we never reckon such things as injuries, because we are never troubled at our loss. If any man, being a Priest, plead his privilege, thereby to be exempt from secular Offices, he must upon that account renounce his whole Estate, both what was deriv'd to him from his Ancestors, and what was the product of his own industry.

Had the Gentiles such an occasion of complaint, with what aggravations would they inveigh against it, that a Priest could not purchase the Privacy and Exemptions of his Ministry with less than the loss of his whole Patrimony, nor maintain his commerce with Heaven, without the forfeiture of his earthly Possessions, while he that watches and prays for the publick Safety, must embrace domestick Poverty as his recompence, comfort himself with the Conscience of having gotten praise, but done nothing that might prostitute the honour of his Ministry? And now compare the cases, you are willing to excuse civil Officers, but the Church shall have no power to excuse a Priest. The Officers of the Heathen Temples are not denied the benefit of last Wills and Testaments, the most prophane, the most profligate, and the vilest of men are allowed that privilege, only the Clergy are exempted from having a share in that common right, who are the only men that intercede with Heaven by their Supplications for the common good, and by all their actions promote it. They are made incapable of Legacies and Donatives, even of rich and charitable Matrons; and whereas they lie under no impeachment against their manners, their very office and employment is enough to subject them to this punishment; if a Christian Widow should bequeath anything to a Heathen Temple, that conveyance stands good in Law; but if she gives a Legacy to the Ministers of the true God, 'tis void and of no effect, which I mention not to vent my passion against the Law, but that they may know, though we have cause, yet we make no complaints, for I had rather our Revenues should be diminished, than our respect. But it is objected, that whatever has been given, or bequeath'd to the Church, hath not been violated; and let themselves tell us, whoever robbed and took away such endowments from their Temples, when yet the Christian Church hath been a sufferer in that kind. And if such things had been done to the Gentiles, it had been rather a requital of an old, than a doing of a new injury; and do they now at length complain of their hard usage, and demand Equity? Where was this Equity then, when the poor Christians after they were strip'd of their Estates, were denied also the very privilege of Life, and by a piece of unpractis'd barbarity, were debar'd the benefit of Sepulture, which was every man's birthright? While those whom the Gentiles tumbled headlong into the Sea, the Waves more kind than their Persecutors, brought back again to the shore in order to their Interment. And this also is a new Victory of our Faith, that they themselves now condemn those inhumane Actions of their Ancestors: and (with shame to them be it spoken) what reason is there that they should beg the continuance of their Offices, whose actions they condemn. And yet after all, no man ever yet denied the Temples their Offerings, or the Priests their Legacies; their Lands only are taken away from them, because what they held by the title of Religion, they used only to irreligious purposes. They who plead our example for enjoying such Estates, why do they not also dispose of them to such good ends

as we do? *The Church hath no Patrimony but her Faith, that is her Rent, that her Income; the Lands of the Church are the Possessions of the Poor.*

Let them tell me what Captives were ever redeem'd, what Hospitals maintain'd, what Exiles provided for by the Incomes of the Temples? *The Estate is taken from them, but put to the right use. Behold this is the Crime, this the Sacrilege which Heaven is said to be angry for, and nothing less than a publick Famine can expiate, because whatever serv'd to advance the interests of the Priests, was the cause of general advantages to the People.*

For this reason, say they, did the languishing multitude rend the shrubs, and then suck the juice of them; and being forc'd from their better food, were made fellow-Commoners with the Herd, necessity compelling them to feed on Acorns; strange Prodigies forsooth, and such as never happened while the World was enslav'd to the Gentile Superstition; whereas in truth long before this the covetous Husbandman hath been deceiv'd of his hopes, and his expectations have been blasted like the Corn, on which he depended; and how came it to pass, that the Oaks were accounted Oracular among the Greeks, but because in those days they look'd on it as an extraordinary favor of the Gods, to direct them to the use of such meat as grew in the Woods? for even such things do they reckon among the largesses of their Gods. Who but the Gentiles ever worship'd the Oaks of Dodona's Grove, while they upon such sorry Food were content to bestow the name of the holy Grove? It's not therefore likely, that their angry Gods did inflict that as a punishment, which the same Gods formerly were accounted to bestow as their peculiar favours; and what Justice is there, that they out of resentment of the injuries done to a few Priests who had lost their livelihood, should take a pet against all mankind, and plague them with a Famine; why should their revenge be more rigorous than the Crime? The provocation therefore was not great enough to make the whole World uncase, by deceiving it of its hopes in annihilating the happy Possessions of a plentiful Harvest. And in truth long before this had the Gentile Temples lost their Privileges throughout the World, and was it never in the thoughts of the Gods to revenge the affronts put upon them till now? was it for this cause, that the Nile did not swell according to its wonted course? was it to revenge the losses of the Roman Priests, when it never did so, to vindicate the Cause of its own Priests at home, who yet were involv'd in the same Calamities? But let us take it for granted, that the last year the gods appeared to their own Vindication, how comes it to pass that this year they are so impotent and despicable? for now the Boars are not necessitated to feed on the Roots of Herbs, nor are their greatest Dainties Herbs; nor the Fruits that grow on Thorns, but being happy beyond expectation, they admire the plenty of their Harvests, and with this year's extraordinary increase, make Compensation for the last years Fasting; thus has the earth paid what she owed us with Interest.

What man therefore is so unacquainted with the accidents of humane Life, to be astonish'd at the difference of Seasons in point of Fertility? yet even the last year in more than a few Provinces the Crop was abundant; what, shall I mention France more fruitful than usual, Pannonia sold the Surplusage of their Corn, which was left after they had sown their ground, and the Country of the Grisons in point of plenty became the envy of her neighbors, for whereas heretofore it was secur'd and fenc'd from in-roads by its barrenness, now by its wonderful Fertility it gave occasion to its enemies to invade

invade it; and all Liguria and the Country of the Venetians lived upon the income of that Harvest; it was not therefore Sacrilege, that blasted the former year, nor Religion that caused every thing the next year to flourish; they may also deny, that the Vineyards were prosperous, whereas we know, that the Vintage made us happy with an extraordinary increase, of which we reap the advantages.

The last, and most cogent Argument is yet left for a reserve, whether you, O Emperor, are not bound in Honour and Conscience to restore those Endowments, which have prov'd so beneficial to your selves; for, says he, let the gods be your Guardians, and let us have the liberty to adore them. This is that, O most Christian Princes, which we cannot endure, because they upbraid us with the Sacrifices they offer to their Deities for your welfare, and against your Commands commit the most notorious Sacrilege, taking your connivance for consent. Let them keep their titular Deities to themselves, let them, if they be able, defend their own Potaries, and if they want power to protect their bigotted Proselytes, how can it be expected, they should superintend your Affairs, who slight their Worship?

But, says he, we ought in civility to maintain those Rites, which our fore-fathers establish'd, and why so? is it because all things grow to perfection, as they grow in years? Was not the World at first one confused and indigested Chaos, in which all lay buddled together without form and order, and did it not look beautiful when the hand of God made a separation between Heaven, Earth, and Sea, and confin'd each within its proper bounds? When the Earth being newly risen out of its moist bed of darkness, wonder'd to see a bright Sun darting its benign and enlightning Beams upon it. Even in the ordinary course of nature the day is usher'd in with an ambiguous light, and by degrees the Sun gets strength enough, both to enlighten and to warm the World. The Moon it self, the proper Emblem of the Church in the sacred Oracles, grows by degrees to its fulness, for renewing her light once every Month, at first the shadows of the night are too strong for it, and eclipse its splendor, but when a few days have fill'd her sharp pointed horns, and she lives at a distance from the Sun, she gives the night the assistance of her Beams, which supply the want of the day. The old World was ignorant of Tillage, but when once they began to understand the Art of Husbandry, and saw the face of this Earth cover'd with Corn, and the rude soyl clad with Vineyards, how easily did they, who observ'd it could be manur'd, put off their old brutish manners, and leave them for the civil Arts of Conversation and Society? Nay the Spring it self, which inclines mankind to a correspondence with nature, in process of time is covered with Leaves, that are ready to drop from the Trees, and brings forth later Fruits. And is it not so with mankind also, who in our infancy have the thoughts, and pursue the delights of Children, but when we grow to maturity, are ashamed of such impertinencies? If all things therefore must continue as they were at the beginning, then we have reason to be angry, that the Word broke from its dark Prison, to which it was confin'd, and exerted it self into the Region of Light, and Visibility. And is it not a nobler acquisition to set the understanding free from the night of ignorance, than to rescue the Earth from shadows and obscurity? and do not the Beams of Truth shine more benignly upon the mind, than the Rays of the Sun upon the Eyes? All things therefore in nature have suffered their alterations, that your gray-head'd Religion might also follow the Example. For those, who will be yet sway'd when the

Argument, let them be angry with Autumn, because being one of the latest seasons, it matures our Fruits, let them quarrel with the Vintage, because it happens in the declining part of the year, and let them slight the Olive, because it is the last ripe of Fruits; now our Harvest is the conversion of Souls, that they may be brought into the Church; our Vintage is the service of God, so as to inherit his savours, which service from the beginning of the World was eminent in a few Saints, but in these last ages is made known to the whole World, that all men might take notice, that the Christian Faith made its way even into the best cultivated minds. For that man cannot expect the Crown of Victory, who has no Adversaries. Whereas the sacred verities justly grew famous by baffling the Opinions that oppos'd their admittance.

If only the ancient Ceremonies are pleasing, why did Rome her self change her Rites of Worship? I omit to remark how the History of after ages alter'd their ancient course manner of living, by changing their homely Cottages into stately and pompous Edifices, why, that I may answer to the point, did they, who were fondly in love with every new Religion, admit the gods of their conquer'd Cities, together with their own triumphant Deities, and their foreign Rites into their Temples? How comes it to pass, that the goddess Cybele washes her Chariots in the River Almon, in imitation of what is done by the Priests in Phrygia? Why have we fetch'd Priests out of that Country to attend her Altars, and enfranchiz'd the Carthaginian Deities who were always lookt on as Enemies to our grandeur? The goddess, which the Africans call Urania, the Persians Mitra, but most others worship under the name of Venus, is the same Deity under divers denominations. And so was Victory lookt on as a goddess too, which is only a blessing given from above, but his no Empire of her own, and depends more upon the strength of Armies, than on the influences of Religion. That certainly therefore must needs be a venerable and potent goddess, who owes her very Being to the numbers of an Army, and the event of a Battel.

The Altar of this Goddess is petition'd for, that it may be neverettid in the Court of the Roman City. i. e. in that very place, where great throngs of Christians daily meet; every Temple hath its Altars, and there is an Altar in the Temple of Victory; because they delight in multiplicity, they everywhere offer their Sacrifices. What is this therefore but to trample upon the Christian Rites, while they are so earnest to restore the oblations upon this Altar. And can that be suffered, that a Heathen should offer his Sacrifices where a Christian is present? Let all who are present, says he, though against their wills expose their Eyes to be blinded by the fumes, their Ears to be polluted with the profane Musick, their Throats to be cramm'd with the Albes of the burnt Offerings, their Nostrils infected with the odours, and their Faces, though turn'd the other way, covered with the sparkles that arise from the Flames. Are they not satisfied, that our publick Baths, our Portico's and Streets are filled with the Images of their gods? And shall not the condition of every Person that hath a place in that Common-council be equal? Shall that part of the Senate, who have embrac'd Christianity, have their Consciences impos'd upon by the asseverations of those that make Protestations, and the Oaths of those that swear at that Altar? If they oppose such proceedings, they shall appear to betray a lye, and if they acquiesce, they shall countenance the Sacriledge. Where, says he, shall we swear to observe your Laws and

and Sanctions? Must therefore your determinations, which are included in the Laws, want a Confirmation from the Ceremonies of the Gentiles to oblige to fidelity, not only those that are present, but those also that are absent? And what is more, O most sacred Emperors, your own honour is affronted, for you compel, if you command such things.

The August Emperor Constantius of venerable memory, being not yet made a Christian by Baptism, thought himself polluted, should he but see that Altar; he commanded it to be taken away, not to be restored; that action of his carry'd its Authority, and Vindication with it; But this hath nothing of imperial Sanction to plead for it self; let no man please himself because this is wanting, for a man may be trulier said to be present, who is conversant with our minds, than he who is the object of our corporeal eyes; for the nearest Union is that of Souls, not of Bodies. The Senate meets only on the Summons of your Writ, and to you they swear fealty, not to the imaginary Deities; your Interests they prefer to their own, and Childrens welfare, but not to their Religion. This is a Charity highly to be desir'd, and of more value than the Power you enjoy, as long as Religion and Fidelity is preserved, which are the security of your Empire.

But perhaps it may move some to distrust, that so pious a Prince, [as Gratian] was so deserted and betray'd, as if the value of mens Merits must be estimated according to his present adverse Fortune; for what wife man is there, who hath not sufficiently experimented, that all humane Affairs run round in a Circle, and fall under various chances with respect to success, fortune never continuing kind to the same Person? Was there ever a more fortunate man than Cneius Pompey, who went into the World under the Protection of the Roman Deities? And yet at last, when he had won laurel for the Conquest of three parts of the World, being baffled, routed, and banish'd beyond the limits of his own Empire, he fell by the hand of an infamous Egyptian Eunuch. Could the Eastern part of the World ever boast of a more puissant Prince than Cyrus, and yet he, when he had triumph'd over all his Enemies, and yet spar'd the Subjects of his Victories, lost his life and honor at last by the assaults of a Woman? and that very King, who allowed his conquered Adversaries the liberty of Princes, having his head cut off, and thrown into a Vessel filled with blood, became the scorn of Female Pride, which bid him satiate himself with what he lov'd. So great a difference and variety is there in the lives and fortunes of such men. Was there ever any man a more exact and punctual Religionist, than the Carthaginian Captain Hamilcar, who in the midst of his Squadron, even during the Engagement, continually made his Oblations, and when he saw his Party routed, threw himself into the fire which he had kindled, that he might with his blood extinguish those flames, which he found too sadly to his cost were no way instrumental to make him victorious? To what purpose shall I mention Julian, who giving too easie credit to the Responses of the Augurs, depriv'd himself of the opportunity of returning out of Persia. Therefore the same kind of Suffering is not always the effect of the same sort of Crime. For our promises never deceived those that confided in them.

This answer have I writ to those who provoke us, as one who is no way provoked; for my design in canvassing this Address, was not to expose their Bigotry, but to confute their Arguments. And yet, Sir, this very Address of theirs, may well engage you to more caution; for whereas their Orator relates of your Progenitors, that the remoter of them were admirers of

of these Rites, the more immediate no enemies to them, and presently adds, If the Piety of the Ancients does not incline you, let the connivance of your nearest Relations encourage you; be plainly instructs you what veneration you owe to the Christian Faith, not to countenance the Gentile Rites; and what to Piety, not to violate your Brother's Injunctions. For if they think it a sufficient Argument for the promoting their Cause, to plead the connivance of those Princes, who though they were Christians, yet made no alteration in the Gentile Ceremonies, how much more are they obliged to think it reasonable that you should pay this respect and kindness to your Brother? that although you did not really like what he had done, yet you should connive at it, that you may not put an affront upon his Laws, but that you should ratify and confirm what you are convinc'd, is at once a demonstration of your own Piety, and an instance of love and kindness to your Brother.

IV. THE Emperor was abundantly satisfied with this excellent Reply, and so the Petition fell to the ground; and Symmachus himself was in danger to have done so too, being accus'd to the Emperor for pulling Christians out of their Churches, and casting them into Prison; yea, that he had apprehended the Bishops of the neighbouring Cities, and had imprison'd them; whereat *Valentinian* was greatly angry with the Provost, commanding the Persons to be releas'd. All which Symmachus wip'd off in a Letter ^a to the Emperor, shewing, that the whole was a feign'd Scene of pure Malice and Envy, founded upon no other pretence, than a strict Inquisition his Majesty had commanded him to make, for some Furniture that had been embezzel'd; that as to the Charge, he was sufficiently vindicated by the Letter of Pope *Damasus*, clearing him from any rugged or injurious usage to his Party, by the judicial Acts upon Record, and by the Testimony of the *Prætorian Prefect*, to whom the Emperor had referred the Examination of the Case. Afterwards upon occasion of a Warrant directed to the Counts *Jovinus* and *Gaudentius* to deface the Pagan Temples, Symmachus renew'd ^b his Petition, and that too in the name of the Senate, for the Altar of Victory, in an Address to *Theodosius*, but with no better success than before. For S. Ambrose (the Court then being at Milan) presently undertook the Cause, and manag'd it before the Emperor with so much acuteness and dexterity, that the attempt vanish'd into nothing, and Symmachus himself for his insolent undertaking, was thrust out of the Emperor's presence, and commanded to be put into a naked Coach without any Trimming or Ornaments, and that very day to be carried an hundred Miles out of Town, and there to remain in a kind of Banishment. And what further encreas'd the displeasure against him at Court, was this; When *Maximus* march'd into Italy, Symmachus complemented ^c his arrival in a flattering Panegyrick, for which he was charg'd with high Treason, and fearing the extremity of punishment, fled for Sanctuary to the Church, which before he had so much despis'd and scorn'd. But *Theodosius* inclin'd by the sweetness of his temper, pardoned him, in a grateful fence, whereof he published an *Apologetick* for the satisfaction, and in commendation of the Emperor, and so far wrought himself into favour, that not long after he had the honor of the Consulship conferred upon him. All which though happening at several times, we have here laid together.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

His Acts from his Contest with Symmachus till his second Embassy.

Symmachus the means of bringing S. Augustin to Milan. A short account of S. Augustin's first years, Education, Studies, and Religion. His coming to Rome. Sent by Symmachus to teach Rhetorick at Milan. Ambrose his kindness to him. Preparatives towards his Conversion. The strange and extraordinary manner of it. His Baptism and preferment to the See of Hippo. A Law publish'd at Milan in favour of the Arians. Benevolus stoutly refuses to draw it up. Attempts upon Ambrose. The Murmuring of the People quieted by him. The great numbers of the Arians at Milan. Ambrose challeng'd by Auxentius to a Disputation. His defence and answer presented in writing to the Emperor. A Church demanded for the Arians. His answer to the Emperor's Officers. His encouragement given to the People. Antiphonal Hymns introduc'd by him into the Church of Milan. This quarrel'd at by the Arians. The great Confusions in the City. Insolent demands of the Arians. Warrants for the seizing several Persons. Ambrose his answer to the Commanders concerning the Imperial Authority. Guards set upon his Church. His Sermon to the People at that time. The discourse between him and the Emperor's Secretary. His generous answer to Calligonus. The discovery of the Bodies of SS. Protadius and Gervadius, Martyrs in the Reign of the Antonini. Several miraculous Cures effected by them, reported by S. Ambrose, Augustin, &c. then present. The credibility of these Miracles, with respect to the State of things at that time and place. The Translation and entombing of these Remains, and S. Ambrose his Sermon upon that occasion. Several attempts made by the Arian Party upon S. Ambrose his Life.

I. **B**UT before we take leave of Symmachus, 'tis but just we should pay a Tribute of thankfulness to his memory for being though undesigningly, the happy occasion of converting the great S. Augustin to the Church, and that by the Ministry of our venerable Prelate. Augustin was a man of a great Wit, excellent Parts, and a complete furniture of polite secular Learning. He was born ^d at Tagaste a City in Africa, of honest Parents, *Patricius* and *Monica*, both Christians. but his Mother a Woman of incomparable Piety. As he grew up in years, he drank in Learning with a mighty thirst, wherein within few years he attained that eminency, that he taught Grammar in his native Town, and soon after Rhetorick at Carthage. For his Religion (though therein all possible care was taken of him by his good Mother) he had very little concernment, and to mend the matter, engag'd himself in one of the worst of Sects, that of the *Manichæes*, whereinto he was invigled by the Insinuations of *Fausus* Bishop of that Sect, then newly arrived at Carthage. Wearied out with the Wranglings and Contentions of the Schools at Carthage, he laid down his employment, and, contrary to the desires

^a Symm. l. 1. c. 10.
Ep. XXXIV.
p. 500.

^b 171. Praef. de p. nif. 23.
c. 38. p. 60.

^c Symm. l. 5. c. 14.
p. 273.

^d Possid. vitæ Aug. c. 1. Tom. 1. col. 860. Aug. conf. l. 1. c. 9. 8. &c.

fires and persuasions of his Mother, resolv'd for *Rome*, where he understood he might promise himself more quiet opportunities for his Study, where Scholars lived under a more severe and regular Discipline, and were more tractable and observant of their Masters. But he found not things to answer his Expectations; for having opened his School, he perceived 'twas the custom for Students to flock a pace to a new Master, but after a while to desert him, and run to another, and thereby defraud him of his Salary. This gave him enough of *Rome*, and it was not long before divine Providence opened a better way for him. For Orders being come from the Court at *Milan* to the Provost of *Rome*, to provide a fit Person to be Professor of Rhetoric at *Milan*, and to send him thither at the publick Charge, *Symmachus*, who had before particularly taken notice of him, pitched upon *Augustin*, and sent him thither, where he arriv'd about the year CCCLXXXIV. *Ambrose*, who knew how to value a Scholar, quickly cast his eye upon him, and entertain'd him with singular kindness and humanity, which made no small impression upon him. He duly attended S. *Ambrose* his Sermons, not out of any desire he had to be instructed in Matters of Faith, but out of curiosity to take the just measures of his Eloquence, whether it answered the Renown which fame had spread abroad concerning it. However he was caught when he least designed it, the holy man's Discourses making their way by continual droppings, till they reduc'd him to a right mind, and brought him off from all the lewdnesses of his former Life. One of the last steps towards his Conversion, was his renouncing *Manicheism*, and having got his foot out of that snare, he went over to the *Platonists*, entering his name among the *Academic* Sect, a Tribe of Philosophers of greatest vogue at that time. But he found no satisfaction there, and shortly after wrote against them. His Mother impatient of his absence, and passionately desirous of his welfare, was in the mean time come to *Milan*, where by her Prayers and Tears, by her Devotions both in publick and private, she ceased not to solicit Heaven for a happy success, and now she found the good effect of what a grave Bishop had long since told her, ^e when she unweariedly importun'd him to discourse her Son, in order to the reclaiming of him, *go thy way (said he) and compose thy self, for 'tis not possible that a Son of such tears should perish*. An answer which she receiv'd with a profound reverence, as if it had been an Oracle drop'd from Heaven. Great pains S. *Ambrose* had taken with him, and he had been plied with the Councils of good old *Simplician*, but still the Crown of this great man's Conversion was reserv'd for the more immediate hand of Heaven. In a great hurry and distraction of thoughts concerning his condition he retir'd ^f one day with his dear Friend *Alypius* into the Garden, where having spent some time, partly in Conference, partly in silent Meditations, he withdrew himself into a more solitary part to give vent to the Tumults and Agitations of his mind, and throwing himself down under a Fig-tree, began with abundance of tears to bewail that God still remembered against him the Iniquities of his Youth, beseeching him effectually to hasten his Reformation, that he might not put it off (as too long he had done) till to morrow, but that it might commence from that very moment. Immediately he heard a shrill voice in a kind of melody oft echoing to him, *take up the Book*

^a Confess. l. 3.
c. ult. col. 89.

^f ib. l. 8. c. 8. 12.
col. 143, &c.

and read. He did so, and the first place he cast his eye upon, was that of S. *Paul*; *Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envy; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfill the Lusts thereof*. He read thus far, and shut to the Book, and on a sudden all his dark thoughts vanish'd, and a light of joy and comfort overspread his mind. And now he resolv'd to quit his profession of Rhetoric, and intirely to devote himself to Christianity, and having continued two years in the state of a *Catechumen*, he was baptiz'd by S. *Ambrose* (which he was wont to glory in as no small part of his honour) and together with him his Son *Adeodatus* (whom he had by a Concubine that he kept) a Youth of fifteen years of Age, but of that prodigious forwardness, that his Father stood amaz'd ^g at the greatness and pregnancy of his Parts. But this too early ripe Fruit, God soon after transplanted into Heaven. Being thus baptiz'd, and confirm'd in his Religion, he return'd into *Africk*, was made Bishop of *Hippo*, and became one of the most famous lights for Learning and Piety that ever shin'd in the Western Church.

II. LOOKING back to *Milan*, we find the *Arians* getting ground. *Justina* had plied the young Emperor *Valentinian*, as to procure a Law ^h (bearing date Ann. CCCLXXXVI.) in favour of the *Arian* Party, and all that embrac'd the Faith agreed upon in the Synod of *Ariminum*, that they might freely hold their publick Assemblies without Interruption; and that whoever attempted to hinder the execution of this Edict, should be proceeded against as disturbers of the Churches peace, Authors of Sedition, and guilty of High Treason. *Benevolus* ⁱ Master of the Paper-Office, and a zealous Catholic, whose place it was to dictate and enroll the Laws that were pass'd, being sent for to draw up this Edict, refus'd to do it. The Empress gave him good words, and perswaded him with promises of better preferment; but the man was proof against those Temptations, and taking off his Girdle (which among the *Romans* was a sign of discharge from their Service) he threw it at her feet, and plainly told her, he would neither hold his present Office, nor be brib'd with any higher Dignity, as the wages of unrighteousness. He being dismiss'd, others were substituted in his place, and the Law was fram'd and pass'd. *Justina* thus arm'd with the Royal Authority, began to think of putting it in Execution. And first *Ambrose* is sent ^k for to Court, to try if any thing by fair means could be done upon him, the Emperor encompassed with his great Officers, treating with him in the Consistory about the delivery of the Church according to the Imperial Edict. The People hearing that he was gone to the Palace, flock'd after him in such vast numbers, as struck a terror into the whole Court, and when the Commanders and Officers were dispatch'd with a Party to suppress and stop them, they all offered themselves to Martyrdom. So that they were forc'd to intreat the good Bishop to use his interest with the People, to quiet their minds, and assure them, that the Church should not be invaded. With which assurance the multitude dispers'd, and that done, his Enemies at Court fail'd not to lay the envy of the Tumult at his door.

^g *Horat. lib. i. erat illud ingenium, & quia preter te tibi unum mirandum episc. et id. ib. l. 9. c. 9. col. 152.*

^h *Ext. lib. 16. c. 10. Tit. de Fid. Cathol. leg. 4.*

ⁱ *Soc. l. 7. c. 13. p. 720.*

^k *Amb. Orat. in Auent. ad calcem. Ep. XXXII. p. 127.*

* *ibid.* p. 126.* *ibid.* Ep. XXXII.
p. 121.

III. THE number of *Arians* daily increased at *Milan*, flocking thither from all parts, to shelter themselves under the warm wing of the Empress; and a Bishop they had now got plac'd over them; *Auxentius* a *Scythian**, who had fled out of the *East*, and finding the memory of *Auxentius*, S. *Ambrose* his Predecessor, still so odious and distasteful to the People, had chang'd his name into *Mercurius*. A bold man he was, and to give some reputation to his Cause, challeng'd *Ambrose* to a Disputation before the Emperor, having secretly design'd four or five *Gentiles* as Judges, who he knew would be ready to pronounce any thing on his side, and that the final Decision should be given by the Emperor. This S. *Ambrose* rejected as an unfit way, and an uneclesiastical method of proceeding, whereupon *Auxentius* began to triumph, and desir'd the Emperor, that he might be compell'd to dispute with him in the Consistory, in compliance wherewith a day was set, and *Dalmatius* the *Tribune* sent to him with a command to appear. "The holy Bishop thought it safest to return
"an answer in writing to the Emperor, wherein he humbly re-
"monstrated, that this propos'd method of disputing was contrary
"to the Laws enacted by his Majesties Father of blessed memory,
"which commanded that all matters of Faith and Ecclesiastick order
"should be determined by none but competent Judges, and who were
"of the same Profession, that is, that Bishops only should have the
"cognizance of Episcopall Causes; that this had always been the
"Law and Practice of the Church, which his Father would never
"violate, nay had expressly declared, 'twas none of his business to
"judge between Bishops, and this after many years Profession, and
"being baptiz'd into the Church: Needs therefore must his Majesty be unfit to assume to himself to decide the nicest Articles of
"Faith, who was himself unbaptiz'd, and a *Catechumen* in the Faith,
"and no doubt he himself would be of that mind, when age and ex-
"perience had reduc'd him to a more mature judgment of things:
"That he knew not who his Adversary was, nor whence he came,
"but that 'twas a sign he distrusted the goodness of his Cause, when
"he was asham'd to produce the names of those Persons, whom he
"had chosen for his Judges; that if the matter must be put to such
"an Issue, let them come to Church, and upon hearing, let the Peo-
"ple indifferently judge for themselves, if they shall like *Auxentius*
"better, much good may it do them, let them take him; but the
"People had already declar'd their sense, having earnestly petition'd
"his Father, that they might have him for their Bishop, and that
"Emperor had promis'd him all security, if he would but accept it;
"that he could not so far debase his Office, as to submit the Cause
"to a Lay-judgment, nor be so unfaithful as to refer it to the Ar-
"bitriment, perhaps of *Jews* or *Gentiles*, that he abhor'd the Coun-
"cel of *Ariminum*, and kept close to that of *Nice*, from which nei-
"ther torture nor death should make him flinch; if Disputes must
"be about matters of Faith, let them be in the Church, and manag'd
"by Bishops, the Course that had been ever held in the best times,
"in the Reigns of *Constantine* and *Constantius*: If *Auxentius* in this
"case appeal'd to a Synod (though 'twas not fit that so many Bi-
"shops should be troubled for the sake of one man, who if he were
"an Angel from Heaven, ought not to be preferr'd before the Peace
"of

"of the Church) he was ready to attend such an Assembly; let the
"sacred Law be reversed, and then let them try it; that he was most
"willing to have obeyed his summons to the Consistory, but that
"both the Bishops that were with him, and the People cry'd out,
"that questions of Faith ought not to be treated of but in the
"Church, and that to do otherwise, were to betray the Church of
"Christ: He besought him therefore to accept his excuse in not
"appearing at the Consistory, in which place he had never learnt to
"stand for any thing but his Majesties Rights, nor could he dispute
"within the Palace, the secrets whereof he neither did, nor desir'd
"to understand. All which he subscrib'd thus, *I Ambrose Bishop*
have presented this Libel to the most happy and gracious Emperor, Valen-
tinian the August.

IV. THIS free and impartial dealing let them see at Court, that fair means would never gain the point they aim'd at, and therefore they now resolv'd to proceed by force and cruelty, *Auxentius* moving that a Party of Souldiers might be sent to give him Possession of the Church; accordingly *Tribunes*^a were sent to demand the Church, and together with it the Plate and Vessels belonging to it, whereat the Congregation were infinitely amaz'd and frighted. But the holy Bishop calmly answered the Officers, that had the Emperor sent to demand his House or Land, his Money or his Goods, or any thing within his Power, he would freely have resign'd it to him, but the Church of God might not be robb'd or spoil'd, nor could he deliver that which was committed to him to keep, not to betray; that herein he consulted his Majesties truest Welfare and Interest, the things demanded being neither fit for him to deliver, nor for the Emperor to receive; that for the People, they should be quiet in their minds, his Life in this case was not dear unto him, and that he was secure in the care of the Divine Providence. 'Twas not a little observable, that one of the *Lessons* read^b that day in the Congregation was the Story of *Abel*, demanding *Naboth's* Vineyard, and the poor mans resolute answer, *God forbid it me, that I should give thee the Inheritance of my Fathers*. The pious Prelate was mightily animated with the passage, and turn'd it thus upon the Officers, *God forbid, that I should part with Christs Inheritance; if he would not that of his Fathers, shall I betray that of Christ? The Inheritance left us by our Fathers, Dionysius the Martyr, who dyed for the Faith in banishment, Eustorgius the Confessor, Myrocles, and all the rest of the holy Bishops of this Church: I have given an answer as becomes a Bishop, let the Emperor do as becomes an Emperor, Ple sooner lose my Life than the Faith*. And then he proceeded to improve the second Lesson, which hapned to be no less apposite than the former, being the Story of our Lord's whipping the buyers and sellers out of the Temple. The spirits of the People during this tragical and melancholy scene of things, were kept up and refresh'd with Divine Hymns and Psalms^c, at the end of each whereof there was a solemn doxology, to the honour of the holy Trinity, the People answering their part by turns: This way of *Antiphonal* or *Responsory* singing was generally practis'd in the *Eastern* Church, and had been lately introduc'd by S. *Ambrose* into the Church of *Milan*, being not till then known in the *West*, though hence soon propagated into all parts. The People were infinitely pleas'd and delighted

* *Or. in Aux.*
int. p. 126.
* *ibid. int.*
p. 121.* *ibid. p. 125.** *Paulin. ubi*
supr. p. 3. Aug.
Confess. l. 9.
c. 7. col. 153.

d. Ibid. c. 6.

delighted with it, and S. *Aurelius*, who liv'd at this time at *Milan*, confesses ^d he was so ravish'd and transported with the Psalmody of that Church, that it melted down his Soul into divine affections, and the holy Passion quickly vented it self into Rivers of Tears. The *Arians*, who with the Spider knew how to suck Poyson out of every Flower, said ^e, that this was but a trick of *Ambrose* to cheat the People, and to tie them faster to his Party: Whereto he replyed, That if he did cheat them, 'twas to their own advantage, the People by this means greedily learning, and daily confessing the Belief of the sacred Trinity, and becoming Masters in the knowledge of that, wherein they would otherwise have scarce been Disciples.

^e 1. Ep. XXXIII
p. 128. &c.

V. FOR some dayes together the City was full of confusion, Parties running up and down from place to place, the Courtiers and great men coming with Messages to demand the Church, and returning back with answers to Court, nor did they now content themselves with requiring the *Portian* Church that stood without the Walls, they would have the great Cathedral, newly built within the City. The Provost began calmly to perswade the Catholicks to quit however the *Portian* Church, but the People would not hear of it, so he went back to give an Account to the Emperor, S. *Ambrose* in the mean while entertaining the People with an Oration against *Auxentius*, wherein he gives them an account of what had pass'd, and the attempts of *Auxentius* and his Party. The next day, being Sunday, after Sermon the *Catechumens* being dismiss'd, he was gone to the *Baptistry* to baptize the *Competentes* that stood Candidates for that Ordinance; when he was told, that Officers were sent from Court to the *Portian* Church, that they had hung up Curtains, and that a great many of the People was flocking thither: He nothing mov'd, went on with the Divine Service, but before he had done, he was acquainted, that the People having met with *Casulus* an *Arian* Presbyter in the Street, had in a great rage laid hands upon him, and 'twas to be fear'd what might be the effect of an intemperate Zeal. Hereat the good man was truly troubled, and with Prayers and Tears besought God, that no mans Blood might be spilt in this quarrel, but that rather his own might be shed, not only for his Friends, but Enemies; and immediately he dispatcht away some Presbyters and Deacons, who recovered the man safe out of the hands of the People. The report of this Accident made a great noise at Court, and the louder we may be sure by being handed by inveterate Enemies. And now Warrants are sent out for apprehending, and arraigning several Persons, which fell first upon the society of Merchants and Tradesmen, and at this holy time (for 'twas now the great *Passion-week*) which was wont to be honoured with the release of Prisoners, nothing was heard but the rattling of Chains, and the requiring vast Sums of Money in a little time; which many profess'd they were ready to pay, and as much more if they pleas'd, so they might but be suffered to enjoy the Faith. By this time the Prisons were full of Tradesmen, and the Magistrates and men of Quality severely threatned, if the Church was not presently delivered up: The Persecution grew hot, and had the Church doors been set open, things had run into the utmost extremity of cruelty and confusion. The Commanders and Officers in the mean time treated

with

with S. *Ambrose* about this Affair, urging him with the Imperial Authority, that the Emperor in whose Power all things were, did but demand his Right: He replyed, "Did the Emperor demand any thing of mine, my Land or my Money, I would not oppose him, but those things that immediately belong to God are not subject to the Authority of the Emperor: If it be my Patrimony you seek, take it; if my Person, I am here ready for you. Have you a mind to hurry me to Prison, or to death? 'Twill be a kindness to me. I will not I assure you engarrison my self within crowds of People, nor fly to the Altar to save my Life, but rather willingly offer it up for the Altars sake. So heartily did the good man desire to prevent the shedding of Blood, and those quarrels and combustions, that were likely not only to ruine *Milan*, but perhaps *Italy* it self, which he was freely content to have redeem'd with the loss of his own Life. And espying some Officers of the *Goths* among the rest, he ask'd them, whether the *Roman* Empire had taken them in, to be the Incendiaries of the publick Peace? If these parts were ruined, whither would they go to find entertainment? Then they requir'd of him to reduce and quiet the Multitude. He told them, 'twas in his Power not to set them on work, 'twas in God's only to calm and pacifie them, but if they lookt upon him as the spring of the motion, they ought to proceed against him, either by death or banishment.

VI. WITH this answer they departed, leaving him in the Church, where he continued all day, and at night went home, that he might be ready, if they came to apprehend him. Early the next morning before break of day, as he was going out of doors, he found the Church guarded by Souldiers, who yet had plainly told the Emperor, that he might go abroad, if he pleas'd, they were ready to attend him, if he went to Church with the Catholicks; if not, they were resolv'd to go to that place, wheresoever *Ambrose* kept his Congregation. 'Twas a dangerous time, and the *Arians* wisely kept themselves within doors, having no great Party among the Citizens, but few of the Court, and some *Goths*; the main body of them following the motion of the Empress. While the Lessons were reading, he was told, that the People were assembled at the *New* Church, and that the Congregation was fuller than ever it had been in the most peaceable times, and that a Reader was call'd for. The Souldiers that were set to guard the Church, understanding the Bishop had ordered them to be excluded all Communion, came into the Church, whereat when the People, especially the weaker sex were affrighted, they had them not be afraid, they were come thither to pray, not to fight. The People however call'd upon him to go to the other Church, where the Congregation did earnestly expect and desire his Company. Then taking for his Argument the Lessons that had been read out of *Job*, he discours'd to them very appositely to the present circumstances of things, with what admirable courage and patience they had discharg'd themselves, how vigorously he had born up against all the temptations of *Satan* and his Agents, and the several attempts which the abusers of the Royal Authority had made upon him. Next he proceeded to explain a passage read that morning out of the *Psalms*, O God the Heathen are come into

thine

thine Inheritance, which he applied to the case in hand, especially to the *Goths*, and some other barbarous Peoples seizing upon the Church. He hop'd that in this time by the intercession of the Souldiers and Officers, and by the supplications of the People, the edge of the Emperors zeal might be taken off, when 'twas told him, that a Notary was come with Orders from the Emperor, with whom he went aside to receive his message, which thus began. What came into your mind (*said he*) thus to act contrary to Command? What was commanded (*replied the Bishop*) or what has been thus rashly acted, I know not. Why (*said the Notary*) did you send your Prefbyters into the Church? I desire to know whether you intend to usurp the Empire, that I may know how to prepare to deal with you. *Ambrose* answered, that he had done nothing in prejudice of the Church, that when he heard the Souldiers had seiz'd it, he had only entertained the news of it with a sigh, many had urged him to go thither, but he told them, I cannot deliver up the Church, and I may not fight for it; but that as soon as he understood that the Curtains which had been put up in the Church for the Emperor's apartment were taken down (which in truth the Boyes in wantonness had torn in pieces) he had sent thither his Presbyters, but refus'd to go himself, (though the People press'd him to it) saying, I hope in Christ, the Emperor himself will be on our side: That if this was Tyranny, he had Arms indeed, but only in Christ's name, power to offer his Body to the Sword; and if he thought him a Tyrant, why did he delay to strike? That 'twas even proverbial, that *Emperors were more desirous of the Priesthood, than Priests of Empire*; and Christ himself ran away, when they would have made him King; that he had his Tyranny 'tis true, but such as lay in weakness, according to that of the Apostle, *when I am weak, then am I strong*; that *Maximus* himself would not accuse him of Tyranny towards *Valentinian*, while he confess'd with some regret, 'twas by the power of his Embassy he had been kept from invading *Italy*; adding, that Bishops had never play'd the Tyrants, but had often suffered very hard things from them. The day was spent in mourning and sadness, and the Bishop forc'd to lodge in the Church all night, the Souldiers guarding it so close, that none was suffered to go out, so they pass'd the time in singing Psalms. The next day, being Passion-day, the Prophecy of *Jonah* was read in course, several parcels whereof he expounded and applied, and was upon that, that if the Prophet had so much pity on the short-liv'd Gourd, how much more should God have of so great a City, and that therefore he had remov'd the Judgment from it; when word was brought him, that the Guards were commanded off the Church, and the several Summs that had been exacted of the Tradesmen ordered to be restored. The whole City hereupon put on a new face, and every corner was full of gladness and joyful Acclamations, the Souldiers running up and down with the good News, and going up to the Altar, did by their kisses signify the publick peace. S. *Ambrose*, though sharing in the common joy, had reason to fear, that as to himself the storm was not yet quite blown over. He knew he was traduc'd at Court as a Tyrant, and when the great Officers press'd the Emperor to comply with the Petition of the Souldiers, and to go to Church, he had answered with

with some passion, *I believe if Ambrose should command it, you would deliver me up to be a Prisoner*. Words that prelag'd no kind intention towards him, but that 'twas evident, who 'twas that blew up the Coals. Nay *Calligonius* the Eunuch chief Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, than whom none better understood the Intreagues at Court, told *Ambrose* to his face, *dare you presume, while I live, to affront the Emperor? Tle take off your Head*. Whereto the holy man replied, *God Almighty, if he please, suffer you to make good your threatnings, I'll suffer as becomes a Bishop, do you what becomes an Eunuch: But from such God d'find his Church, upon me let them turn all their rage and spleen, and quench their thirst with my blood*. And the Divine Vengeance is singularly remarkable in this case. For this impotent Eunuch afterwards for attempting to ravish a Woman, was convict, and lost his Head.

Aug. contr. Julian. l. 6. c. 5. T. 7. col. 1117.

VII. THE People during these confusions attended the publick Offices with great vigor and sprightlines of Devotion, flocking after S. *Ambrose* where-ever he went. He had newly finish'd the Dedication of a Church^b, and the People call'd upon him to do the like to the *Basilica Romana*. He told them he was ready to do it, could he find any remains of Martyrs, which he might repose and bury under the Altar, which was the Custom of dedicating Churches in those dayes. Nor wanted he an opportunity, it being revealed to him in a Vision at night, in what place he might find them. Forthwith taking to him the Officers of the Church, and the Persons that waited there for imposition of hands, he commanded them to dig before the rails that encompass the Tombs of S. *Felix* and S. *Nabor* the Martyrs; nor had they dug far, when apparent signs shew'd themselves, and at last they discovered the bodies of two proper Persons, their bones intire, and both Corps all fresh besprinkled with blood, the head only of one severed from the body. These proved to be the bodies of S. *Protasius*, and *Gervasius*, the one beaten with Cudgels, and then beheaded, the other whipt to death with *Plumbate*, or scourges with leaden Bullets at the end of them; they suffered Martyrdome (as may be conjectur'd) under the Reign of the *Antonini*, and ever since lay obscure as undiscovered, though the more aged Persons upon this occasion call'd to mind that they had heard the names of these Martyrs, and had read their Inscriptions. For two whole dayes the People crowded to behold the relics of those venerable Martyrs, after which in the evening they remov'd them first into the Church of S. *Fausta*, where they watched all night, the next day they translated them into the *Ambrosian* Church, and God was pleas'd to honour the Solemnity with very signal Miracles. For one *Severus* a Butcher, who had been blind for many years, and by reason thereof had been forc'd to give over his Trade, and was maintain'd at the charge of several charitable Persons, a man known to the whole City, hearing the bustle made in the Procession, enquired what it was, and being told, commanded himself to be led thither, and pray'd he might but touch the Bier with his Handkerchief, which being done, he no sooner apply'd it to his Eyes, but immediately he recovered his sight. Several that were possess'd with evil Spirits, upon their touching the Martyrs Bodies, found themselves rid of their Tyrannical Inmates, and return'd home well. Towels and Handkerchiefs were brought and laid

^b *Amb. Ep. LXXXV. p. 222. Serm. XCI. p. 320. August. Conf. l. 9. c. 7. col. 153. de Civit. D. l. 22. c. 8. col. 1340. Paulin. vit. Amb. p. 3. vit. Martyr. Rom. lxx. XIX. p. 376.*

^c *Vid. Chrysost. Epist. CXXXVI. Tom. IV. p. 873.*

laid upon the Bodies, and many who did but touch the Cloaths where- in the Martyrs were wrapt, were presently cured of their Infirmities and Distempers. The truth of which Miracles are abundantly justified by S. *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and *Paulinus*, who were all then upon the place, and indeed were notoriously evident to the whole City, and twice the Subject of S. *Ambrose*'s Sermons. And I make no doubt but God suffered these Miracles to be wrought at this time on purpose to confront the *Arian* impieties, and to give the highest and most uncontrollable attestation to the truth of the Catholick Cause, so mightily at this time oppos'd, tradue'd, and persecuted. Indeed the *Arians* were strangely nettled at it, and knowing no better way to evade the force of the Evidence, denied that they were Martyrs, and when that would not do, boldly denied matter of Fact, that ever any such miraculous effects had been wrought, when as the Persons upon whom they had been wrought were at hand, and in the common view of all. A greater piece of infidelity (as S. *Ambrose* observes) than that of the very Devils that were cast out, who believed and trembled; the Devil confessing, what the *Arians* did deny. Nay they gave out^k, that *Ambrose* had hired Persons for Money, to feign themselves possess'd, and to say that the evil Spirits were tormented by the Martyrs. But Heaven soon confuted this malicious insinuation. For on a sudden one in the Crowd was seized with an evil Spirit, and cried out, that they were really tormented in the same way that he was, and that this should be the Portion of those that disowned the Martyrs, and disclaim'd the Catholick Doctrine. The *Arians* confounded with this Testimony, had no other way but to endeavour to stifle it, to which end they got the man into their hands, privately murdered him, and threw him into a Fish-pond. But to return.

^k *Paulin. ibid.*

^l *Ext. Sym. ubi sup. Ep. LXAN.*

^m *Sym. XCL. ib.*

ⁿ *Ann. 387. T. 4. p. 545. vid.*
^o *Not. ad Mart. Rom. loc. cit.*

VIII. THE Corps being brought into the *Ambrosian* Church, and the same of the Miracles noys'd abroad, S. *Ambrose* went into the Pulpit, and preach'd^l to them upon that occasion, taking for his Argument the former part of the XIX. Psalm then read; *The Heavens declare the Glory of God, &c.* which he manag'd suitable to that Solemnity. The Sermon ended, he would have proceeded to the interment of the Bodies, but the People unanimously besought him, it might be defer'd till the next Lord's day; at length it was agreed it should be done the next day, when S. *Ambrose* preach'd^m again, and pursued his former Subject, particularly reflecting upon the idle cavils of the *Arian* Party, and their prodigious obstinacy and incredulity, in rejecting such evident and immediate Testimonies from Heaven against them. So the holy Martyrs were deposited in Triumph, and laid up in expectation of a glorious Resurrection. And though *Baronius* to justify those Reliques of these Martyrs, which the Church of *Rome* shews at this day, saysⁿ more than once, that S. *Ambrose* reserv'd part of them both for himself, and for the use and ornament of other Churches. Yet sure I am, S. *Ambrose*, who best knew, says the contrary, that they buried them intire, and plac'd every joynt in its right order, *condivimus integra, ad ordinem transulimus*, as himself expresses it. The *Arians* however endeavouring to make head, were so overpowred on all hands with stronger evidence, and a better cause, that they thought it best for the present to let things

things sleep, and so the persecution ceas'd. Howbeit *Ambrose* wanted not Enemies at Court, that sought not only to murder his Reputation, but to take away his Life. Among the rest a desperate Assassinate^o prest into his Bed-chamber with a drawn Sword, and as he was sitting up his hand to give the Stroke, his Arm grew stiff and shrunk up. Amaz'd whereat the man confess'd, that he had been set on and sent by the Empress *Justina*, and upon his penitent Confession had the use of his Arm restor'd to him. Nor did they cease here, but rais'd up Hell it self, and set it on work against him. One instance whereof which the same Author reports, may suffice. After *Justina*'s death, *Innocentius* a Conjuror at his examination and torture before the Judges for the charge of Sorcery, answered not directly to the interrogatories, but cryed out, that he was extremely tormented by S. *Ambrose* his Guardian Angel, for that in the time of *Justina* to beget an ill opinion of the Bishop in the minds of the People, he had got up to the top of the Church, and there offered Sacrifice at midnight: Notwithstanding which and all the tricks of his black art, the People had still a greater reverence and devotion for him: That he had sent *Demons* to kill him, who confess'd, that they could not come near him, no nor near the door of his House, which was guarded round with fire, that scorch'd at a distance, whenever they attempted to approach the place.

^o *Paulin. ib. p. 4.*

Fff

SECT.

S E C T. V.

His Acts from his second Embassy, till the death of Valentinian.

The fears in Italy of Maximus's invasion. Ambrose prevail'd with to undertake an Embassy to him. His arrival at Triers, and dispute about his reception. The Discourse that pass'd between Maximus and him in the Consistory. The great freedom and impartiality of his Discourse. He refuses Communion with the Usurper. His return, and account of his Embassy. Dominus sent in his room deluded by Maximus. Maximus invades Italy, is encountered by the Emperor Theodosius, routed, and put to death. Ambrose his intercession with the Emperor in the case of the Jewish Synagogue. His plain dealing with him, and prevailing to repeal the Edict. The murder of the Emperors General at Thessalonica. Warrants issued out for revenge. The miserable slaughter committed in that City. The Letter of S. Ambrose, and a Synod to the Emperor Theodosius, suspending him from Church-Communion, till publick Repentance and satisfaction given. S. Ambrose his impartial discourse to him at the Church-door, denying him admittance. The great sorrow and repentment of the Emperor. His passionate desire of being reconcil'd. His absolution over confidently undertaken by Rufinus. The Emperor's coming to Church, and publick expressions of Sorrow and Repentance. His absolution. Admonish'd by Ambrose to receive the Communion without the Rails. His high commendation of Ambrose his courage and impartiality. Jovinian and his errors condemn'd by S. Ambrose and a Synod at Milan. Valentinian his expedition into France. Slain there by the treachery of Arbogastes. S. Ambrose his Oration at his Funeral.

I. **W**HEN a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh his Enemies to be at peace with him, yea, and sometimes to fly to him for advice and safety: Which eminently hapned in this case. News daily came to Milan of Maximus his preparations to invade Italy. They were infinitely surpriz'd and troubled at Court, and being in no capacity of defending themselves, threw themselves upon S. Ambrose, whom they besought to stand in the gap, and as he had successfully manag'd a former Embassy, so he would now venture a second time, and oppose himself against the Arms of the prosperous Usurper. The good man burying the memory both of publick and private injuries, readily undertook the journey, and arriving at Triers, where Maximus resided, the next day went to Court. He was met by a French Eunuch, chief Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, of whom he demanded, that he might have audience. The Eunuch ask'd whether he had any credential Letters, the Bishop reply'd he had. Whereupon the other acquainted him, that he could not be admitted but in Consistory, or the place of publick audience. He answered, that was not the way, wherein

* Amb. Epi.
XXVII ad Val.
trat. imp.
p 105.

Bishops

Bishops were wont to be treated, and that he had Affairs of importance that were to be privately communicated to his Prince. Then he went in to acquaint his Master, but brought back no other answer, to which the Bishop rejoyn'd, that this way of treatment was unsuitable to the Character that he bore, however he was resolv'd not to be wanting to the business he had undertaken, and was glad he had an opportunity of making his particular Concerns stoop to the interest both of his living, and his deceased Prince. Maximus being sit in Council, Ambrose was introduc'd, at whose coming in, the Prince rose up to give him the kiss, according to the usual salutation of Bishops and great men in those times. But Ambrose stood still among the Councillors, who perswaded him to go up nearer to the Throne, telling him the Emperor call'd him. What Discourse pass'd between them, was in this ensuing Dialogue. "AMBROSE. "I wonder you should offer the kiss to one whom you do not own, "for if you did, you would not give me Audience in this place. "MAXIMUS. Bishop, you seem to be much in passion. AMBR. I "am more ashamed than angry, to see my self in so unsuitable a "place. MAXIM. At your first Embassy you came into the Consistory. AMBR. That was no fault of mine, 'twas his that summon'd me, not mine, that came in. MAX. Why then did you come in at all? AMBR. Because I then came to require peace from you as "an inferior, now, it seems, as an equal. MAX. How do you mean "equal? AMBR. By the favour of Almighty God, who did not only give, but has preserved the Empire to Valentinian. MAX. "You have impos'd upon me, and so has Bauto, who under pretence "of securing the young Emperor, sought to transfer the Empire to himself, and to that end sent an Army of barbarous People against me, as if I had not Forces enough to oppose against him, having "so many thousands of those barbarous Nations constantly under my "pay. And had not I then been detain'd, when you came upon "that Embassy, who could have oppos'd me, or have stop'd the course "of my Victory? Ambr. Be not angry, Sir, there is no cause for it, "but calmly hear my reply. I am come, because you complain, "that whilst you hearkned to me at my first Embassy, you were deceived by me. But I account it an honour to undergoe all this "for the sake of an Orphan Prince. For whom should we that are "Bishops defend, if not Orphans? It being commanded by the Law "of our Religion, judge the Fatherless, plead for the Widow, and relieve the oppressed: And elsewhere, he is a Father of the Fatherless, "and a Judge of the Widows. But I intend not to reproach Valentinian with my good Offices. To come to the point; where did I "ever oppose your Army, and hinder your passage into Italy? What "Rocks did I throw in your way? What Forces? What Legions "did I encounter you with? Did I with my body stop up the Alps, "and render them unpassable to you? I would it were in my power "so to do, I should not fear any complaints or objections you could "make against it. With what promises did I ever delude you, to "make you consent to a Peace? Did not you your self send Count "Victor, whom I met not far from Mentz, to desire Peace? How "then did Valentinian deceive you, from whom your self first prayed "Peace, before ever he sent to demand it? In what was it that

F f f 2

Bauto

"*Bauto* beguil'd you, while he only testified his care and fidelity to his Master? Was it that he did not betray his Prince? What was it wherein I circumvented you? At my first arrival, when you said that *Valentinian* ought to come to you as a Son to his Father, I replied, it was not reasonable that an Infant Prince with his Widow Mother should pass the *Alps* in the extremities of Winter, and to do it without her, was in that juncture of Affairs to run the greatest hazard; that our Embassy was only for Peace, not to undertake for the Emperor's coming, nor could I engage for what was not within my Commission, and sure I am, I never did promise any thing in that matter, so that your self said, let us wait and see what answer *Victor* will bring with him, who while I staid with you, arrived at *Milan*; where his demands were rejected, and he was told, Peace was the business fought on both sides, and not the Emperor's journey, who could not stir; and I was present at his return. How then did I hinder *Valentinian*? After this, Embassadors were dispatch'd into *France* to deny them passage, and they met me at *Valentia* in *France*, and at my return, I found the passages of the *Alps* guarded by both Parties. How did I then divert your Armies? What Troops of yours hindered I from going into *Italy*? What *Barbarians* did *Count Bauto* send against you? Though it had been no wonder if he being by Nation a *Barbarian* had done it, when you your self threaten'd the *Roman* Empire with your barbarous Forces, whom you keep in pay with the Money that's usually levied upon the Provinces. See now the difference between your fierce threats, and the sweetness of the young Emperor *Valentinian*? Nothing would satisfy you, but with your *Barbarian* Troops to break in upon *Italy*, while *Valentinian* diverted the *Huns* and the *Alani*, who were coming down through *Germany* to fall upon *Gaul*. And wherein had *Bauto* been to blame, if he had set the *Barbarians* together by the ears? For while you made your self Master of the *Roman* Forces, and he on the other side prepares on all hands to defend himself, the *Juthungi* in the mean time waste the Country of the *Grizons* in the very heart of the Empire, and to suppress these *Juthungi* are the *Huns* call'd in, who when they were upon their march, and near at hand, were forc'd to retire, and desert their intended Conquest, that you might not be alarm'd and disturb'd. Compare the case; you caus'd the Country of the *Grizons* to be wasted, *Valentinian* with his own money purchas'd your Peace. Behold your own Brother, that stands there at your right hand, whom, when *Valentinian* might have sacrific'd him to his passion, he honourably dismiss'd back to you: He had him in his power, and yet at the very instant when the news of the bloody assassination of his Brother *Gratian* was brought him, conquered his just resentment, and generously scorn'd to repay like for like. Weigh the case, and be your self judge in this matter. He sent you back your Brother alive and well, do you return him his though dead. Why should you deny him the remains of his Brother, who did not deny you assistances against himself? But you are afraid that at the sight of his body, the grief of his Soldiers should stir a slish; for so you pretend, that they will revenge his death, whom they deserted

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"when alive. Why should you fear him being dead, whom you slew, when 'twas in your power to have preserv'd him? You'll say 'tis like, I did but kill mine Enemy: No, he was not your Enemy, but you his; he is now incapable of making, or being gratified by any defence that can be made for him. Consider but your own case. Suppose any one in these parts should at this time make Head against you, and usurp the Empire; I desire to know, whether you would account your self his Enemy, or his yours? If I mistake not, 'tis the Usurper makes the War, the Emperor does but defend his right. And can you deny his ashes, whom you ought not to have put to death? Let *Valentinian* have his Brothers remains, at least as pledges of the Peace. Can you pretend, you commanded him not to be kill'd, whom you forbid to be buried? Who can believe but you begrutch'd him his Life, whom you envy the ease and honour of a Grave? But to return. I understand you take it ill, that *Valentinian*'s Friends fled rather to the Emperor *Theodosius*, than to your self: And could you ever expect it to be otherwise, when you sent to demand those that fled, that you might bring them to condign punishment, and put to death as many as you got within your power, while *Theodosius* rewarded and prefer'd those that fled to him. *MAX.* Whom did I put to death? *AMBR.* *Bailio*, a gallant man, and a brave Commander; and was it cause enough to take away his Life, that he was faithful to his Prince? *MAX.* I did not command him to be put to death. *AMBR.* 'Twas so reported with us, that he was commanded to be slain. *MAX.* Indeed had he not laid hands upon himself, I had given order that he should be carried to *Cablonum*, and there burnt alive. *AMBR.* It was not then without ground, that the report went abroad, that you had kill'd him. And who could hope to escape, when so great a Commander, so stout a Soldier, so useful an Officer was put to death?

II. WITH this freedom and impartiality did the holy man treat the Tyrant, a man would have thought to the immediate peril of his head. But for that time they parted fair, *Maximus* promising to enter with him into a treaty of Peace. But finding afterwards that he refus'd Communion with him, and all the Bishops of his Party (who were generally of the *Ithacian* Sect) he grew angry, and in a passion commanded him forthwith to depart the Court. He wanted not Friends that advis'd him to look about him, there would be snares and ambushes laid for him, and that the Usurper was too much gall'd with his freedom and plainness, not to seek revenge. Before he departed, he interceded in the behalf of one *Hypsius* an aged Bishop, who was then ordered to be banish'd, that at least he might be furnish'd with Provisions fit for a Person of his Age and Quality, and not be thrust out without a Garment to cover him, or a Bed to lye on; but was repuls'd in his Address, and himself thrust out of doors. So he return'd to *Milan*, gave the Emperor an account of his Embassy, and withal advis'd him to be cautious how he treated with *Maximus*, a concealed Enemy, who pretended Peace, but intended War. And just so he found it. For not satisfied with *Ambrose*'s Legation, he dispatch'd *Dominus*, a prime favorite at Court upon the same errand, whom *Maximus* entertained with all the obliging Careless,

* 2. 1. p. 111.
1. 4. p. 114.

and demonstrations of Honor and Respect, and as a further instance of his kindness and friendship towards *Valentinian*, sent back with the Embassador a considerable part of his Army to assist the Emperor against the barbarous People that were then falling in upon *Pannonia*. Coming to the *Alps*, the Soldiers on a sudden as they had been commanded, secur'd all the narrow and difficult passages, which was no sooner done, but *Maximus* followed after with his whole Army, and finding no opposition, march'd directly into *Italy*, taking up his Quarters at *Aquileia*. The news of this unexpected surprize carried terror along with it into every place. *Valentinian* and his Mother fearing to fall into the Enemies hand, immediately took Ship, and fled to *Thessalonica*, whence they sent to the Emperor *Theodosius*, to represent the sad Circumstances of their Affairs, and to pray his speedy assistance before all was lost. *Maximus* in the mean while went on with all the rage and fierceness that could attend a conquering Enemy, filling all those parts with spoils and slaughter^b. And though we read not particularly that *Milan* suffer'd any thing in the common Calamity, yet was not *S. Ambrose* less affected with the Miseries of his Brethren, multitudes whereof were undone, others taken Captive, for whose Relief and Redemption he set all the Springs of Charity on work, and when all other methods of Contribution were exhausted, he broke in pieces the rich Communion Plate^c belonging to his Church, which he caus'd to be distributed for the Ransom of Captives. The *Arians* indeed afterwards laid this to his charge (twas the same Plate he had denied to them) but he despis'd their malice, and defended himself from the Piety and seasonableness of the Act. All this while *Theodosius*, though earnestly solicited, and though he had on purpose removed to *Thessalonica*, yet mov'd^d but slowly in the expedition, till falling in Love with *Galla*, *Justin's* youngest Daughter, a Princess of incomparable Beauty, he could obtain her upon no other Terms, than an immediate Prosecution of the War against the Usurper. And now the expedition went on apace, and *Maximus* suspecting that *Theodosius* would make his Voyage by Sea (as indeed he had put *Justina* and her Children on board to be ship'd for *Rome*) had made all his Preparations to encounter him there, when as he pass'd with his Army by Land through *Pannonia*, and the Straits of the *Apennine* Hills, and so came by surprize upon *Aquileia*, where a Van-guard of the Army entering the City, seize upon *Maximus*, pull him off the Throne, divest him of his imperial Robes, and bring him bound to *Theodosius*, by whose command, after some severe reproaches, but especially at the instance and clamour of the Soldiers, he lost his head. By which means the Fortunes of the Empire were happily resettled, *Valentinian* restored to his Dominions, and Peace to *Italy*.

III. WHILE *Theodosius* staid at *Milan*^e, news was brought him of a great violence and injury that had been offered to a Jewish Synagogue in the Eastern parts. For it seems some Christian Monks celebrating the Festival of the *Macchabees*, had in their Procession as they went about singing Psalms, been affronted by some Jews, and some of the Followers of the old Heretick *Valentinus*, upon which some Christians set on fire the Church belonging to those Hereticks, together with a neighboring Synagogue of the Jews. The Comes

^b *Paulin. cit.*
Ambr. p. 5. 21d.
Zonar. Annal.
Tom. III. p. 35.

^c *11 Off. l. 2.*
c. 23. p. 50.

^d *Justin. Hist.*
p. 76d. 37c.

^e *Paulin. cit.*
Ambr. p. 5. 21d.
Zonar. Annal.
Tom. III. p. 35.

Orientis presently sent a Relation of it to the Emperor, and the report lost nothing by going. *Theodosius* was highly exasperated with the Fact, and forthwith gave order, that the Monks should be proceeded against, and that the Synagogue should be re-built at the charges of the Bishop of that place. *Ambrose* was then at *Aquileia*, where hearing of the Case, he dispatch'd a Letter^f to the Emperor, beseeching him to recall his Edict, and to admit his Mediation, telling him, if he were not worthy to be heard in this Petition to the Emperor, there was no reason why he should be heard whenever he petitioned Heaven for the Emperor: he offered to take the Crime upon himself, and if the Emperor pleas'd, to undergo the punishment. 'Twas possible, he said, the Count of the *East* might make the Case worse than indeed it was; however, that 'twould be an intolerable scandal to Christianity, that Jewish or Gentile Temples should be erected out of the Revenues of the Church, and that the Patrimony of Christ should be thrown away upon Pagans and Infidels: the Jews might then justly put up this Inscription in the Front of their Synagogue, *TEMPLUM IMPIETATIS FACTUM DE MANUBIIS CHRISTIANORUM*; The Temple of Impiety built of the spoils of Christians. But for the present he prevail'd nothing, till shortly after returning home, and preaching before the Emperor^g, he discours'd upon the wholsomness of Sacerdotal Reproof and Admonition, an Argument which he prosecuted with great life and vigor, and to the infinite satisfaction of the Auditory. In his Sermon he brought in our Lord thus speaking to the Emperor. *I rais'd thee from a very mean condition to the Empire, I deliver'd thine Enemies Army into thine hands, with all his Furniture and Preparation, and brought his Person within thy Power; I have plac'd thy Son upon the Throne, and caus'd thee to triumph without any labor or difficulty, and dost thou now cause mine Enemies to triumph over me?* He ended his Sermon, and as he was coming down the Stairs, Bishop (said the Emperor) have you preach'd this against me to day? No, Sir, replied the Bishop, I have not preach'd against, but for you. I confess (answered the Emperor) I decreed hard things against the Bishop, when I command'd that he should repair the Synagogue. The Courtiers that were present told him, that the Monks however ought to be punished. Which *Ambrose* overhearing replied, my business at this time is with the Emperor, I shall deal with you at another rate. So he obtain'd that the Edict should be revers'd, nor would he go up to the Altar, till the Emperor had solemnly engag'd his Faith that it should be done, which he accordingly did, and then the Bishop went up, and administred the holy Sacrament, and the remaining Offices of Devotion.

IV. TWO years and longer *Theodosius* continued in the West, settling Affairs, diverting himself from place to place, and enjoying the Triumphs of his late Victory. During which time a sad accident^h happened at *Thessalonica*, that created him no small disturbance and inquietude, and which commenc'd from a small Original. *Buthericus* (who was Commander of the Horse in *Illyricum*) had a Coach-man, that burning with an unlawful and unnatural passion towards his Master's Butler, had solicited him to lewd Embraces, for which being accus'd, he was cast into Prison. It happened not long

^f *Paulin. cit.*
p. 128. 37c.

^g *Paulin. loc. cit.*
Ambr. Ep. XVII. lib. 2.
Edict. Paulin.
1614.

^h *Sord. l. 9. c. 23.*
p. 743. Theod.
l. 5. c. 17. 18.
p. 219. &c. Paulin. ibid. p. 4.
Rufin. l. 2. c. 18.
p. 232. Nic. ep.
l. 12. c. 4. 41.
after, p. 315. 37c.

after, that there was to be a famous Horse-Race in the publick *Hippodrome*, and this Coach-man being peculiarly expert at those kind of Sports, the People earnestly requested he might be set at liberty in order to it. But their Petition was rejected. The People impatient of denial, grew presently into a Tumult, assaulted *Buthericus's* house, and kill'd him, knocking others on the head, and dragging them up and down the Streets. The news hereof being transmitted to *Theodosius*, he fell into a grievous passion, and commanded that the Law of retaliation should be turn'd upon the City, and the Sword let loose upon them. *S. Ambrose* immediately stepped in, and vehemently interceded with the Emperor, and so plyed the business, that the Emperor promis'd to pardon the Riot that had been committed. But the Bishop being gone, the great Officers at Court deeply resenting the violence and indignity that had been offered to men in publick Authority, and considering what encouragement unpunish'd Villany might hereafter give to popular fury, press'd the Emperor to revenge, and obtain'd a Warrant for Execution, which was sent accordingly. And that the thing might be done more effectually, the People were invited to the *Circus* under pretence of publick sports, where the Souldiers without any warning broke in upon them, and making no difference slew all that came next to hand; thence they proceeded into the City, which they fill'd with blood and cruelty. Nor did Strangers fare any better than the rest, all Laws of Nature and Nations being at this time trodden under foot. A Merchant had his two Sons seiz'd, and hal'd towards Execution, the Father followed, and passionately begg'd their lives, praying that himself might dye in their stead, and offering the Souldiers his whole Estate into the Bargain. The most barbarous nature could not but relent a little at such a request, the Souldiers told him, their number must be made up, they could not dismiss both his Sons, one they were content to spare, and bid him make his choice. And now nature was divided, and began to contest with it self. The good man equally lov'd both, he sigh'd and wept, argued and disputed, but could come to no resolution within himself, nor knowing which to part with. And in this conflict of thoughts and passions he continued, till they were both slain before his eyes. In short, the slaughter continued three whole hours, and seven thousand were put to death, without any Trial or Enquiry to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent.

V. SO barbarous a massacre was infinitely distastful to all good men, and to none more than *S. Ambrose*, who was at that time Synodically assembled with several Bishops upon the occasion of some *French* Prelates newly arriv'd in those parts. They all bewail'd the horridness and inhumanity of the action, highly condemn'd *Theodosius*, "and committed the prosecution of the case to *S. Ambrose*, who "presently wrote to the Emperor, laying before him the aggravations of the Fact, and the violation of the promise he had made "to him, exhorting him by a publick and a sincere Repentance to "reconcile himself to God and the Church; a course indispensably "necessary, before he could admit him to the holy Eucharist, or the "communion of any of the divine Offices: That this was not the "result of any stubborn obstinate humour, it being no more than "what had been represented to him in a dream, wherein he had seen

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"his Majesty coming into the Church, at whose approach he had "been immediately forbidden from above to consecrate and dispencc "the holy Communion; that nothing but a hearty repentance could "restore him, which, if he gave any credit to him, he would immediately set upon, if not, he would not take it amiss, that he "prefer'd his duty to God before the respect that he owed to the "Emperor. *Theodosius* having read the Letter, began to be troubled, and to be uneasie in his own mind: He was a good man, and though naturally apt to receive quick impressions of anger, was as soon reduced to a just sense of things. He came back to *Milan*, and as he was wont, went to Church, but the Bishop met him at the Church-porch, and forbid him any further entrance. Perhaps *Sir*, (said he) you do not rightly apprehend the horribleness of the Massacre lately committed, for though the storm of your fury be blown over, yet reason has not yet recovered its sight, to discern clearly the greatness of the mischief. The Imperial lustre, 'tis like, blinds your eyes that you cannot see your Offence, and your power imposes upon your reason. But you should do well withal to keep an eye to the frail and corruptible condition of humane Nature, and to reflect upon that original dust, out of which we were all made, and unto which we must all return. Let not the splendor of your purple Robes hinder you from being acquainted with the infirmities of that body which they cover. You are, *Sir*, of the same make with those Subjects which you govern, who are not your Subjects only, but in some sense your fellow-servants. For there is one Lord and Emperor of the World, the great Creator of all things. And with what eyes then will you behold the Temple of this common Lord? With what feet will you tread his Sanctuary? How will you stretch forth those hands in prayer, that are still reeking with the blood of the innocent? How will you presume with such hands to receive the most sacred Body of our Lord? How will you lift up his precious Blood to those Lips, which lately uttered so savage a decree for the unjust shedding so much blood? Depart therefore, and seek not by a second Offence to aggravate your former fault, but quietly take the yoke upon you, which our great Lord has from above allotted for you. 'Tis sharp, but 'tis Medicinal, and immediately conducive to your health. The great Prince was amaz'd at so home and severe an entertainment; something he offered by way of extenuation, that even *David* had been guilty both of Murder and Adultery. The holy man replied, Him whom you followed in the sin, follow also in his repentance.

VI. THE Emperor now sufficiently sensible of his case, return'd back to the Pallace, and testified his grief by all the expressions of tears and sorrow. Eight months he remained in this penitential state, all which time he wore nothing but mourning Garments. The Solemnity of *Christmas* was now near at hand, at the remembrance whereof the Emperor then sitting in the Palace burst out into tears. *Rufin*, Controulor of the Palace, a bold man, and familiar with the Emperor, observing it, askt him what was the cause of his grief, whereat he fell into a more violent passion. "*Rufin* (said he) thou "dost but make sport and mock me, thou little knowest the troubles I feel: I weep and bewail my hard fate; servants and beggars may freely go into the House of God, and pour out their "prayers to Heaven, while the Church doors, and consequently the "Gates of Heaven are shut up against me: For I remember what our

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"Lord has peremptorily declared, *Whatsoever you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven.* If that be it (replied *Rufinus*) if you please, "Ple run to the Bishop, and pray him to release the Sentence. No, "said the Emperor, you will never be able to persuade *Ambrose*. I "know the justness of the Sentence he has past, and that he will never out of Reverence to the Imperial Dignity betray the Commands "of God. *Rufin* persisted in his confidence that he should prevail, and so the Emperor gave him leave to go, himself soon after following him, led with the assurance which the other had given him. *Ambrose* no sooner saw the Controulr coming towards him, but he abruptly broke out, "*Rufin* (said he) you have put on a shameless "impudence: You were the adviser of this Massacre, and now you "have laid aside all shame, and neither blush nor tremble at so "great an assault as you have made upon the Image of God. The man fell to intreaties, and told him the Emperor would be there by and by; "if so (said the Bishop) *Rufin*, I tell you plainly, I shall "forbid him to enter the Church-porch: And if he think good to turn his power into force and Tyranny, here I am, most ready to undergo any death he shall allot me. 'Twas no time to stand disputing, *Rufin* knew the Bishops resolution, and therefore dispatcht a Message to the Emperor, to let him know what had past, and to persuade him to stay at home. The Message met him just as he was coming over the Market-place, which when he heard, he replied, *I'll go however, and undergoe the shame I have justly deserved.* Being come near the Church he stopt, and addressing himself to the Bishop, who sat in a Room hard by, prayed he might be absolv'd. *Ambrose* bluntly told him, that his coming thither was a forcible and violent invasion, that he fought against God, and trod his Laws under foot. To which the Emperor calmly answered, "I do not affront the establish'd Constitutions, nor desire contrary to Law to "enter within the holy doors, I only beg to be releas'd from the Excommunicatory Sentence, and that herein you would consider and "imitate the compassion and tenderness of our common Lord, and "not bar up those Gates against me, which our Lord has set open to "all Penitents. What signs of Penitence (said *Ambrose*) have you "given for so foul a Crime? With what Medicines have you cur'd your "Wounds? 'Tis your part (replied the Emperor) to prescribe the "Remedy, to mix the Ingredients, to apply the Plaster; mine, to "submit, and comply with the prescriptions. Since then (said the "Bishop) you have let the Reins loose to rage and fierceness, and "that 'twas not reason, but passion dictat'd the Warrant, let a Law "be drawn up henceforth, to cancel all Decrees past in hast and fury, let all Warrants that touch Life, or forfeiture of Estates be "kept thirty dayes after signing, that there may be respite for a more "mature and deliberate Judgment; which time expir'd, let them "who drew up the Warrant, again present it to you; that so Reason "being freed from the fumes and clouds of anger, may impartially "weigh the case, and discern whether it be right or wrong; if it "appear to be wrong, it is plain, it ought then to reverse it, if right, "to confirm and ratifie it; and so by this delay, the affair will proceed with most advantage. *Theodosius* readily embrac'd the Motion, which he approv'd as useful and excellent advice, command-

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ing a Law^k to be drawn up to that purpose, which he immediately Sign'd with his own hand. This done, the Bishop pronounc'd his Absolution, whereupon he went into the Church, and there throwing himself prostrate upon the ground, cried out with *David*, *My Soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word,* and with all the expressions of a holy grief, tearing his hair, beating his forehead, and with tears running down his cheeks, begg'd pardon of God and good men. And when the time of offering came, he went up with tears to the Communion-Table, and having made his Offering, stood still within the Rails, as the Custom was for the Emperors to do in the Eastern Church. *Ambrose* either not knowing it, or taking no notice of it, ask't him what he wanted; he answered, he waited to receive the holy Sacrament; the Bishop sent the chief Deacon to him to let him know, that the places within the Railes were reserved only for the Clergy, that therefore he should go and stand with the rest without, for though the purple made men Emperors, it did not make them Priests. A rebuke which the good Emperor took with an even and composed mind, commanding them to acquaint the Bishop, that he had not taken that place out of any pride or arrogance, but because it was the Custom to do so at *Constantinople*, however that he thank't him for his Correction. And it made such deep impression, that at his return to *Constantinople* he always went and stood without the Railes; and when *Nectarius* the Bishop askt him why he did so, he answered with a sigh, that he had at length been taught the difference between a Prince and a Bishop, and had with much difficulty found a teacher of truth, and that *Ambrose* was the only Person he had met with that truly deserv'd the name of a Bishop. Thus ended the contest between *Theodosius* and *S. Ambrose*, wherein how far *Ambrose* overstrained the string, I shall not now dispute, remembering I here sustain the Person not of a Divine, but an Historian.

VII. WE mention'd a Synod that assist'd *S. Ambrose* in the Condemnation of *Theodosius*: It was at that time assembled at *Milan* upon this occasion. *Jovinian*, a secret Disciple of *Helvidius* had liv'd some years in *S. Ambrose* his Monastery at *Milan*, covering ill designs under a vail of Piety. At last he threw off his Monastick habit, putting on the most gaudy and splendid Attire, and indulging himself in all the modes and fashions, the pleasures and delicacies of a Secular Life. And because all was nothing unless he set up for the Head of a Sect, he vented such Doctrines as these; that Marriage was a state *Ceteris paribus*, of equal merit and perfection with Cœlebracy; that they who had been duly regenerate by Baptism, could not be undermin'd and subverted by the Devil; that the abstaining from some sorts of meats was no whit better than an indifferent usage of them, provided they were used with thanksgiving; and that all who were careful to live according to their baptismal Obligation, should have an equal reward in Heaven. And methinks had he taught no worse than this, he had not deserv'd to loud and severe an out-cry to be made against him. But it seems (as 'tis the fate of Seducers to wax worse and worse) he afterwards maintain'd, that the Mother of our Lord after the birth of Christ ceas'd to be a Virgin, and had other Children, and what is yet worse than that, that Christ did not take true flesh upon him. Being

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^k Ext. lib. 9.
Cod. Th. Tit.
40. lig. 13. &
Cod. Just. lib. 9.
Tit. 47. lig. 20.
in utroq; ta-
men loco nomi-
na Gratiani
& Celsi male
posita sunt.

fore'd to quit *Milan*, he fled to *Rome*, where he successfully propagated his Opinions, and wrote several Books in vindication of them. Pope *Siricius* presently conven'd the Presbytery of that City, and condemned him and his followers, an account whereof he sent by three Presbyters in a Letter¹ directed to the Church of *Milan*, where upon the arrival of some Prelates out of *France*, a Synod of the neighbouring Bishops was met about this matter. They read *Siricius's* Epistle, and then proceeded to a Synodical Censure, condemning the men and their *dogmata*, and then writ an answer² to *Siricius*, wherein they commend his care and sollicitude in his Pastoral station, his diligent watching over the Flock against the attempts of Wolves, after which they descend to a particular confutation of *Jovinian's* Opinions. What became of *Jovinian* afterwards, and how sharply he was taken up and treated by *S. Jerom*, but especially by the Emperor *Honorius* (who ordered³ him to be apprehended, whipt with *Plumbets*, or Rods with leaden Bullets, and to be banish'd into *Boas*, an Island belonging to *Dalmatia*, with severe penalties against his Disciples and followers) lies not within my compass to enquire.

VIII. TWO years after, viz. Ann. CCCXCII. *Theodosius* being return'd into the *Eastern* parts, *Valentinian* went into *France* to prepare for an expedition against the barbarous People, that were ready to fall in upon those parts of the Empire. Count *Arbogastes*⁴, General of the Forces there, a *Frank* by Nation, a man bold and rich, had by Bribes and other Arts of insinuation mightily endeared himself to the Souldiers, and upon all occasions took too much upon him, even in his converse with the Emperor himself. Princes are very tender of their Liberty, and the Royalties of their Crowns. *Valentinian* liked not a Controuler so near him, and had oft attempted, but in vain to shake him off. At length he gave him a Warrant to discharge him of his command. But *Arbogastes* bluntly told him, 'twas not he that had given him that Command, nor was it he that could take it away from him, and with that tore the Paper in pieces, threw it upon the ground, and went out; and within few dayes the Emperor was found strangled in the Palace, on Saturday, May the 15th. being then *Whitson-eve*. While he lay at *Vien* in *France*, he greatly desired to be baptiz'd⁵ before he engaged with the Enemy, and to that end had sent for *S. Ambrose* to come to him, whose arrival he passionately expected, thinking every day a year. The Bishop had put himself upon his Journey, and was got on this side the *Alps*, when he met with the sad news of the Emperor's death, whereat amaz'd, he returned back with a heavy heart. The report hereof being carried to *Theodosius*, he wrote to *S. Ambrose* to take care for an honourable Funeral, who in his answer⁶ gives him an account what Materials they had in readiness for it. The Body then being conveyed to *Milan*, was laid up in a Magnificent Monument, at the Interment whereof *S. Ambrose* preach'd his Funeral Sermon⁷, wherein he elegantly bewails the untimely loss of the young Prince, whose hopeful beginnings and excellent virtues he describes, and largely proves that the want of Baptism, which he had so earnestly desired and long'd for, should not prejudice his eternal happiness in another World, the merciful God in such cases accepting the will for the deed. Toward the conclusion he introduces his Brother *Gratian*

¹ Ext. Conc. T. II. col. 1023.

² Ext. ibid. col. 1024.

³ Vid. lib. 16. c. Th. Tit. V. l. 53.

⁴ Zosim. Hist. l. 4. p. 774. videlicet Epiph. lib. de Pond. c. Minut. p. 540.

⁵ Amb. de obit. Valent. p. 6.

⁶ Amb. Ep. XXXII. p. 132.

⁷ Orat. funeb. de obit. Valent. Imp. tom. 3. p. 3.

tian, welcoming him into the Regions of the blessed, between whom he runs a Paralel, and applies to them that of *David* concerning *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death (meaning as to the manner of it) they were not divided.

SECT. VI.

His Acts from the death of Valentinian till his own death.

Eugenius his usurpation of the Empire. His mean quality, and unsettled principles. His great favours shewed to the Gentiles. His approach to Milan. S. Ambrose his flight thence, and Letter to him. Routed and put to death by Theodosius. Ambrose his intercession in behalf of the conquered. The death of the good Emperor Theodosius at Milan. His Character. Vindicated from the Calumnies of Zosimus. Ambrose his stout defence of the privileges of the Church. Immediate punishment upon the violaters of it. Ambrose sent to by the Queen of the Marcomans for instructions in the Christians Faith. His sickness. An account of his last hours. His death and burial. His Character. The exemplary piety of his private Life. His behaviour in his Episcopal Station. His indefatigable Industry, Zeal, Courage, Impartiality; his Clemency to Penitents, sollicitousness for the Church, managery of publick Affairs; his Charity, and Hospitality. Dining on Saturdays contrary to the custom of other places. His learning, and quick Progress in the study of Theology. His phrase and style. His works, consisting of Tracts, Sermons, Epistles, and Commentaries. His making so much use of the Greek Fathers no blemish to him. S. Jerom's Pique against him. His fame and reputation in foreign Countries. A Journey made by some from Persia on purpose to converse with him. An account of his writings.

I. **V**ALENTINIAN being thus taken off, *Eugenius*¹ usurp'd the Empire: A Fellow of ignoble birth, and a mean profession, being no better than a Rhetorician, and a School-master; but withal a man of parts and subtlety, and who by *Schoen's* recommendation had insinuated himself so far into the favour of *Arbogastes*, that he took him into his most intimate Councils, and finding himself in a strait what to do upon the murder of *Valentinian*, he advanc'd him to the Empire. A man he was of no settled Principles in Religion, *Philostorgius*² says he was a downright Pagan, and they who speak most favourably, say³ he did but Hypocritically profess Christianity: So that the *Gentiles*⁴ began to conceive hopes of sheltering themselves under his favour and Patronage, and so plied him with their flattering auguries and divinations, that he inclined to them, and as an earnest of his kindness, granted (what they could never hitherto obtain) that the *Altar of Victory*⁵ should be restor'd, and the Charges of the Solemnities defrai'd out of the publick Exchequer. By this time he was advanc'd into *Italy*, and march'd

¹ Zosim. ubi sup.

² L. II. c. 2.

³ p. 527.

⁴ Soz. l. 7. c. 22.

⁵ p. 739.

⁶ Rufin. l. 2.

⁷ c. 33. p. 259.

⁸ Paulin. ib. p. 6.

march'd directly for *Milan*; but before his arrival *S. Ambrose* was gone to *Bononia*, whither he was invited to attend the Translation of *S. Agricola* the Martyr: Thence he went to *Faventia*, where having staid a few days, he was invited to *Florence*; whence he wrote a Letter ¹ to *Eugenius*, excusing his not staying till his arrival at *Milan*, and freely expostulating with him for the favour he had shew'd the *Gentiles*, giving him an account how unsuccessfully it had been attempted under all the Preceding Emperors, who had flatly reject'd the motion, and that himself had been the great instrument to oppose and overturn it. While he staid at *Florence* he dedicated a Church there, burying some of the Martyrs bones under the Altar, which he had brought with him from *Bononia*. There he remain'd till *Eugenius* left *Milan*, who departed to encounter *Theodosius*, who was said to be coming with an Army towards him. Strangely puff'd up they were with confidence of success, inasmuch that *Arbogastes*, and *Flavianus* the Gentle, and Prefect of *Rome*, threatned at their going out of *Milan*, that at their return they would turn the Church there into a Stable, and make the Clergy serve in the Wars. But the wise God defeated their impious purposes. For *Theodosius* coming upon them sooner than they expected, after a bloody fight routed their whole Army ², and a Party was dispatcht to apprehend *Eugenius*, who sat on the top of an hill expecting the issue of the Battel. Espying the Souldiers come panting up the Hill, and supposing them Messengers of Victory, he askt them, whether as he had given order, they had brought *Theodosius* bound? They replyed no, they had not brought *Theodosius* to him, but were come to bring him to *Theodosius*. So they pluckt him from the seat where he sat, bound him, and carried him to the Emperor, who having aggravated his Tyrannical Usurpation, commanded him to be put to death. Nor did a better lot attend his dear Friend and Patron *Arbogastes* ³, who flying from the Battel, spurr'd on with the fear of a conquering Enemy, but more haunted with the Conscience of his own Villanies, and not being able to flatter himself with any hopes, either of pardon or escape, two dayes after anticipated the publick justice, and made his own Sword the instrument of his Execution.

II. *S. Ambrose* (than whom none was ever more ready to promote Offices of mercy) being advertiz'd ⁴ by the Emperor of the Victory, dispatcht Letters to Court to intercede for these that had been engaged in the late Rebellion, such more especially as had fled for Sanctuary into the Church. And to make all sure, himself went to *Aquileia* for that purpose, where his mediation could not fail of a desired Success, the good Emperor falling down upon his knees before him, and freely owning, 'twas by his prayers and intercession with Heaven he had got the Victory. *Ambrose* came back to *Milan*, whom the Emperor followed the next day, whither his Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius* (or one of them atleast) soon after came to him from *Constantinople*, whom he received publickly in the Church, recommending them to *S. Ambrose* his care and prayers. He staid at *Milan*, and the following year fell sick in the midst of the publick joyes and triumphs. In his sickness he frequently sent for, and convers'd with *Ambrose*, to whom he express'd a greater concernment for the good of the Church, than for the affairs of the Empire; for the ease of his People, he releas'd the

Taxes

Taxes that were unpaid, for the security of his Enemies, he pass'd an Act of pardon and indemnity, and for the common settlement divided the Empire between his two Sons, committing them to the care of *Count Stilicho*, whom he made their Guardian. He dyed *January* the XVII. *Ann.* CCCXCV. to the ineffimable loss of the whole *Roman* Empire, and especially of the Catholick Church, to which he was ever a true nursing Father. His Corps was afterwards carried to *Constantinople*, but the Solemnities of his Funeral were kept at *Milan* on the fortieth day after his death, where *S. Ambrose* made a large Funeral Oration ⁵, a just Panegyrick in his commendation. Indeed he was an excellent Prince, devout and pious, mild and gentle, humble and affable, compassionate and merciful; he was wise, just, and valiant, and (as a blessing from Heaven upon all his other virtues) in all his undertakings prosperous and successful. I know *Zosimus* a Pagan Historian (who never speaks well of any Christian Emperor) charges him ⁶ with luxury and delicacy, effeminacy and love of pleasures, and that in the Prosecution of them he exhausted the Revenues of the Empire. But *Aurelius Victor* ⁷ (nor is he the only *Gentile*-writer ⁸ that does so) gives him a better and a nobler Character, and compares him both in the features of his body, the disposition of his mind, and the course of his actions with *Trajan*, one of the best Princes in the whole *Gentile*-succession of the *Roman* Emperors. He says of him, he was of a mild and merciful disposition, and one who reckon'd himself to differ from others only in the Imperial Garb; kind and courteous to all, but especially good men, one that lov'd men of the meanest, and admir'd them that were of great parts and learning, so long as they kept within the rules of decency and vertue; his bounty was unlimited, he treated Citizens with great respect, with whom he had only a private acquaintance, and heap'd upon them Gifts, Honours and Offices, especially where by any difficult Services they had approv'd their fidelity towards him. Nay, he was free from those Vices, which did somewhat blemish *Trajan's* Person and Government; drunkenness and ambition he perfectly hated, he found Wars rather than began any, and by a Law forbid Minstrels and other Servants of lewdness and wantonness to attend at Feasts and Entertainments, so great a Patron of modesty and chasteness, that he prohibited the Marriages of Cousin-germans. Learned he was to a good degree, sagacious and prudent, desirous to know the actions of great men in all ages, whose ambitious, cruel, and injurious attempts he expos'd with great resentment; apt to be angry, but withal like a true generous nature, soon appeas'd; he was, what seldom happens, bettered by his advancement to the Empire, and it never more appeared than after a Victory over his enemies, whom he treated with all imaginable kindness, and would out of his own Exchequer many times repair those damages and losses which his Subjects had sustained by the cruelty and rapaciousness of Usurpers. In his private Life, he was infinitely kind to all his Kindred and Relations; neat, but not costly in his Entertainments, pleasant in his Discourses according to Persons and Things, but never transgressing the Laws of gravity; moderate in his Recreations, and temperate in his Diet. How vastly different this Character is from that of *Zosimus*, every one sees, and my Au-

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¹ *Ambros. l. 2. Epist. XV. Edit. Par. 1614.*

² *Theod. l. 5. c. 24. p. 233.*

³ *Socr. l. 5. c. 25. p. 295. Zosim. lib. p. 779.*

⁴ *Paulin. lib. p. 7.*

⁵ *Ext. Rom. lib. p. 47.*

⁶ *Zosim. l. 4. p. 768. 773. Epitom. c. 75. 76, 77. p. 121. &c.*

⁷ *Vict. Themist. Orat. V. (de human. 107. Tit. 61.) p. 135. &c. Symmach. l. 2. Epist. 13. p. 94. &c. in Epist. p. 111.*

thor that makes it was much more capable of knowing the truth of things, living under this very Emperor.

III. HONORIUS, to whose share the *Western* Empire fell, to gratify the People in the entrance upon his Government, entertained them at *Milan* with sports, and fighting with wild Beasts; which being a time of Licence, some Souldiers prompted by *Enfubius* the Governour, and with the leave of *Count Stilicho* went to the Church to fetch one *Cresconius* a Malefactor, who had fled thither for shelter? The Bishop, and Clergy that were present endeavoured to defend the Priviledges of the Church, and to guard the man. But the Party, commanded by *Avian* Officers, were too strong for them, broke in upon them, and took away the man by force, carrying him in a kind of triumph to the Amphitheater. *Ambrose* in the mean time threw himself before the Altar, and with tears bewailed the violence that had been offered to the Church of God. And mark the issue. No sooner had they brought *Cresconius* to the Amphitheater, and that the *Leopards* were let loose upon him, but immediately they ran to the place where the Persons who had violated the Church sat, leapt upon them, and very grievously rent and tore them. At the sight whereof *Stilicho* was toucht with a quick remorse for what had been done, and by a long Penance satisfied the Bishop, withal restoring the man back, whom they had forcibly taken, who being yet guilty of great enormities, was banish'd, and soon after pardoned. A Servant ^b also of *Count Stilicho's*, a *Demoniac*, who had been lately cur'd, and remained still in the *Ambrosian* Church, being charg'd with forging Letters, his Master refused to punish him: But the Bishop commanding him to be brought before him, examin'd him, and found him guilty, and thereupon told him, 'twas necessary he should be delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that hereafter he might not presume to do so any more. Immediately while the words were yet in his mouth, an evil spirit seiz'd upon him, and began to tear and torment him; which struck no little terror and amazement into all that beheld it. The fame of these and other his great actions flew all abroad, and among others came to the ears of *Fritigil* Queen of the *Marcomanni*, who sent Presents with a Letter, desiring from him instructions in the Christian Faith. He sent her back an Epistle drawn up in form of a *Catechism*, advising her to persuade her Husband to preserve peace and friendship with the *Roman* Empire. She did so, and they both resolv'd to put themselves under the protection of the Emperor, and upon that errand she came to *Milan*, but 'twas too late to speak with the holy man.

IV. FOR being now worn out with cares and labours, he began to sink. A few dayes ¹ before he fell sick, he foretold his death, but said, he should live till *Easter*. Before he took his bed, he continued his usual studies, and expounded the *XLIII. Psalm*, which he dictated to *Paulinus*, who was his amanuensis, and who looking up, on a sudden saw a Globe of fire in form of a shield covering his head, and by degrees creeping in at his mouth, after which his face became white as snow, though soon after it returned to its usual Complexion. *Paulinus* was sore frighted with the Vision, his pen fell out of his hand, and he could write no further, till he had recovered himself.

²Twas

^c *Paulin. ib.*
^{p. 7.}

^b *id. ib. p. 9.*

¹ *Paulin. ib.*
^{p. 8, 9, 10.}

'Twas the last time the good Bishop either wrote or dictated any thing, nor did he finish his Exposition upon that *Psalms*, which accordingly is extant imperfect at this day. *Count Stilicho* was infinitely troubled at the news of his sickness, and said openly, the day that that great man dies, destruction hangs over Italy: And therefore sending for as many of the Nobility and Magistrates of the City, as he knew had an interest in the Bishops kindness, he partly threatn'd, partly perswaded them to go to him, and by all means prevail with him to beg his Life of God. They went, and with tears besought him to intercede with Heaven for his own Life, representing the unconceivable loss the Church of God would receive by the death of so excellent a Prelate, to whom he gave no other answer ^k than this, *I have not so behav'd my self among them, that I should be ashamed to live, nor am I afraid to die, because I have so good a Master.* The day whereon he dyed (which was April the IV. Ann. CCCXC VII) he lay for several hours with his hands expanded in form of a Cross, his lips moving all the while, though it could not be understood what he said. *Honoratus* Bishop of *Verceil* was there at that time, and being gone into an upper Chamber to take a little rest, heard a voice crying three times to him, *arise, and make hast, for he is going to depart.* He came down, and gave him the holy Eucharist, which he had no sooner taken, but he expir'd. His body was early the next morning carried to the great Cathedral, and there remain'd on *Easter-eve*: On the Lords day after the publick Solemnities, it was remov'd to the *Ambrosian* Church, and there interr'd, his Funeral being attended by Persons of all Ranks and Qualities, of all Ages and Conditions, not only Christians, but *Jews* and *Gentiles*, many striving to touch his body with Napkins or Handkerchiefs, believing they should be able with them to fence off the assaults of evil Spirits. He was succeeded by *Simplician*, who had sometimes been his Tutor, and whom he seem'd to design for his successor before he died. For when he lay sick, *Cassus*, *Polemius*, *Venerius*, and *Felix*, four of his Deacons watch'd with him, and being at the other end of the room at a great distance from him, were talking together who should succeed him, but whisper'd so low, that they could scarce hear one another, and when the name of *Simplician* was mention'd, he cried out (as if he had been among them) three times together, *He's ancient, but he's a good man.* At the hearing whereof they were amazed and ran away.

V. BEHOLD in this good Bishop an admirable exemplar of true Piety and Vertue. In his more private Life he was a publick Example. His Devotions ¹ were constant and fervent, the day for the most part, and sometimes the night he spent in reading, prayer and fasting. His appetites were subdued by a constant course of Mortification, and conducted by very strict measures of abstinence and sobriety, never dining but upon Saturdays, and Lordsdays, and the Festivals of Martyrs. He had a mind exquisitely tender and compassionate, he *rejoic'd with them that did rejoice, and did weep with them that wept.* His Charity was as large as the necessities of humane nature, he lov'd, reliev'd, assisted all, but especially them of the *Humblest* of Faith. His Estate real and personal he intirely bestow'd upon the poor, and for the maintenance of the Church, styling ^m the poor his

H h h

Stewards

^k *Paulin. ib.*
^{Posed. in vit.}
^{August. cap 27.}
^{Tom. i. col. 877}

¹ *p. l. in. ib.*
^{p. 8.}

^m *Quat. in. l. 4. c. 1.*
^{int. l. 37. 128.}

Stewards and Treasurers, in whose hands he deposited his Revenues. 'Twas his care and practice to do good against evil, of all the affronts and injuries that he met with, he reveng'd none, nor required them otherwise than by Offices of kindness. Temptations to Riches or Honour weigh'd nothing with him, whose mind dwelt above the World, and who had given so pregnant an instance of his contempt of them, in a free renouncing so considerable a share of both. Though he was a Person of great Birth and Fortunes, and had justly acquir'd a mighty veneration from Persons of all conditions and interests, yet never any took lower and more humble measures of himself. He readily professes upon all occasions his unfitness for his Office, that he was unworthy to be a Bishop, and less than the least of all of that place and order, and that it was *by the grace of God that he was what he was*. Thus he mov'd in his private Orbe. In his Episcopal station he was a common light to all the Bishops of that age. His Province he govern'd with singular fidelity and care. He administered the holy Eucharist every day, preach'd commonly every Lords day, besides the frequent returns of particular and extraordinary occasions, and spent no small part of his time in instructing and preparing the *Catechumens* for Baptism, wherein he took more pains alone, than any five of his Successors could discharge. He was the most undaunted Champion for the Catholick Faith, which the *Western Church* had in those times, and the most strenuous Asserter of Ecclesiastick Discipline, the Rites whereof he maintain'd against all opposition, without respect of Persons, or fear of any dangers that might attend it. Offenders he reprov'd with a mighty freedom and impartiality, not sparing the highest, nor declining the most fierce and violent. He had indeed a natural greatness and gallantry of mind, that made him speak freely and boldly upon all occasions, nor was he by any considerations of fear or favour to be moved one hairs breadth, where the cause of God, and Religion lay at stake. And yet none more indulgent to those that were truly penitent, and willing to observe the Rules and Customs of the Church, inasmuch that he was blam'd for it. When any came to him to Confess their Offences, he wept for them, and with them, and by his own for their Tears afloat. Their Faults he was infinitely careful to conceal, never discovering them to any but God, with whom he interceded for their Pardon. He had a very tender sense of the sufferings of the Church, whose necessities he was always most forward to supply. When told of the death of any Bishop, he was wont to weep most bitterly, and when his Servants endeavoured to comfort him, he told them, he did not grieve that such a one was dead, but that the good man had got the start of him, and that it would be so hard to find a worthy Person to succeed him. It was no inconsiderable Portion of his time and pains, that was swallowed up in hearing and determining civil causes, and the differences that arose among neighbours, where-with he was so crowded, that S. *Augustine* at his first coming to *Milan* found it a hard matter to get an opportunity of discoursing with him. His Gates were always open, and no man forbidden to have access to him, nor was there any need of an Usher to introduce them. Though none more abstemious in his own Person, yet did he keep Hospitality, wherewith he entertain'd not the poor only,

* De Penit. 2.
c. 7. p. 172.
173 de offi.
lib. 1. in fin.

* De Cons. 1.
l. 1. c. 3. o.
112.
p. 100. in. ib.
p. 8.

* De his evetis
crispianus
p. 100. in. ib.
p. 100. in. ib.
p. 100. in. ib.
p. 100. in. ib.
p. 100. in. ib.
p. 100. in. ib.
p. 100. in. ib.

* Confess. 2.
p. 100.

but Persons of the greatest Rank and Quality, who took it for an honour to have been his Guests, inasmuch that *Count Arbogastes* gloried in it that he had been familiarly entertain'd at his Table, and *Vincentius* Prefect of *Gaul* propos'd it as a Pattern to S. *Martin*, that *Ambrose* scrupled not to Feast *Consuls* and Governors at his House. And within those bounds he kept himself, never admitting publick treatments abroad; there being three things he always resolv'd against, never to make a Match for any ones Marriage, never to persuade a man to be a Souldier, and never to go, though invited, to a Feast. Saturday, we observ'd before, was one of his dining dayes, whereat *Monica* S. *Augustine's* Mother at her coming to *Milan* was greatly offended, having observ'd that day to be kept as a solemn fast at *Rome*, and in other places, and wondered why it should be there a Festival. A plain Evidence that the *Roman Church* did not in those dayes give Laws to the Rites and Customs of other places, no not to those that were next door to it. The See of *Rome* had not as yet trampled upon the necks of foreign Churches, which preserv'd their Liberties and Usages intire and independant, without doing obeysance to the Supremacy of S. *Peter's* Chair. Accordingly S. *Ambrose* in his resolution of the case, wisely advis'd *Augustine* and his Mother to follow his Example, when they were at *Rome*, to fast on Saturday as they did at *Rome*, and when at *Milan*, to Feast, as they did there; and to whatsoever Church they came, to observe the Custom of that place, that so they might neither give, nor take Offence.

* Paulin. ib.
p. 6.
* S. Stev.
dialog. 1. c. 17.
p. 280.

* Possid. in
vit. Aug. c. 27.
col. 877.

* Augull. Ep.
CXVII. Tom. 2.
col. 557.

VI. HIS learning was rather polite, than deep. Some insight he had got into the *Platonick Philosophy* in his younger years, being not inconsiderably acquainted, both with the Language and Learning of *Greece*. When he was made Bishop, he was little vers'd in Theologicall Speculations, in the pursuit whereof he advanc'd with so quick a pace, that he seem'd to be inspir'd from above, became a Preacher to others, while he was but a Scholar himself, *docere vos cepti, quod ipse non didici*, as himself confesses; he taught and learnt at the same time, informing himself, while he instructed others. Though he traded much in the Writings of some of the *Greek Fathers*, and those too the most bold and venturesome, yet he carefully avoided all unorthodox and suspected *dogmata*, he let pass the Weeds and gathered only the Flowers, separating the precious from the vile, and handling Divine Matters with a most Religious tenderness of mind, and with a sincere respect to the known and establish'd Doctrine of the Church. His style is various according to the different Subjects that he manages, but in general 'tis concise and smart, much like that of *Seneca*, but somewhat more soft and mild. His Discourses are made up of round sentences, argute sayings, quick transitions, and he usually concludes his argument with some smart close at the end of it. The truth is, his style is rather pretty than elegant, the shortness and briskness of his Periods is pleasant, and leaves a picquancy and quick relish in the Readers mind, and something still to be understood, either not at all express'd, or but obscurely intimated. His works (most whereof he wrote all with his own hand, unless where sickness interpos'd and took him off) are either *Treats* (Books purposely written on some particular Subjects) or *Sermons*, or *Epistles*, or *Commentaries*.

* De Offi. lib.
citato.

* 1. id. Paulin.
p. 8.

varies. Among his *Tracts* there are some, which are charg'd to be little better than Translations out of Greek. Thus S. *Jerom* long since observ'd of his Books *de spiritu sancto*, that he borrow'd most of them out of a Book of *Didymus* upon that argument, and in his transferring of them made them worse; that he frequently tranſcribes the *Greek* Fathers, and especially *Origen*. It must be granted, that he makes no little use of the *Greek* Fathers Writings; nor is it any wonder, that he who came late to the Study of Theology, should make some more than ordinary use of the helps that had been before him, and that he who was peculiarly skill'd in the *Greek* Tongue, should convey the Treasures of the *East* into the *Western* World, without always mentioning the particular port, from whence he brought them. No man (as *Erasmus* well observes in this case) blames *Cicero* for being so conversant in the Books of *Plato*, and deriving thence a good part of his Philosophy into his own Writings; 'tis *Plato's* notions in *Tully's* dress. And yet this is no dishonest Plagiarism, but a warrantable imitation. It must likewise be remembered that *Jerom* seems to have had a particular pique at S. *Ambrose*, of whom he seldom speaks very favourably. *Jerom* was a man of passions, one that had no mean Opinion of himself, and who seldom gives an over-advantageous Character, where he thinks himself overtop'd. Though elsewhere he makes honourable mention of him, saying, that when he was made Bishop of *Milan*, all *Italy* was soon reduc'd back to the Catholic Faith. His *Sermons*, Homilies, or Orationes are generally short, and delivered in a popular way, no great number whereof, considering the frequency of his preaching, have been transmitted to us. Of his *Epistles* there are still extant eight Books, monuments of great prudence and piety, containing either Historical Occurrences of those times, or Explications of some particular Texts of Scripture, that by Letter had been propounded to him. Lastly, his *Commentaries* upon the Scripture run much upon the Allegorical strain, and in these it is, that he is chiefly oblig'd to *Origen*. His *Commentaries* upon *Luke* were the early Fruit of his Episcopal Studies: He wrote also upon S. *Paul's* Epistles, but those extant at this day, are falsely entitled to his name.

VII. WE have seen the man, and the Monuments he left behind him. And what wonder now if a man thus accomplish'd, a Person so venerable for his learning and piety were renowned through the World. Indeed the common Suffrage of all antiquity has assign'd him the first place among the four great Doctors of the *Latine* Church. Nay even in his Life time he was not only honour'd by the more civil and polite part of the World, but his name was reverence'd even among barbarous Nations: Whereof an instance or two shall suffice. When *Count Arbogastes* had subdued the *Franks* (his own Countrymen) and upon the conclusion of a Peace was entertain'd by the Princes of that Country, he was ask'd among other things, whether he was acquainted with *Ambrose*. He told them he was, that he had a particular interest in the man, and had been frequently treated at his Table. No wonder then (replyed the Princes) you carry all before you, when you are favour'd and befriended by a man, who says to the Sun, *stand*, and it stands still. Nor had the *Western* World only this good Opinion of him, his Fame spread into the remoter Regions

* *Facile ad
top. p. 6.*

gions of the *East*. Besides his Correspondence with S. *Basil*, two of the wisest and most honourable men in *Persia* having heard the report of him, undertook a journey on purpose to *Milan*, as the Queen of *Sheba* once did to *Solomon*, to see him, and put hard questions to him. They came, and by an Interpreter disputed with him from morning till night, till they admir'd and were fully satisfied in his incomparable Wisdom. And that it might appear that they came this chargeable, difficult, and tedious Journey upon no other errand; the very next morning they took their leave of the Emperor, and just passing by *Rome*, only to salute the illustrious *Anicius Probus* Prefect of *Italy*, they return'd directly into their own Country.

HIS WORKS.

Genuine.

Hexaemeron, seu de Oper. sex dierum Lib. VI.
De dignitate humane conditionis, Libellus.
De Paradiso, Liber.
De Cain & Abel, Lib. II.
De Noe & Arca, Liber.
De Abraham Patriarcha, Lib. II.
De Isaac & Anima, Liber.
De bono mortis, Liber.
De Jacob & beata vita, Lib. II.
De Esau sive de fuga seculi, Liber.
De Joseph Patriarcha, Liber.
De benedictionibus Patriarcharum, Liber.
De Arbore interdicta.
In Exod. cap. 8. 16, 24, 30, 32. Annotationes.
In Levit. cap. 10. 12, 26.
In Numer. cap. 23. & 33. de Mansionibus.
In Denteron. cap. 22.
Apologia pro David, prior.
Apologia pro David, posterior.
De Elia & jejuniis.
De Nabathe Jezraelita.
In cap. 6. lib. 4. Regum, Sermones II.
De Tobia, seu adv. Feneratores.
De Job.
Sermo in cap. VII. Job.
In Psalmos David, Argumentum.
Enarrationes in Psalmos. 1, 21, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 61, 67.

Tractatus in Psalm. 104.
Sermo in Psalm. 109. alter in Psalm. 117. in Psalm. 118. Enarrationes XXII.
Se Salomone, Liber.
In cap. 30. Proverb. fragmentum.
In cap. 31. prov. seu, de muliere forti.
In cap. 4. Ecclesiasticis, ad Clericos exhort.
In cap. 3. Ecclesiastic.
In cap. 1. & 52 Esaiæ. Sermones II.
In Hieremie cap. 16. Enarratio.
In Daniel. 13. Sermones II.
In cap. 3 & 4. Jonæ Enarrationes II.
In Micheam observationes II.
In cap. 1 & 2. Aggæi observatio.
In Malachie cap. 1. Sermo.
Commentar. in S. Lucam. Lib. X.
De Officiis Lib. III.
Tractatus in Symbolum Apostolorum.
De fide ad Gratianum Imp. Lib. V.
Ad eundem de Spiritu sancto.
De incarnationis Dominicæ Sacramento.
De mysterio Pasche.
De Paschalis celebritatis ratione.
De fide resurrectionis.
De initiandis. Liber.
De Sacramentis Lib. VI.
De Sacerdotali dignitate.
De Penitentia Lib. II.
De Virginibus, Lib. III.
De Virginis institutione.
De hortatione ad Virginitatem.
Epistolarum Libri VIII.

Doubtful.

Doubtful.

De Virginis forma vivendi.
De Virginis lapsu.
Hymni aliquot.
De viduis. Liber.

Supposititious.

Sermones de Tempore, & de Sanctis.

Conciones breves.

Sermo de purificatione B. Virginis.

Precationes ad missam II.

De Vocatione omnium gentium. Lib. II.

De Filii divinitate & Consubstantialitate adv. Arianos.

In Epistolas D. Pauli commentaria.

In Apocalypsim B. Joannis comment.

De vitiorum virtutumque conflictu.

Expositio fidei secundum symbolum Nicanum.

De Spiritu sancto Libelli fragmentum.

De Concordia Matthæi & Lucæ in Genealogia Christi.

De Penitentia, Liber.

De origine & moribus Brachmanorum.

Expositio in Cantica Canticorum.

Epistola ad Demetriadem.

Not extant.

In Esaiam Commentarii.

Comment. adv. nonnullos Platonicos, Elucidationes & Homilie in Sapientiam.

Expositio in omnes D. Pauli Epistolas.

Sermo de judicio Salomonis.

Catechismus Epistolaris ad Frisigildem.

De puerilis ætatis institutione ad Panfophiam.

The end of S. Ambrose's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
S. EPIPHANIUS,
 BISHOP OF
SALAMIS in CYPRUS.



S. EPIPHANIUS.

His birth-place. The Condition and Religion of his Parents: Reports of some of the former parts of his Life uncertain. His Travels into, and abode in Egypt. The danger of his being seduced into the Sect of the

the Gnosticks. Temptations adapted to that purpose. The lewdness and horrible Villanies of that Sect. His discovering that accursed fraternity to the Bishop of the place. His converse with, and imitation of the devout Ascetics in Egypt. His return into Palestine, and living under the Discipline of Hilarion, the founder of Monachism in those parts. His presiding over a Monastery of his own erecting. Promoted to the Bishoprick of Salamis in Cyprus, when, and by whom. The manner of it related by an uncertain Author. Salamis famous upon what accounts. The great fame and reputation of Epiphanius. The occasion of writing his work against Heresies when written, and upon what occasion. Why styl'd Panarium. The Anacephalaxis or Epitome of it. His Journey to Rome, to a Synod there about the controverted See of Antioch. His joyful entertainment at that place. His Contest with John Bishop of Jerusalem, and the first occasion of them. John suspected by Epiphanius of retaining his old kindness for the Origenian Opinions. The many affronts he put upon Epiphanius upon that account. The quarrel enlarg'd by Epiphanius's ordaining a Presbyter to officiate in his own Monastery. John's loud complaints of him upon this and many other accounts. Epiphanius's calm and mild reply. This matter clear'd by a further account of it from S. Jerom. Epiphanius charg'd with violence and injury. The story of his rending the Curtain that had a Picture on it in the Church of Anablatha. The vain shifts of the Romish Writers to evade this Testimony against Image-worship. This not the only Evidence of Epiphanius's sense in that point. Attempts to make Peace between John and Epiphanius in vain. John's Letter to Theophilus of Alexandria, who interposes by his Legate, but without effect. John's Apology to Theophilus, and saint Vindication of himself. Epiphanius his Letters to Rome and other places. A more particular account of the Controversie sent by S. Jerom to Pamachius. A fresh Controversie of the Anthropomorphites started among the Monks of Mount Nitria in Egypt. The Original of it. Theophilus how engag'd in it. His quarrel with the four Brethren call'd Longi, whence. Their interposal in the behalf of Ildore, and ill treatment by Theophilus. His design to beget an ill opinion of them among the Monks. His Synodical Condemnation of them as guilty of Origenism. His subtle allings in that matter. His cruel and violent proceedings against the four Longi. They and some others forc'd to fly first into Palestine, then to Constantinople. The truth of this story undeservedly question'd. Epiphanius engag'd by Theophilus in this quarrel. A Synod summon'd in Cyprus, which condemns the reading Origen's Books. Epiphanius's Letter to Chrysostom to do the like. His Journey to Constantinople in pursuance of this design, and refusal of Chrysostom's kind invitations of sojourning with him. His drawing in Bishops to subscribe his Decrees. Oppos'd by Theotimus Bishop of Scythia. The great advantage given to Chrysostom's Enemies by his Proceedings. Severely rebuk'd by a Message from Chrysostom. His ill entertainment at Court from the Empress Eudoxia, whence. The four Longi sent to wait upon him, and their discourse with him. The odd parting between him and Chrysostom. His going aboard in order to his return. His last discourse and admonitions to those about him. His death, and burial. His great age. His mighty

Zeal

Zeal against Heresie. His admirable piety and strictness of Life. His singular Charity and beneficent temper. The veneration which his very Enemies had for him: His learning and skill in Languages. The weakness of his judgment, and his over-great Credulity noted. The flatness of his style. The general parts and divisions of his Book against Heresies. What advantages he had in compiling that work. His Writings.



T. Epiphanius was born in Palestine, at Besanduce^a, an obscure Village, not far distant from Eleuthero-^bpolis, a City frequently mention'd by Eusebius^b and S. Jerom^c, and from them may probably be conjectured to have been situate near the Western border of the Tribe of Judah: By some suppos'd to have been the same with H-bzon, but herein greatly mistaken, since Authors no less plainly, than commonly distinguishing those Cities. But much farther are they wide of truth, who place it in Phenicia, and intitle that Country to the honour of his nativity. His Parents (if we may believe one^d who pretends to have been his Scholar, and the Companion of his Life) were Jews, Persons of a mean fortune, his Father an Husbandman, his Mother traded in the making of Linnen-Cloath; two Children they had, Epiphanius, and a Daughter call'd Callitropes. My Author adds, that at ten years of age he lost his Father, when their Family was reduc'd to great extremity; that not long after he was adopted by Tryphon a rich Jewish Lawyer, who gave him all the advantages of Education according to the Jewish mode, designing to Marry him to his only Daughter, but she dying soon after, and her Father following, Epiphanius remained sole Heir of that great Estate, who taking his Sister home to him (his Mother being by this time dead) they liv'd together in great plenty, and with mutual satisfaction; that going one day to the place of his Nativity, where part of the Estate which Tryphon had left him lay, he met by the way one Lucian, a devout charitable Monk, and being surpriz'd with an act of unusual Charity, which he saw him do to a poor man, he fell into his acquaintance, and was by him converted to Christianity, instructed in the Christian Doctrine, and at length baptiz'd, when having sold his Estate, and settled it upon the poor, at sixteen years of Age he betook himself to a Monastick Life. All which he relates at large, with infinite other particulars of his Life. But I dare not treat my Reader at his cost, being an Author of something more than suspected Credit, and therefore plainly discarded by Baronius^e himself, who is not always over-shie of doubtful and supposititious Writings; though a late learned Writer^f more than once quotes him without any scruple, and lays some stress upon his Authority. However I cannot but remark with what confidence Possessin^g the Jesuit imposes upon his Readers, when having cashier'd this Author as absurd and fabulous, and pretending instead thereof to present a short, but true Abstract of Epiphanius's Life, after all derives his Materials out of this very Author, whom just before he had so much decried. Omitting therefore these spurious, at least uncertain accounts of things, we shall content our

^a Sozom. l. 6. c. 32. p. 689.

^b Lib. meli⁷o-
na. broodur.
^c Lib. de loc.
libr.

^d Vit. Epiph.
per Joan. di-
scip & Polibi
ext. gr. lat. ap.
Epiph. Tom. 2.
& lat. 17. Sore
Mati. XII.

^e Ad Ann. 372.

p. 347.

^f Hist. Origen.

l. 2. c. 4. § 2.

n. 1. 14.

^g App. Sac. in

Epiph.

selves to pick up such passages of his Life, as are secur'd to us by better and more unquestionable Authority.

II. 'TIS probable enough that he was born of *Jewish* Parents, the place of his Nativity, and his skill in the Language and Customs of the *Jews*, above the ordinary rate of learned men in those times, giving suffrage to the Conjecture. His Education (whatever the condition of his Parents was) seems to have been ingenuous and liberal, polish'd by Study both at home, and in foreign parts. In his youth he travelled into *Egypt*, where we may suppose him ordinarily residing at *Alexandria*, the *Athen*s of those parts of the World, flock'd to, and frequented by men of learning from all Quarters. He was but young at his arrival there, and his want of experience, and perhaps the rawness of his years, and the unfixtness of his Principles made him liable to become a Prey, to the *flight of men*, and the *cunning craftiness*, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. Inſomuch, that he was in danger of being drawn over to the very worst of Sects, that of the *Gnosticks*, of the common-fewer of all ancient Heresies, into which, the filth of all their lowdeſt Principles and Practices did vent it ſelf. The Temptation was adapted to his age, the Women of that Sect (who at the time of their initiation were wont to put off all ſhame and modeſty) endeavouring by the moſt ſubtle inſinuations, and by all the Arts of wantonneſs to bring him over to their Party. By their means he had the opportunity (which his curioſity made him willing to take hold of) of reading the ſenceleſs Books of their Religion, and of being acquainted with all the ſecret Rites, and abominable Myſteries of that Sect, which they freely diſcloſ'd to him. This could not but ſtarke him, and awaken in him all the powers of Reaſon and natural Conſcience; and indeed he was ſufficiently apprehenſive of his danger, and therefore earneſtly implor'd the Divine aſſiſtance, and (as he thankfully owns the mercy) God who ſtood by *Joſeph*, and deliver'd him from the importunities of his wanton Miſtreſs, kept his foot from being taken in the ſnare of the Fowler. The Women were vex'd that he had thus eſcap'd their hands, and therefore turn'd their ſolicitations into ſcorn and deriſion, *let him goe* (ſaid they to one another) *we could not ſave the young man, but we have left him to priſon in the hands of our Prince*: Meaning one of thoſe Sovereign Powers (CCCLXV. they had in all) which preſided over the Acts of their lewd and beaſtly Myſteries, and (probably) they particularly intended *Sacla*, the Prince of Whoredom, whom they plac'd in their ſecond Heaven. And indeed they look'd upon it as a Reproach to them to prove unſucceſſful in their attempts. For it was their Cuſtom, for the more handſom Women to prostitute themſelves for the gaining Proſelytes (which they call'd *ſaving* of them) and having done ſo, were wont prophanely to inſult and triumph over thoſe of their number, whom nature had leſs befriend'd, in ſuch Language as this, *I am a choſen Veſſel, able to ſave thoſe whom I have ſe-duc'd, which you for your part could not do*. Into ſo deep a degeneracy is humane nature capable of falling, as not only to be vile to the utmoſt degree of wickedneſs, but when they have been ſo, to glory in their ſhame, and after all, gild it over with the pretence and colour of Religion.

III. EPI-

III. *EPIPHANIUS* having thus broke loose from the Snare of the Devil, thought himself oblig'd in gratitude to God, and for the good of the World to discover this damnable and accursed crew. There were no less than fourscore of them in the place where he then liv'd, who sheltered themselves under the common profession of Christians, whose names he presented to the Bishops and Governors of the Church, and by that means routed them and their pernicious Sect quite out of the City. After this he betook himself to an accurate observation and imitation of the Lives of those pious and devout *Ascetics*, for which *Egypt* was then so famous through the Christian World, to whose strict and Philopshick manners he conform'd himself. And in this course he continued some years, till the twentieth year of his age, at what time he return'd back into his own Country, and put himself under the Discipline of *Hilarion*, the Father and Founder of *Monachism* in those parts. This *Hilarion* was born 't *Tabatha* a Village within five miles of *Gaza* in the South of *Palestine*, and had been sometimes Pupil to *S. Antony*, the great *Egyptian* Hermit, by whose institution and example he set up the Monastick Life in his own Country, planting himself in the Deserts towards the Sea seven miles from *Mainma*, the port belonging to *Gaza*. In the reign of *Julian* he was forc'd to quit his own Country, and fled into *Egypt*, thence he set Sayl for *Sicily*, where he liv'd some time, and maintain'd himself by cutting wood in the Mountains, which he carried on his back, and fold in the Neighbouring City: thence he went into *Dalmatia*, and returning in the latter part of his Life fixt his abode in *Cyprus*, where he dyed. *Epiphanius* out of gratitude to his Master, wrote his Life in a short Encomiastick Letter, as *S. Jerome* did afterwards more at large, wherein he gives a full account of his piety and his miracles. Under him Monachism began to thrive apace, and the solitudes of *Judaea* were soon replenish'd with devout Inhabitants, among whom two were more remarkable, *Hesychius* and *Epiphanius*; *Hesychius* resided in the same place with *Hilarion*, and was his most intimate Companion; *Epiphanius* settled himself near the place of his Nativity, where he erected a Monastery, over which he presided with great care and piety many years, nor indeed did he ever wholly lay aside the Superintendency and Administration of it.

IV. IT was now about the Reign of *Valsens* (for till then, *Sozomen* ^m expressly says he remain'd at his Charge in *Palestine*) when he was promoted to the See of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*. How, or upon what occasion he came to be chosen to that place, is uncertain: Unless we take the account that's given us by the forementioned Writer ⁿ of his Life, who tells us, that having heard that *Hilarion* had taken up his residence in *Cyprus*, he went thither to salute him and receive his blessing. *Hilarion* kindly entertained him, and after two dayes stay, advis'd him to go to *Salamis*, where he should find a settled Habitation. It hapned, that the See of *Salamis* was then vacant, and the Bishops of the Island met together about a new Election, by whom the particular determination of the Person was refer'd to *Pappus*, an aged Confessor, and who had been fifty years Bishop of *Cytiria*, who going our into the *Forum*, laid hold upon *Epiphanius*, and thar (as he affirm'd) by Divine Revelation, and taking him

^h *Saxm. nbi*
supr. vii. ar-
gument. li.
Annotat. pre-
fix. p. 468.

¹ Hieron. vit.
Hilarion. Ere-
mit. Tom. 1.
p. 241. Sozom.
l. 5. c. 10.
p. 607.

^m I. C. 32.
p. 629.

ⁿ Vit. Epiph.
 ap. Sav. Num.
 XXXII.
 XXXIII. &c.

along with him into the Church, ordain'd him first Deacon, then Presbyter, and last of all, Bishop of that place. If this account be true (as there's nothing in it but what's probable enough) then his Ordination to that See must happen some time between *Ann.* CCCLXVI. (when *Hilarion* first arrived in *Cyprus*, where he continued but seven^a years in all, two at *Paphos*, and five in his retirement among the Mountains) and *Ann.* CCCLXXII. which was the last year of *Hilarion's* Life; nay, the Author I mention'd plainly intimates, 'twas while *Hilarion* abode at *Paphos*, that is, *Ann.* CCCLXVI. And this agrees exactly with the Relation of *Palladius* ^v, who seems to make his fix and thirty years Government of that Church concurrent with the Popedom of *Damasus* and *Siricius*, the former of whom entered upon the See of *Rome*, *Ann.* CCCLXVI. *Salamis*, called afterwards *Constantia*, was an ancient City, situate upon one of the *Eastern* Promontories of the *Island*, built by *Teucer* Son of *Telamon* King of *Salamis* (thence it had its name) one of the *Aegean* Islands. 'Twas famous of old for a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter*, as *Paphos* was for one to *Venus*, renowned for being the Birth-place of *Asclepiades* the Poet, and *Solon*, the great *Athenian* Law-giver. That which first rais'd it to a reputation in the Christian World, was the preaching and Martyrdom of *S. Barnabas*, a *Cypriot* by birth, who preach'd the Christian Faith, and seal'd it with his Blood in this place. Upon which account it became the seat of the Primate, or Metropolitan of the *Island*, and what honours were in after-times conferr'd upon it, we have noted elsewhere. But alas, the ruins of its ancient greatness are scarce visible in a poor contemptible Village at this day, about two Miles distant from *Panagusta*, the now Capital City of the Country. *Epiphanius* being thus advantageously plant'd^a, the Fame of the man soon spread it self throughout the World. For *Salamis* being a Port-town, and by that means a place of great Commerce and Traffick, he quickly grew into the notice and veneration of Strangers from all parts, as on the other side his diligence in his Office, and the Piety and Charity of his Conversation, and the skill and fidelity wherewith he manag'd even Civil and Secular Affairs, rendered him no less dear and acceptable to his own People at home.

V. INDEED so great was his Reputation and Renown abroad, that Addresses were made to him from all parts as the common Arbitrer of controverted questions in Religion, and one that was best able to explain the fence of the Catholick Faith. *Ann.* CCCLXXIII. or the beginning of the following year came Letters^r to him from *Matidius* and *Tarsinus* in the name of themselves and the other Presbyters at *Suedra* a City in *Pamphylia*, intreating him to send them an accurate account of the Catholick Doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity, and especially the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. For it seems the *Macedonian* Heresie (which *Sozomen* ^r tells us, diffus'd it self through *Bithynia*, *Hellepont*, and the neighbouring Provinces) had rambl'd hither, and infected many in this Country, so that neglecting the stale Controversies about the Son of God (as men are naturally fond of novel errors) they greedily caught up the new-started Blaphemies against the holy Spirit, whose Deity and Divine Dominion they deny'd, and whom they degraded into the Class and Ministry of

of a Servant and Messenger. And though by the Letters which *Atanasius* and some others had heretofore written to them about this matter, several had been reclaim'd from these pernicious Sentiments, yet the Tares were not wholly rooted up, the minds of many continuing still leaven'd with this impiety. They besought him therefore to give them a full account what was the Orthodox Belief in this case, they having none near at hand able accurately to discuss those subtle and perplex'd questions, that had been set on foot amongst them. This Request was accompanied likewise with a Letter^r from *Palladius*, Governor of that City, upon the same errand, and to the very same effect. In answer to both he wrote *Απαντησιν* (as 'tis call'd) a large *Responsive*, wherein he particularly opens the Doctrine of the Catholick Church in the Articles relating to the several Persons in the Trinity, which he explains and confirms from Scripture, and vindicates from the most specious Cavils and Pretences which the Hereticks usually made against it, together with an account of the Resurrection, and the consequent Articles that depend upon it. This Tract he styl'd the *Ancorat*^a, because *Anchor*-like it serv'd to fix and confirm instable minds in the knowledge of the Truth, and to keep them from being toss'd to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine. In this Book he had among other things accidentally inserted a Catalogue of the names and numbers of several Heresies, which had infested the Church in all ages. The notice whereof being got abroad, awakened the curiosity of many, and particularly of *Acacius* and *Paulus*, two *Archimandrites*, or Prefects of Monasteries in the parts about *Chalcedon*, and *Berea* in *Calefryia*, who wrote^w to him the next year by *Marcellus*, who being newly instructed in the Faith, was desirous to be more fully Principled and Confirm'd by *Epiphanius*; by him they excuse their not waiting Personally upon him, which they intended, had not weakness and infirmity constrain'd them to keep at home, assuring him, they look'd upon him as a *second S. John*, one whom God had extraordinarily rais'd up to be a new Apostle and Preacher to the Church. But the main business of the Letter was to beg of him to give them an account of the Opinions and Practises of the several Heresies that had disturb'd the Church; a task which could not but be infinitely acceptable to them and all good men. Hereupon he compos'd his larger Work against *Hereses*, wherein besides the Historical part, he makes a particular Confutation of every Heresie, amounting in all to the number of LXXX. which he draws down through the several ages of the World to his own time, that is, till the eleventh^x year of *Valens* and *Valentinian*, *Ann.* CCCLXXIV. From this date *Baronius* ^y conceives he began this work a year before he received the Letter from the Monks of *Syria*, the Inscription whereof makes it not written till the following year. But either there's an error in the date of that Inscription (which being none of *Epiphanius* his own might easily happen) or else by that date of the XI. of *Valens*, *Epiphanius* intended, not that he then began, but only brought down his account to that time. It being otherwise certain both from the Preface, and the beginning of the Work it self, that he set upon it at the request of those *Syrian* Archimandrites. And whereas in their Letter they tell him, they had heard he had drawn out and ascertain'd the names of the several Heresies,

^r Ext. ubi sup.

^a Vid. Epiph. Hæres. LXIX. p. 321. & A. gham. lib. Ascot. p. 458.

^w Ext. Epist. ante Panar.

^x Vid. adv. Hæres. p. 7. y Ad Ann. 375. p. 370.

^o 17d. Hæres. i. id. p. 254.

^v Dial. de vit. chryst. c. 16. p. 151. Edit. Paris. gr. lat. 4^o. 168c.

^a So. om. ib. p. 689.

^r Ext. ap. Epiph. Ancorat. pref. p. 458.

^r L. 4. c. 27. p. 585.

* Psal. 474.

* Psal. p. 2.
* Adversus
p. 519.* Hieron. Epi-
scopi. p. 171.* Id. Hieron.
ad Pamach.
p. 163, 165.

* Hieron. p. 166.

Heretics, that plainly refers to the passage in his *Ancorat**, where (as we observ'd before) he sets down their names and numbers, and that in the very same method, where'n he treats of them afterwards. To this work he gave the Title of *Parvium*, the *Store-house*, designing it he tells us*, to be a *καὶ ὁνομαζόμενον* *Physick-chest*, or Apothecaries shop, replenish'd with Antidotes adapted to those several Poysons, and venomous Wounds, which error had made upon the minds of men. But the largeness of the Work, and the subtilty of the Controversies debated in it, rendered it less useful to unlearned and undiscerning Readers, for whose sakes he afterwards contracted it into an *Anacaphorosis*, or *Epitome*, that it might become more familiar and accommodate to ordinary use. Nor was it enough, that he was thus employed at home, the necessities of the Church call'd for his assistance abroad. Ann. CCCLXXXII. *Gratian* and *Theodosius* summon'd a Council to meet at *Rome* to compose the controversy that had rais'd so much dust in the *East*, about the Sec of *Antioch*, possess'd by *Paulinus*, and challeng'd by *Flavian*, whose cause was espous'd and asserted by a Synod at this time sitting at *Constantinople*. Besides the *Western* Bishops, there arriv'd at *Rome* some out of the *East**, especially *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, and our *Epiphanius*. He lodg'd in the House of the Lady *Paula*, Relict of *Constantius*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, who entertain'd him with all possible kindness, happy that he had got such a Guest under her Roof. The Acts of this Synod are lost, but by the event it appears, that the Cause was adjudg'd for *Paulinus*. And now having done his errand, and seen *Rome*, and convers'd with all the great Persons there, the next Spring he return'd back to *Cyprus*.

VI. HE had now for many years peaceably govern'd the *Cyprian* Churches; when by means of *John* (who Ann. CCCLXXXVI. succeeded *Cyril* in the Sec of *Jerusalem*) he was unhappily involv'd in Troubles and Controversies, that devour'd the latter part of his life. For the understanding of which we are to know, that he still retain'd a Relation to the Monastery, call'd *Old Ad*, which he had heretofore erected and constituted near *Eleutheropolis* in *Palastine*, for the better administration whereof he was forc'd sometimes to repair thither, and by that means maintain a nearer and more frequent intercourse with the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. *John* was a man proud and passionate, and besides of wavering and inconstant Principles: He had herd with the *Arian* and *Macedonian* Party during the late Persecutions in the Reign of *Valens*, and though he had desert'd them upon his promotion to that Sec, yet he still retain'd some kindness for the old Opinions, especially was a secret friend to the Doctrines of *Origen*, where-to *Epiphanius* was a profess'd Antagonist. This begat mutual jealousies, which at last burst out into an open flame. It hapned that *Epiphanius* preaching^d in the Cathedral at *Jerusalem*, directed his Discourse against the *Origenian dogmata*. The Bishop thought himself touch'd with the Sermon, and together with his Clergy sometimes by signs of anger, sometimes by expressions of scorn and derision shew'd that he sat uneasie, and pitied the doting old man, till not able to hold longer, he sent up his Arch-deacon to him, commanding him to cease preaching about those matters. And when after Sermon, as they were going from the place of the *Resurrection* to that of the *Cross*,
People

People of all sorts flock'd after *Epiphanius* in such Crowds, and with such expressions of reverence and devotion, that there was no passing forwards, the others envy began to boyl, and he could not forbear telling him to his face, that he purposely contriv'd and caus'd these stops. And when at another time the Congregation was born in hand that they should again hear *Epiphanius*, *John* himself stept into the Pulpit, and thundred out nothing but sharp invectives against the Heresie of the *Anthropomorphites*, who affirm, that God has humane parts and shape, turning himself all the while towards *Epiphanius*, to insinuate a suspicion into the Peoples minds, that he was guilty of that impious and absurd Opinion. Sermon being ended, the good old Bishop stood up, and told the Congregation, that what his Brother had spoken against the *Anthropomorphic* Heresie was very well, and that he himself heartily condemn'd it; but that wicah it was but just, that as they condemn'd this Heresie, they should condemn likewise the perverse Doctrines of *Origen*. A motion which the Congregation entertain'd with laughter and acclamations to the equal shame and vexation of their Bishop.

VII. HITHERTO they had stood on some tolerable Terms, when *John* laid hold on an opportunity of openly venting his spleen, and that upon this occasion. *Epiphanius's* Monastery^c was destitute of a Priest, who might constantly officiate the Divine Services amongst them, a task which *S. Jerom* and *Vincentius*, both Presbyters, who liv'd near at hand in the Monastery at *Bethlehem*, out of modesty refus'd to undertake. Complaint hereof being made to *Epiphanius* by the Brethren of the Monastery, a fit man was sought for, and *Paulinianus* *S. Jerom's* younger Brother was the Person pitch'd on for this purpose: But he out of humility did not only decline it, but refus'd to come near any Bishop lest he should lay hands upon him. At length going along with others to wait upon *Epiphanius*, then in those parts, about some business of the Monastery, the Bishop commanded the Deacons that were present to apprehend him, and so overpowred him with the weight of his Authority and Perswasion, that he unwillingly submitted to be ordain'd Deacon; which *Epiphanius* presently perform'd in the Parish-church next to the Monastery, as after some convenient time, though with the same difficulty, he advanc'd him to the order of Presbyter, designing him as Domestick Chaplain to that Monastery. The Report hereof was soon carried to *John* of *Jerusalem*, who was not a little glad of the opportunity. He now fill'd every corner with loud Declamations against *Epiphanius*, that he had violated the Canons of the Church, by taking upon him to Ordain out of his own Diocess, that the Person ordain'd^e was little better than a Boy, and if any of his Clergy own'd his Ordination, they should lose their place in the Church; that *Epiphanius* had traduc'd him for an Heretick^f, and in his publick Devotions had pray'd for him in these words, *Grant, Lord, to John, that he may believe aright*; that therefore he was resolv'd to make him know himself, and to acquaint all parts of the Christian World with his unwarrantable uncanonical Proceedings, and that if men would not do him right, he summon'd him to a Tryal before the Divine Tribunal. To all this bluster *Epiphanius* return'd him a gentle Letter, wherein he mildly reproves him for his passionate and unchristian carriage in this matter,

* Epiph. Epi-
scopi. p. 157.
ad Jeron. ap.
Hieron. p. 156,* Hieron. ad Pam-
mach. in fin.
Epiph. ad The-
oph. p. 186.
* Epiph. Epiph.
p. 157.

ter, and lays before him the true state of what had pass'd; assuring him, he might rather have expected thanks for what he had done, than that it should be made the Foundation of a Quarrel; that he had done nothing herein, but what in like cases had been customary in his Countrey, where Catholick Bishops ordain'd Presbyters within his Province, yea, that he had desired some (particularly *Philo* and *Theoprobis*) that because his Diocess was wide and large, therefore in those Churches of it that lay next to theirs, they would Ordain Presbyters, as occasion requir'd, and provide for the necessities of the Church; that he of all others had least reason to complain, the Ordination being done not in his, but in the Diocess of *Eleutheropolis*, and that if any found themselves agrieved, it must be, as *S. Jerom* observes, the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, who was Metropolitan of the whole Province. For the age of the Person ordained, *S. Jerom* adds, that he was not much under thirty, and that *John* himself was not much above, when he was made Bishop, and had ordained others at that very age, whereat *Paulinianus* was made Presbyter. But the truth was, as *Epiphanius* tells ^b him, it was not so much the business of *Paulinianus* that had mov'd his Choler, the root of the matter lay deeper, 'twas that he had rubb'd him sometimes with his Affection to *Origen* and his Opinions; whom he had charged as the Parent of *Arianism*, and other dangerous errors; 'twas the touching this tender string had offended his ears, and put him into such an angry ferment: for the Charge of traducing him in his Devotions, 'twas a great mistake, he might be confident he was not guilty of so much rudeness, but bore a greater Reverence towards him and his Office, than so to villify him before the People, that he had done but what was usual in the conclusion of the publick Prayers, to pray for him as he did for all other Bishops, that God would keep him, and grant him to Preach the word of Truth: That therefore he passionately besought him especially to renounce all Communion with *Origen*, or any other Heretical Opinions, to which end he lays before him eight several Principles asserted by *Origen*, which he desires him as a *Specimen* to consider, and to come off roundly in those points, and to desert all those that pertinaciously adhered to them.

VIII. BUT *John* has not yet done with his Charge, he further accuses ^c him of injury and violence, and that he had in a manner robb'd one of the Churches in his Diocess. The truth of which case was thus. *Epiphanius* in his way to *Bethel* came to a Village called *Anablatha*, where espying a Church, he turned in to offer up his Prayers. Entering into the Church, he beheld a Curtain hanging over the door, whereon was painted the Image of Christ, or some Saint. Detecting such Innovations in the Church, exprelly contrary to the Authority of the holy Scriptures (as himself tells us) he tore the Curtain, and advised the Churchwardens to make use of it rather as a Shroud to bury the dead. They told him that since he had torn that, 'twas but reasonable he should give them another, that was not obnoxious. This he immediately promis'd, and after some time sent the best he could get, desiring the Bishop to convey it to the Presbyters of that place, and that he would henceforward take care, that such painted Curtains being against our Religion, should not be hung up in the Church of Christ, it being much more his duty to be watchful

^b *See. supr. c. lat.*

^c *Epiph. Epist. lib. in fin.*

watchful and solicitous, to remove an occasion of scruple that was unworthy of the Church of Christ, and the People committed to his Charge. A passage so clearly expressive of the Doctrine and Practice of the Church in the point of Images in that age, that the Champions of the Church of *Rome* are at infinite loss about it. Some of them say, that the good Bishop treated the Picture with that resentment, because he supposed it to have been the Image of some infamous Person, usurping the place of a Saint; others that this Epistle is spurious, and falsely Fathered upon *Epiphanius*; others that this latter part of it only is Supposititious, added by a later hand; and this way goes *Baronius*, *Blumen*, and the most, without any Authority, or just pretence of reason. And therefore *Baronius* after all the pains he had taken to make it seem an imposture, dares not yet be very confident of his own Conjecture. Wherefore others discerning these Shifts and Artifices to be weak and desperate, allow the Story, but withal decry *Epiphanius* as a downright *leuc-ess*, an enemy to Image Worship, and therefore to be little regarded in this case. And if they put it upon that Issue, we are content. Nor indeed is this the only Testimony *Epiphanius* has given in this matter: The Fathers of the second *Nicean* Council, the great Patrons of Image-worship, have recorded another to our hand. Take heed (says *Epiphanius*) to your selves, and hold fast the Traditions which you have received, turning neither to the right hand, nor to the left; and keep this continually in mind, never to introduce Images into Churches, nor into the Churchyards of the Saints; but have God always in your minds and memories. After which 'tis added, that the same Father publish'd other Discourses in confutation of Images, which they that are curious and inquisitive might easily meet with. And though 'tis true, the good Fathers of the Synod question the validity of that Testimony, yet upon what weak and frivolous pretences they do it, any man may at first sight discern, that will but be at the pains to look into the wife Proceedings of that Council. But I return.

IX. The Spirit of the man was too far exulcerated, to be heal'd with any Lenitives, or calm Replies which *Epiphanius* could return: His Choler still boil'd against him, and the Monks of *Palestine* that sided with him, especially *S. Jerom*, who took part with *Epiphanius*, and so gall'd the other with his tart Reflections, that he suspended him the Execution of his Ministry, and Communion with his Church, and endeavour'd ^m to drive him out of the Countrey, though his attempt that way took no effect. Good men were much troubled at these unhappy Differences, and heartily wisht a Composure. Among the rest *Count Aechlaus* ⁿ interposed, and prevail'd with the Parties concern'd to meet in order to it. Time and place were appointed, and a great number of Monks and others repaired thither to see what would be the issue of this Conference, when after all, *John* the Bishop did not appear, but sent a trifling excuse, that a certain Matron, whom he could not leave, was sick, which hindred his coming at that time. The Count sent him word, that they would stay a day or two longer, if he would then come. But all in vain, the Woman was still sick, and the same Excuse must serve the turn. By this 'twas evident to all impartial Observers, that he distrust'd his Cause, and durst not abide a Tryal, so that refusing to give *Epiphanius* any

^{VI. Tit. 7. c. 17.}

^l *See. ad Pag. 177.*
^m *Id. ad Tit. 7. p. 185.*

ⁿ *Ad Pagan. lib. p. 123.*

any answer, either by word or Letter, the good old Bishop wrote to the Monks, not to Communicate with him, till he had given satisfaction in those points of Heresie, whereof he stood impeacht. But so far was he from that, that he set himself to make a wider breach, and what he had formerly threatned, that the World should ring of *Epiphanius's* actings, he now put in Execution, writing Letters into all parts, and among the rest, probably, to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, who either at his invitation, or of his own accord, sent *Isidore* his Presbyter with Letters into *Palestine*, if possible, to Umpire and Compose the difference. But *Isidore* was underhand too good a Friend to *Origenism*, to do any thing that might prejudice the Cause of the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to whom and his Party he wrote beforehand, that they should stand their ground, and not be frighten'd with any terrors or threatnings, that he would come directly to *Jerusalem*, and at his arrival, make the attempts of their Adversaries fly before him, as Smoke is disperst in the Air, or as Wax melts at the presence of the fire. And when he did come, he took no care to pursue the ends of his Legation: Thrice indeed he gave meeting to the other Party, and entertain'd them with the Commands of his Master, and a parcel of smooth words tending to Peace, but conceal'd the Letters which *Theophilus* had sent to them. And when *S. Jerom* once and again demand'd them, he refus'd to deliver them, confessing he had been engag'd to do so by the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. And so his Legation came to nothing. At his departure *John* gave him an *Apology* ^p (penn'd by *Isidore's* own Council and Contrivance) to be delivered to *Theophilus*, wherein after he had complemented him with some flattering insinuations, that as a man of God, adorn'd with Apostolick grace, he did even in the midst of all his Affairs at home sustain the care of all the Churches, and especially the Church of *Jerusalem* (though as *S. Jerom* notes, this had been a fitter Address to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*) he proceeded to make an odious representation of his Adversaries; and because he had been charg'd with *Origenian* Errors ^q, eight whereof *Epiphanius* had objected to him, he thought himself oblig'd to offer somewhat in his own Vindication; but passing by all the greater points, he touch'd only upon three of the less material, and that too in so loose and careless a manner, as if there were no doubts concerning them, or that they did not deserve a more close and accurate discussion. However his Letter having as good a Friend as *Isidore* for its Interpreter, we may be sure would be made to speak fair for him at *Alexandria*.

X. THREE years ^r *Epiphanius* had waited for satisfaction, and had patiently born the injuries which *John* had thrown upon him, hoping that at last he would clear his Reputation, and do right to Truth. But he found the man incurable, and that the only use he made of his silence, was to fill the World with clamours against him. He resolv'd therefore to be no longer wanting to himself, but dispatcht away Letters ^t to all the most considerable Churches, to the Bishops of *Palestine*, to *Alexandria*, and especially to Pope *Siricius* at *Rome*, where *John's* Complaints had made the loudest noise. But because the Controversie was not clearly understood there, *Pammachius* a learned Gentleman of *Rome*, who upon the death of his Wife *Paulina* had taken the Monastick Rule upon him, wrote to *S. Jerom*, desiring from him

him a full account of this matter; which he accordingly gave him in a very large learned and eloquent Epistle, wherein he truly represents matter of Fact, vindicates *Epiphanius* and himself, and describes *John* in his proper colours. This Letter was written *Ann. CCCXCIII.* shortly after which he sent another much to the same effect to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, to undeceive him in those things, wherein *John* and *Isidore* might have misinform'd him; the aspersions which had been thrown upon himself, he wipes off with an elegant defence, and assures him, that notwithstanding all the spiteful attempts which *John* had made against him and his Party, yet they were heartily dispos'd to Peace, if he would but give the World satisfaction in the business of his Faith. The *Epiphanian* Cause being thus brought into open light, *John* saw 'twas in vain to bear up against the Stream, and so fairly let it fall, never after, that I find, appearing in it. By which means the good old man gain'd a present respite. But it lasted not long. For the *Origenian* Controversie being soon after reviv'd, though upon another occasion, involv'd him in fresh troubles, that ended not but with his Life. An account whereof, as being necessary to clear the remainder of this, and some parts of the following Life, we shall a little more particularly relate.

XI. THE broaching of the *Arian* Tenents about the beginning of this *Seculum*, had a little awakened the long buried Cause of *Origen*; but it came not to any considerable height till about the close of it, when a Question was started 'among the Monks in *Egypt*, especially those of Mount *Nitria* (where were the most frequent and celebrated Convents) whether God was a purely incorporeal Being, or had the Parts and Figure of a man? Upon this the Monasteries were divided, many defending the Orthodox Notion, while others of the simpler sort understanding those places of Scripture (which ascribe Eyes, Face, Hands, &c. to God) in a strict literal sense, fiercely espous'd the latter part of the Question, and because *Origen's* Writings were chiefly made use of to beat down their Opinion, they wholly rejected them, and quarrell'd with all that did approve and own them. *Theophilus* was at this time Bishop of *Alexandria*, a man subtle and politick, and one that knew how at any time to put a good Colour upon a bad Cause, and to sail with every Wind, by which he might reach the point he aim'd at. He had in his *Paschal* Letters sufficiently declared himself for the incorporeal Opinion, and in his Sermons finartly inveighed against those of the opposite Party. This quickly came to the Monks at *Nitria*, who alarm'd with it, flock'd in a great Body to *Alexandria*, intending to make him redeem his impiety (as they call'd it) with the price of his Head. He was aware of their coming, and going forth to meet them, entertain'd them with a pleasant look, addressing to them in the words of *Jacob* to his Brother *Esau*, *I have seen you, as though I had seen the Face of God*. With this crafty and ambiguous answer the deep pated Monks were well pleas'd and satisfied, supposing he meant, that God had a Face like to theirs; but added wishal, if you mean really what you say, condemn the Books of *Origen*, by which many are seduc'd into the contrary Opinion, and enabled to fight against us; and unless you do this, we are resolv'd to treat you as an impious Person, and an Enemy to God. The Bishop reply'd, be not angry, Sirs, I am ready

to do what you have a mind to, I for my part detest the Books of *Origen*, and condemn all those that admit them. And with that assurance they departed, confident that they had got the day.

XII. And here the Controversie might have slept and dyed, had not *Theophilus* thought good to awaken it, to minister to his private malice and revenge. Four Brothers there were, from the talnels of their Stature call'd *Longi*, who presided over the *Egyptian* Monasteries, *Dioscurus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius* and *Euthymius*, all of them renown'd for their learning and pious Lives, in great favour with *Theophilus*, who receiv'd them with all imaginable kindness and respect. *Dioscurus*, though unwilling, he consecrated Bishop of *Hermopolis*, and two others of them he in a manner forc'd to live with him at *Alexandria*, and made them Stewards of the Revenues of his Church. But they weary of the cares of a Secular Life, as too great an intrenchment upon their Pious and Philosophick genius, and much more weary of *Theophilus's* griping and covetous practises, who put them upon ill courses to advance his Projects, resolv'd to return back to their beloved Solitudes. The Bishop did what he could to dissuade them from it, but when he perceiv'd their Resolution unalterable, and much more the Reason that made them desert him, he began to storm, and threaten he would be even with them, which they little regarding went back to the Monasteries. At the same time he fell out with *Isidore*, * who had not long since also been his Favourite, partly because he refus'd to be Witness to a Will pretending that *Theophilus's* Sister was left Heiress to a certain Estate, partly because being Treasurer for the poor, he had deny'd *Theophilus* a Sum of Money towards his magnificent Buildings, telling him, 'twas much better to cloath the Backs, and refresh the Bowels of the poor, which are the true Temples of God, than to lay it out upon Roofs and Walls. *Theophilus* vex'd to be thus defeated and reproach'd, set himself to ruine him, *Palladius* * adds, that in a solemn Consistory he arraign'd him of no less than *Sodomy* upon a forg'd Writing, and when baffled in that, suborn'd a young man to swear the Charge, whose Mother discovered the Plot, and produc'd the Money that had been given her Son. However putting the best face he could upon it, he excommunicated and ejected *Isidore*, who not knowing how far it might be safe for him to stay longer there, fled to Mount *Nitria*, where he had been brought up in his younger years, whom *Theophilus* followed with Letters to the Bishops of those parts, commanding them to cast him and his Partizans out of those solitary recesses: The Monks hearing what was done, and pitying the hard case of *Isidore*, resolv'd that a Committee of their number, and *Ammonius* in the Head of them should go to *Alexandria* to treat with the Bishop about this matter. *Theophilus* at first promised to restore *Isidore* to Communion, and being oft urg'd with his Promise, to discourage any more such Addresses threw one of the Monks into Prison: Nay, we are told, that he threw the Tippet that he had about him over *Ammonius's* neck with his own hands, and beating him about the Face, till he was all bloody, with a stern angry Voice, *Heretick*, said he, *Anathematize Origen*, though not the least occasion for any such Discourse was offer'd at that time. But *Ammonius* and his Company voluntarily went to their Fellow in Prison, and refused to come

* Soc. il. c. 12.
p. 772.

* Dial. de vit.
Chrys. c. 6. p. 52.

out thence, till *Theophilus* himself came and should fetch them out. Afterwards they yielded to go to him, who having askt their pardon for what had been done, quietly dismiss'd and sent them home.

XIII. BUT how smooth soever he might appear without, his Passion boil'd up within. He had not forgot his former quarrel to *Dioscurus* and his Brethren, and though in his late rude treatment of *Ammonius* he had given him a taste of his kindness, yet he resolv'd now to pay them home all together; which yet he could not effect, but by creating a difference between them and the other Monks; who held them in a mighty esteem and veneration. And no way could he think of so proper for this, as again to set on foot among them the late buried controversy. He knew *Ammonius* and his Brethren were stiff Assestors of the Incorporeal Opinion, which the maintainers of were wont to make good among other ways by the reasons and authority of *Origen*. This he spread abroad by Letters in the Monasteries, advising them to beware of *Dioscurus* and his Brethren, who following the Doctrine of *Origen*, sought to introduce an impious opinion, that God was Incorporeal, and had not according to the Testimony of Scripture either Eyes, Ears, Hands or Feet. The design quickly took, and the far greater part of the Monks being simple and illiterate, were for the gross and absurd part of the question: But what they wanted in learning, they made up in Zeal, bandying the case not with accurate Disputings, but with noise and clamour. The Dissentions ran high, and grew irreconcilable, and names of reproach were fixt upon each Party, the Assestors of Corporeity scornfully styling the others *Origenists*, as they on the contrary branded them with the Title of *Anthropomorphites*. And that he might yet cast a further mist before mens eyes, he conven'd a Synod * at *Alexandria*, where in frequent Sessions the Cause of *Origen* was ventilated, and many dangerous propositions gathered out of his Writings were produc'd, which his friends not daring to defend, cry'd out, that the places had been corrupted, and the things fraudulently insert'd by Hereticks, a thing not to be wondred at, when they had not scrupled to offer violence to the Gospel it self; that therefore the body of his Works was not to be thrown away because of some adulterated passages, which a wise Reader would easily distinguish, and might reject what was corrupt, but retain what was Catholick truth. But this plea was over-ruled, it being reply'd, that there were Books enough, which the Church receiv'd, that the reading those Books was not to be allow'd, which would do more mischief to the simple and unwary, than they could do good to the Wise and Learned, and therefore good and bad were to be rejected, and the Tares and Wheat to be thrown out together. The issue was, that no man should read, or keep by him the Books of *Origen*. And though this was nothing to the case of *Dioscurus* and his Brethren, whom *Theophilus* knew to be far enough from patronizing any of *Origen's* obnoxious opinions, they only using his authority to refell a pernicious and fenceless Impiety, yet it serv'd his turn to raise a dust, and to clap a bad name upon them, and then expose them to the censure and hatred of the People, who perhaps would never enquire how they came to have that name put upon them.

* Posham. ap.
Sulp. Sev.
dialog. 1. c. 3.
p. 247.

* *Pallad. ubi
supr. c. 7. p. 55.*

* *Id. etiam
Socr. ubi sup.
p. 312. Sulp.
S. ibid. p.
249.*

† *Socr. l. 5.
c. 21. p. 630.*

XIV. AND this 'tis like the Synod had been told, had the Monks been there: But it seems they were never summon'd, *Theophilus* wisely foreseeing, that had they been call'd, his actions must have been ris'd into, and his fraud and ill arts would have been brought to light. And therefore he never proceeded against the body of the Monks, but only against *Ammonius* and his Brothers, against whom he procur'd a Synodal Sentence. Nay, if we may credit what *Palladius* further relates, he procur'd five persons, men of no authority or account amongst the Monks, and therefore more likely to be pliable to his designs, one of whom he consecrated Bishop (though but of a little Village, there being no City to set him over) a second Prefbyter, the three others Deacons. To these Confidants of his he delivered Libels of accusation against the Brethren, which himself had framed, and which they subscrib'd, and afterwards delivered to him in the face of the Church. He, as if he had known nothing of the matter, took the Libels at their hands, which he immediately presented to the *Augustal Prefect*, or Vice-Roy of *Egypt*, intreating his Warrant and assistance, that those infamous persons might be expell'd the Country. His request was soon granted, and being now armed with the Civil Power and attended by a company that would do his work, whom to that end he had well warm'd with Wine, away he goes at night for Mount *Nitria*; and first he seizeth upon *Dioscurus*, whom he depos'd, and committed to his *Ethiopian* Slaves, taking into his own possession his Episcopal See, though of as great antiquity as any in those parts; it having been the place where *Joseph* and the blessed Virgin rested with our Infant-Saviour, when they fled into *Egypt*. Next he goes to the Monasteries, the plunder whereof he permitted to the Souldiers, but not finding the persons he sought for, he first set fire to their Cells, and burnt their Books, and among them their Bibles, and the very portions of the Eucharist, and as those who were eye-witnesses affirm'd, a little youth into the Bargain, and then return'd back in Triumph. The truth is, the three Brothers upon the first news of his approach had hid themselves in a Well, the mouth whereof being covered over with a mat prov'd a safe shelter to them. The danger being over, and they well knowing those parts would afford them no protection, left the Country, and with *Dioscurus* (who had made his escape) fled into *Palestine*, first to *Jerusalem*, and then to *Seythopolis* (anciently call'd *Bethsai*, situate in the half Tribe of *Manasses* on this side *Jordan*) where, as being best furnish'd with Palm-trees, the leaves whereof the Monks made great use of in their ordinary mechanical operations, they scated themselves. Hither repair'd to them great numbers of their old company, about LXXX. say some; CXXVI. say CCC. say others. But *Theophilus* his malice stop't not here, he wrote to the Bishops in *Palestine* in a strain lordly enough, that they ought not without his advice to have received these Fugitives, but in that their ignorance might excuse them, and he would pass it by, but that for the time to come they should not in any way of converse either Civil or Sacred, entertain them. However here they continued, till hearing that *Theophilus* design'd Messengers to *Constantinople*, to complain against them at Court, they conceiv'd it best to be beforehand; so *Dioscurus* and several others repaired thither, where *Chrysostom*, then Arch-bishop of the Imperial See, receiv'd them with

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all due kindness and respect. By the whole carriage of this affair and what follows in relation to *Chrysostom*, it evidently appears that *Theophilus* indulg'd passion and prejudice beyond what became a good man. I know an attempt has lately been made to vindicate and relieve his memory, and to that end the whole story of his Transactions with these *Egyptian* Monks, has been call'd in question, and represented as a piece of Forgery, contriv'd by the *Origenian* Monks to impose upon the World. But this is a liberty which I confess I dare not take. The story is not only related by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, men of credit enough in other matters, and who had no particular interest to serve in this, who liv'd, if not in, very near that time, and were acquainted with some of the persons concerned in it, but it is very minutely related by *Palladius*, (or who-ever was the Author of that *Dialogue*) who with *Chrysostom* was concern'd in some part of the story, and was very familiarly acquainted both with the Persons themselves, and the whole management of the business. I do not deny but those that favoured the *Origenian* way might set out *Theophilus* in his worst light, and might put a keener edge upon some of his Actions, than perhaps they deserv'd. But to say that the whole Story is feign'd, because *Sozomen* says his Friend, whom he could trust, had one particular passage in it from the Monks themselves (for what *Sozomen* says of that, refers only to the Causes of *Theophilus* his displeasure against *Isidore*) is too hard, and would open too wide a gap. For suppose he had had the whole Relation from them: Is no man to be believ'd in his own Cause? Or can any man be so fit to tell the particular Circumstances of his Case, as he that suffers them? And indeed if the credit of a Story so particularly related, so well attested, must be destroy'd merely for a few surmises, which a witty man may start in any matters of Fact, I scarce know what parts of Church-story can be secure.

XV. THUS far we have deduc'd the general Story, we shall now bring it home particularly to *Epiphanius*. *Theophilus* having Synodically condemn'd *Origenism*, wrote an *Encyclical* Epistle to the Churches abroad, to give them an account of what he had done: And because *Epiphanius* by reason of his age, and his singular piety and learning, was a Person of greatest Authority at that time, he was desirous to gain him to his Party. Not that heretofore he had quarrell'd with him for being an *Anthropomorphite*, and to gain his Friendship, did now dissemble himself to be of that Opinion (as *Socrates* and *Sozomen* represent it) for though *John* of *Jerusalem* did once insinuate such a suspicion, (and *Rufinus* it seems took it up, and gave countenance to it) yet *Epiphanius* did immediately disown and protest against it: But he knew well it would be of mighty advantage to his Cause, to have so near a Neighbour, and so considerable a Person on his side. To him therefore besides the general Epistle, he wrote more particularly, to let him know that with the Sword of the Gospel he had cut in pieces those *Origenian* Serpents, that had crept out of their holes, and had clear'd Mount *Nitria* of that pestilient Contagion; that now 'twas his part, who had been an old Souldier in these Conflicts, to support and relieve those that were fighting, and in order thereunto to summon together all the Bishops of his Island, and to send their Synodical Letters to *Constantinople* and elsewhere, that both *Origen* and his Heresie might by name be condemn'd

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* *Id. Socr. l. 8.
c. 12. p. 772.*

† *Socr. l. 6.
c. 10. p. 315.
Sozom. l. 8.
c. 14. p. 775.*

‡ *Hier. Azol.
adv. Rufin.
p. 240.*

§ *Ext. ap. Hieron. Tom. II.
p. 309.*

you able to raise the dead, your own Arch-deacon surely had not dyed: Meaning *Crispion*, one of his Domestick Attendants, whom he had made his Arch-deacon, and who was lately dead. She perceiv'd what it was that stuck with him, and therefore advis'd *Ammonius* and his Brothers to go and wait upon *Epiphanius*. They did so, and when he enquired who they were, *Ammonius* told him, they were the *Longi*, that came out of *Aegypt*, and desired to know, Whether he had read any Books, or convers'd with any Disciples of theirs? He answered, no; upon what account then, reply'd *Ammonius*, have you judg'd them to be Hereticks, whose Opinion you are a Stranger to, and whom you have never Convicted. *Epiphanius* answered, he had heard so of them. But we, said *Ammonius*, take a quite contrary Course; we have oft met with your Scholars, and have read your Books, that especially call'd the *Ancorate*; and when many have bespattered and call'd you Heretick, we, as became us towards so venerable a Father, have stood up for you, and taken your part, and defended your Cause against all Opposition. Wherefore neither ought you by meer hearsay to have condemn'd the absent, and charge them with things, whereof you had no just Arguments to convince them. nor thus to requite those, who had spoken so well of you. The good man was a little asham'd with the Rebuke, and afterwards treated them with more calmness, and then dismiss'd them. Soon after he prepar'd for his return, being either weary of the errand he had undertaken, or warn'd by God of his approaching dissolution.

XIX. THE report went, that at parting *Chrysostom* and he took leave of each other, with this odd Farewell, *I hope*, said he to *Chrysostom*, *that you shall not dye a Bishop*; whereto the other reply'd, *I hope you will never come safe into your own Country*. This if so, shews that as wife and good men may fall out, and be transported by impotent and unreasonable Passions, so God sometimes takes men at their Word, whips them with their own Rods, and suffers them to reap the Fruits of those rash and ill-advised Wishes, which a calm and composed Reason would have prevented; as in this Case it came to pass, *Chrysostom* dying in Exile, and the other never coming home alive. As he was going to take Ship, he turr'd to the Bishops that waited upon him to the shore, *I leave you* (said he) *the City, the Court, and the Scene. I am going, for I hasten away, and that apace*. The Ship was quickly under Sayl, and carried him out of sight, a fit Monitor of that sudden departure that now attended him, for he dyed on Ship-board during the Voyage. *Polybius*¹ that pretends to have been his Companion in this very Voyage, gives us a particular account of his last hours, and though I cannot recommend this with the same assurance, I have done the rest, yet it containing nothing but what's probable enough, I shall briefly set it down. Being sat down in his apartment, he held, as his Custom was, the New Testament in his hand, and with sighs and tears opened the Book, and then folded it up, and wept again; then he arose and prayed, and after sat down, and turning to his two Attendants, *Isaac* and *Polybius*, began with tears to Discourse to them to this effect. "That if they lov'd him, they should keep his Commandments, and then the love of God should abide in them; they knew through how many Afflictions he had pass'd in his time, which yet he did not think burdensome,

"but

"but was always chearful in any thing wherein God was concern'd, "who had never forsaken him, but delivered him out of all dangers, "as all things work together for good to them that love God: That "the Devil had oft assaulted and set upon him, especially by his Agents in all places, the *Simonians* in *Phœnicia*, the *Gnosticks* in *Aegypt*, the *Valentinians* and other Hereticks in *Cyprus*; that they "should do well to hearken to his last Councils: Be not covetous, "and you shall have enough; hate no man, and God will love you, "speak not against a Brother, and the affection of the Devil shall "not rule in you; detest all Heresies, as wild Beasts full of deadly "Poyson, whereof I have given you an account in my *Panarion*; "turn away from worldly pleasure, that's always ready to charm "both Body and Soul, you'll find 'tis the way by which *Satan* makes "his approach, nay, and that many times when no external temptation is present, yet the minds of the unwary entertain themselves "with impure Contemplations; but when the mind is kept chaste "and sober, and has God always within view and prospect, we shall "be easily able to rout the Enemy. Having discours'd to this purpose, he commanded the whole Ships company to be call'd, and told them, it highly concern'd them all earnestly to sollicite the Divine mercy, that God would preserve and save them, for that there would be a mighty Storm, but withal, bad them be of good cheer, for that none of them should be cast away. After having given some private directions to *Polybius* and *Isaac*, he sent for the Seamen, and bad them not be troubled at the Storm, but fly to God, and he would help them. At night the Storm began to arise, which continued two dayes and nights, the next day he prayed, embraced his two Disciples, saying, God preserve you, my Sons, for *Epiphanius* shall see you no more in this World, and with that expir'd, and immediately the Tempest ceas'd. Being arriv'd at *Salamis*, the news of his death fill'd the whole City and Countrey with an universal Lamentation, and flocking to the Shore, they took his Body out of the Ship, and honourably accompanied it to the Church, where it was embalmd, put up, and at length interr'd. He dyed about the latter end of *Ann. CCCCII.* or rather the beginning of the following year, being of a great age. *Polybius* says¹, that the day that he went on ship-board being ask'd by the Emperor *Arcadius*, how old he was, he told him, he was CXV. years old, and three months; which he thus computed, that he was LX. years of age, when he was made Bishop, and that he had been Bishop LV. years, and three months. But that is uncertain, and in part false. This only we can safely rely on, that *Ann. CCCXCII.* at what time *S. Jerom* finish'd his Catalogue, he was in an extreme old age^m, and that he sat Bishop of *Salamis* XXXVI. years*, so that we cannot suppose him to have been much under an hundred years old at the time of his death.

XX. THUS died this good man, who came to his Grave in a full age, like as a shock of Corn cometh in his Season. A man in whose Soul there breath'd a great Zeal for God, and for the interests of Catholick truth. He had searcht into the Principles, and ris'd the intreaques of all ancient and modern Heresies, and that fill'd his mind with a brisk generous hatred both of their Doctrines and Practices, and made him continually for the Faith that was once delivered to the Saints, and vigorously

¹ Vit. Epiph.
at. Sar. n.
LXIII. &c.

¹ Id. Nov. cit.

^m Hier. de
Crisp. in Epiph.
* Callad. loc.
siquis citati

rously oppose whatever did but intrench upon the confines of it; as was manifest in his hearty attempts against *Origenism*, the desire of suppressing which, put new life into his old age, and made him willing to comply with any pains or troubles, at a time when his Body was sinking under the decays of nature. Nor did he by a clamorous Zeal seek to cover any ill designs, his virtue and piety were conspicuous to the World. The greatest part of his time was spent under the exact Laws and Discipline of the Monastick State, a quite different course of life from what *Monachism* is in these latter Ages. And when removed to the Episcopal Station, he maintained the same strictness, abstinence, and devotion, inasmuch that his example and encouragement drew *Ascetics* from all parts, and *Cyprus* was full of Monasteries, which the Lady *Paula* visited with great Piety, and liberally reliev'd when she pass'd that way into the Holy Land. But among all his virtues none more eminent than his charity. He kept, in effect, an open house, and took care of all that needed, and as the place where he liv'd, besides ordinary poor presented him with frequent objects ruin'd by Shiprack and losses at Sea, so his Doors and his Purse were shut to none. He had long since expended his own Estate upon charitable uses, and he now as freely dispers'd the Revenues of his Church, which indeed had a considerable stock. For Persons from all parts sent in vast sums of Money to him as to a common Treasurer, and at their death bequeathed great Legacies and Endowments, being confident that he would dispose of them according to their pious intentions and designs. And so he did with a very liberal hand, till his stock failing, Heaven became his immediate Paymaster. His Steward one day finding his bank run low, told him of it with some resentment, challenging him with an over-profuse Liberality. Which notwithstanding, he remitted nothing of his accustomed Charity. And when all was gone, a Stranger came suddenly into the Stewards Lodging, and delivered into his hand a large bag of Gold, none knowing who he was, or whence he came. This free and beneficent temper made his Charity sometimes liable to be abus'd, the bad effect of a good Cause. The story being known of two beggars that agreed to put a trick upon him, the one feigning himself dead, the other standing by passionately bewail'd the loss of his Fellow, and begg'd of *Epiphanius*, who pass'd that way, a Charity to provide necessaries for his Funeral. *Epiphanius* gave it, and went on, and when the beggar jogg'd his Fellow to rise and make merry with what they had got, the man was dead in good earnest. To lesson men to beware how they mock God, and sport with life and death. *Epiphanius* in the mean time was lov'd and admir'd by all, his very Enemies holding him in such Veneration, that in the hottest of all the *Arian* Persecutions under *Valens* he liv'd secure and undisturb'd at home, the worst of Hereticks then in power thinking it would fix an indecible reproach and infamy upon their Cause, to persecute so great and good a man.

XXI. HIS Learning was not contemptible in respect either of profane or sacred Writers, especially he had travers'd the paths of Ecclesiastick Learning. He had some competent Skill in all the most useful Languages, especially the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, *Aegyptick*, *Greek* and *Latine*, thence styl'd by *S. Jerom* *πνιδανωτ*, though a little of the

• *Nicomen. Epistaph. Paul.* p. 171.

• *Socrus. l. 7. c. 27. p. 743.*

• *Hist. eccl. Pamach. p. 163.*

• *Id. Anst. T. adv. Ruf. l. 2. p. 222. & Apoc. II. p. 233.*

Eastern

• *Engl. Tongues* went a great way in those days. The truth is, his learning was much more considerable than his judgment, and his reading more diffuse, than his reasonings acute and nervous. Sometimes (as *Photius* observes) he attempts an Adversary with some smartness, but for the most part his discourses are weak and flat. But his greatest fault was his too much Credulity, generally taking his Accounts of things upon trust, suffering himself to be impos'd upon by those Narratives which the several parties had publish'd of the Proceedings either of their own, or their Adversaries side, without due search and Examination, which run him upon infinite mistakes, inconsistencies, and confusions, as is notoriously evident (to name no other) in his Relations concerning the *Arians*, and the several under-branches of that Stock. His Style is mean and insipid, and approaches not the borders of Eloquence, it being the Character, which his good Friend *S. Jerom* long since gave of his Writings, that learned men read them for the matter and substance, and the simple only for the sake of the style. The chiefest of his Books now extant is his *Panarion*, or work against *Heretics*, wherein besides the main design, he has preserv'd many considerable fragments of ancient Ecclesiastick Authors, no where else to be found, and no small part of the History of the Church lies in that Book. The whole design is divided into two Periods, that before, and that since the coming of Christ. The work it self digested into three Books. The first contains three *Tomes* (as he calls them) or *Sections*; the first comprehending XX. Heresies, the second XIII. and the third as many. The second Book comprises two *Tomes*, in the first XVIII. in the second V. Heresies are treated of. The third Book consists likewise of two *Tomes*; the first has VII. Heresies, and the second IV. In all LXXX. concluding with the *Massilians*, who start up in the time of *Constantinus*. In compiling this excellent and useful work he had no small assistance from some of the Ancients, who in this kind had gone before him, *Iustin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Hippolytus*, and some others, whose discourses and relations he improved and enlarged, and intirely added the account of those Heresies that arose in his own time, the most active and busie age of the Church.

HIS WRITINGS.

Genuine.

Panarium, sive adversus Hereses LXXX.
Ancoratus, seu de fide Sermo.
Anacephaleosis, seu Panarij Epitome.
De Ponderibus & mensuris Liber.
Epistola ad Joannem Hierosolymitanum. Lat.
Ad Hieronymum Epistola brevis. Lat.

Supposititious.

Physiologus.
De vita & interitu prophetarum.

De

De duodecim gemmis in veste Aaronis.
Ejusdem Libri Epitome.

- Orationes VIII. {
 I. *In Festum Palmarum.*
 II. *In Christi Sepulturam.*
 III. *In Christi Resurrectionem.*
 IV. *In Christi Assumptionem.*
 V. *De laudibus B. Marie Virginis.*
 VI. *In Festo Palmarum.*
 VII. *De Numerorum mysteriis.*
 VIII. *De Christi Resurrectione.*

Not extant.

De Lapidibus.
S. Hilarionis encomium.
Epistole plures.

The End of S. Epiphanius's Life.

T H E


THE LIFE OF
S. CHRYSOSTOM,
 BISHOP OF
CONSTANTINOPLE.



SECT. I.

His Acts from his birth, till his being made Bishop of Constantinople.
The

The greatness of the City of Antioch, the place of his Nativity. His Parents. The singular virtues of his Mother. His Sister. His Education under Libanius. His pleading Causes. Under what Masters he studied Theology. His recovery of Theodorus to an Affectic Life. His dear and intimate Friendship with Basil. Basil who. Their joyn't-resolution for a Monastick conve. The elegant and passionate discourse of his Mother from engaging in that state of Life. His declining a Bishoprick, and cheating Basil into that Office. The occasion of his Books de Sacerdotio. His retirement into the Wilderness, imprisonment, and time of stay there. His entering upon the Order of Reader. Made Deacon. The Books he wrote in that Station. Ordain'd Presbyter. His first Sermon on that occasion. The care of preaching committed to him. The troubles at Antioch, whence. Pulling down and disgracing the Imperial Statues. Revenge resolv'd on at Court. Commissioners sent thence about it. The miserable consternation, and sad face of things at Antioch. Chrysostom's Sermons ad Populum Antiochenum. Flavian their Bishop prevailed with to undertake an Embassy to Court. Libanius sent by the Gentile-part of the City. His Oration to Theodosius. The Activity of the Monks at Antioch, and their supplications to the Magistrates and Commissioners. The humble address and expostulation of Macedonius. The Commissioners rigorously execute their Orders. Chrysostom's melancholy visitation and survey of the City at that time. Flavian's arrival at Court. The Emperors expostulation with him. His eloquent and pathetic discourse to the Emperor. Pardon obtain'd for the City. Theodosius his great tenderness and concernment for them. Flavian's joyful welcome home. The death of Paulinus the old Bishop. Flavian's prudent carriage. A period put to the long schism in that Church.

I.  NTIOCH, seated upon the River *Orontes*, was the Metropolis of Syria, and the Capital City of the East, that is, of the Eastern Dioceses. For the Oriental part of the Roman Empire consisting of seven Dioceses, five of them were under the jurisdiction of the *Prætorian Prefect of the East*, whereof the Dioceses of the East (strictly and properly so called, comprehending Syria and the neighbouring Countries) was chief, and Antioch the prime City of it, and the ordinary residence of the Imperial Lieutenant, and very often of the Emperors themselves; upon which account 'tis styl'd by an ancient Geographer ^a *πύλις βασιλίσκος* the Royal or Imperial City. ^b *Josephus* without any scruple makes it the third City for greatness, pleasure, and plenty in the whole Roman World, intending I suppose by the other two, Rome and Alexandria: And when Geta divided the Roman Government with his Brother Antonine, he pitcht either upon Antioch or Alexandria for the seat of his Empire, looking upon them as Cities not much inferior in greatness to Rome it self. Indeed 'twas a place large and populous, splendid and magnificent, rich and pleasant, renowned for its Professors both of Learning and Religion. But enough has been said in its Commendation, and that in few Discourses, by two of the greatest Orators of that time in their several Professions, the one a Pagan, the other a Christian, the one the Master,

^a *De script. orb.*
p. 1. a. Gatho-
frid. edit.
p. 10.
^b *lib. 2. c. 2.*
p. 232.
^c *Urbis. Hist.*
l. 3. p. 159.

the other the Scholar, and both natives of this place, *Libanius* ^d I mean, the standard of Eloquence in those dayes, and he whose Life we now attempt to write, *S. John* ^e, who from the fluency and sweetness of his eloquence deriv'd the surname of *Chrysostom*, who was born here about the year CCCLIV. if we may rely upon the account of his age at the time of his death, generally agreed to be somewhat more, than two and fifty years. I confess there are some Circumstances of his Life, that tempt me to think him born some years before. But the thing not being warranted by any express Authorities of the Ancients, I shall not take upon me to controul the common account. Descend'd ^f he was of Parents considerable for their Birth and Quality. His Father *Secundus* was a Person of prime note and dignity, a great Officer and chief Commander of the Army in Syria, but dyed it seems soon after *Chrysostom* was born, as appears, in that when he attend'd ^g the School of his Gentile Master, perhaps *Libanius* (at what time he could be very little turn'd of twenty) his Mother had been twenty years a Widow. Nay, the her self puts it out of all question, expressly affirming it to have been so, in the discourse which she had with her Son, of which afterwards. Her name was *Secunda*, the Daughter of an honourable Family in the City, a woman prudent, grave, chaste and pious; left a Widow at twenty years of age, and so she continued, to the great honour of her Sex, and of her Religion too, even in the judgment of the wiser Gentiles of that place. Besides him, they had one only Daughter, a good Woman, but not over happily married: And had not *Palladius* told us, that she was the eldest, I should have guess'd from *Chrysostom's* own words, that they had been Twins and had come into the World at the same Birth.

II. HAVING past through the useless and unactive stage of infancy, together with the exercises of his reason there were discovered in him great appearances ^h of very pregnant parts, which his tender Mother took care should be cultivated with all due improvements of Education. Accordingly as years made him capable, he was committed to Masters in all Arts and Faculties. Nature it seems had more particularly form'd him to the Study of Oratory, and to that end he put himself under the conduct of *Libanius* ⁱ, the celebrated Professor of eloquence at Antioch, as he studied Philosophy under *Andragathius*. *Libanius* quickly found he had a mighty genius for that faculty, and seem'd born to be an Orator, and therefore particularly delighted in him, and held him in that esteem, that when upon his death-bed ^j his Friends askt him who should succeed him in his School, *John* (said he) *had not the Christians stolen him from us*. After this, we are told ^k, he went to Athens (which indeed was the fashionable mode and course of study in those times) what vast proficiencies he made there, how far he out-strippt the most accomplisht Scholars of that place, what mischiefs envy and malice conjur'd up against him, how he came off in triumph, to the conviction, and conversion, not of others only, but of his fiercest Enemies, to the Christian Faith. But this being supported by no Authority ancienter than that of *George Patriarch of Alexandria*, I can give my Reader no encouragement to rely upon it. In the School of *Libanius* he continued a close Student for some time, till being fully prepar'd

M m m

and

^d *Græc. Anti-
ochensis. Hist.*
c. 332.
^e *Libani. Anti-
och. orationes.*
Hom. 17. at
pop. Antioch.
& alibi.

^f *Pallad. Dia-
logus de vit.*
Coryb. c. 5.
p. 40. S. 2. l. 5.
p. 3. p. 321.
S. 2. l. 2. p. 2.
p. 7. l. 1.
Coryb. c. 5.
p. 41. l. 1.
p. 42. l. 2. p. 222.

^g *Coryb. c. 5.
p. 41. l. 1.
p. 42. l. 2. p. 222.
p. 7. l. 1.
Coryb. c. 5.
p. 41. l. 1.
p. 42. l. 2. p. 222.*

^h *S. 2. l. 2. p. 222.*

ⁱ *S. 2. l. 2. p. 222.*

^j *S. 2. l. 2. p. 222.*

^k *Geo. Alex.
v. 1. c. 4.
p. 151. ext.
p. 1. 8. Edit.
S. 2. l. 1. p. 2.
S. 2. l. 1. p. 2.*

¹ *Chryf. de fa-*
cto. l. 1. c. 1.
² *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
³ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁴ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁵ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁶ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁷ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁸ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁹ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
¹⁰ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
¹¹ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
¹² *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
¹³ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
¹⁴ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
¹⁵ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*

and furnish'd out, he entred upon the practick part of Oratory, and for some little time serv'd the *Forum*¹, and pleaded Causes. And now it was, (if at all) that he made that eloquent Oration in praise of the Emperor and his two Colleague sons (suppos'd by *Baronius* to be the elder *Valentinian*, and his Sons *Gratian* and *Valentinian*) so much extoll'd and cry'd up by *Libanius*, and all that heard or read it, as he tells him in a Letter² written to him upon this occasion. But a learned man³ not improbably conjectures the *John* mentioned by *Libanius* to have been another Person, an Advocate who then lived at *Constantinople*, and that he made that Panegyrick to *Theodosius* at what time he assumed his Sons into a Partnership of the Empire. However that be, he soon grew weary of this course of life, as not agreeing with the strictness and severity of his temper, he retired therefore to read the holy Scriptures, and gave himself to the Study of Theology, not a little encouraged herein by the Example of *Enagrios*, his Townsman and School fellow, who had sometime since betaken himself to this way of Life. The Masters, to whose precepts and instructions he submitted himself, were *Cartarius* and *Diodorus*, Prefects of the famous Monasteries in the Suburbs of *Antioch*. This *Diodorus* was afterwards made Bishop of *Tarsus*, a man of sense and learning, he wrote several Commentaries upon the Scripture, wherein he generally kept himself to the Letter, discharging the mystical and allegorical sense. And from him no doubt *Chryssostom* deriv'd his excellent Vein (so peculiar to him above most of the Ancient Fathers) of explaining Scripture in the literal and Historical way. Nor was he content himself to enjoy the benefit of such admirable Tutors, but by his influence and persuasion prevailed with some of his fellow Students in *Libanius*'s School to come over to them, especially *Maximus*, afterwards Bishop of *Scheria* in *Isauria*, and *Theodorus*⁴, a man exquisitely learned and eloquent, but who after a strict profession of the *Asctetic* way, returned back to the Secular Life, and designed to marry. Which *Chryssostom* no sooner heard of, but he pursued him with two set Discourses⁵, wherein he ply'd him with such powerful Reasons and patherical Insinuations, that he soon broke the measures he had taken, and reduc'd him to his former state of Life, wherein he continued, till he was advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Mosfusta* in *Cilicia*.

¹ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
² *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*

³ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁴ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁵ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*

¹ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
² *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
³ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁴ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
⁵ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*

¹ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
² *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*
³ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*

III. BUT among all *Chryssostom*'s acquaintance, none was so dear and familiar to him as *Basil*, suppos'd by *Socrates*¹, and those who follow him, to have been the great *S. Basil of Cesarea*, by *Photius*² and others, the *Basil* that was Bishop of *Selencia*, but perhaps neither the one nor the other, the first being almost impossible, the latter highly improbable, and therefore must be a third person between both. Between him and this *Basil*, whoever he was, there was an intire league of Friendship, founded upon a more than ordinary conformity of tempers, manners, studies, and education under the same Masters, and in the same paths of learning. They had now pass'd through the whole circle of the Sciences, and were deliberating what course of life were best to steer, both of them inclining to the Monastick course. *Basil*, who had little to stake him down to the World, quickly conquered all difficulties. But *Chryssostom* had

had an Estate, and external Affairs had taken some hold of him, and he could not easily, and on a sudden break loose. And in this perplex'd and wavering condition he continued till *Basil*, by his daily arguments and sollicitations had baffled all Objections, and fixt his Resolutions, and now 'twas concluded, that they should quit their present Stations, and immediately retire to spend their lives together in some solitary place. But this Resolution was not so closely carried, but *Chryssostom*'s Mother³ finelt it out. The good Woman unwilling to be depriv'd of the company and assistance of such a Son, was strangely startled at it, and taking him one day by the hand, led him into her own apartment, where seating him down by her upon that very bed, whereon she had brought him forth, that what she had to say might make the more sensible impression, she burst out into some passion, and with tears in her eyes began to discourse to him in this manner. "Son, said she, it was but a little time (so "God was pleas'd to order it) that I had the happiness to enjoy "the virtuous and excellent conversation of your Father, whose "death soon followed those pains I endured at your birth, and the "same unseasonable stroke made you an Orphan, and me a Widow, "and brought upon me those troubles and miseries of a Widowed "state, which none can rightly understand, but they who feel them. "For no Language can sufficiently represent what disturbances and "inquietudes necessarily attend a young Woman, newly taken from "under her Fathers roof, wholly unexperienc'd in the management "of Affairs, and thrown into the midst of griefs and sorrows, too big "to be born either by her strength, sex, or years. Forc'd she must "be to contend with, and correct the laziness, and to watch the "miscarriages of Servants, to countermeine and prevent the treacherous Councils and Designs of Relations, to bear with the clamorous importunity, rude incivilities, and cruel usages of Collectors "and Officers: Her Husband dies, and leaves a Child; if it be a "Daughter, it creates the Mother no little care, though withal her "education at home is both less expensive and dangerous; but if a "Son, it fills her with a thousand cares and fears every day, not to "speak of the Charges she must be at, that intends him a liberal "Education. And yet none of these considerations have once prevail'd with me to alter my Condition, and bring a second Husband into your Fathers House: I have been content to be tosd in "the Storm and Tempest, and being assisted by a Power from above, have not declined the hardships of this Iron-furnace; it not "being the least support to me amidst all these Sufferings, that I "could daily behold your Face, and thereby had continually before "my eyes the lively Image, the perfect character and resemblance of "your deceased Father. 'Twas this, that while you were yet a tender Infant, and before you could speak (at what time Parents take "the greatest pleasure in their Children) made me look upon you "with a perpetual satisfaction and delight. Nor can you lay it to "my charge, that though I have generously born up under the "cares of Widowhood, yet to relieve the necessities of that state I "have wasted your paternal Inheritance (which yet I know in several instances has been the hard fate and case of Orphans) no, "I have preserv'd it untouch'd and intire; and yet have not spared

¹ *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*

"any cost, to give you such an Education, as might raise you to a just esteem and reputation in the World; the Charges whereof I have defrayed out of my own Estate, and which I brought with me as my proper Portion. Think not I say this to upbraid you, the only kind requital I ask for all I have done, is, that you would not involve me in a second Widowhood, nor revive my buried grief; stay but till I am gone, 'tis like it will not be long. For those that are young, there's some hope, they may arrive at an old age; but for us that are already in years, nothing remains but a continual expectation of death. When therefore you have committed me to the ground, and laid mine besides your Fathers bones, then Travel whither you please, and cross what Seas you have a mind to, there will be none to hinder you. But while I live, be content that one House should hold us; don't so far provoke God against you, as thus miserably to afflict a Mother, that has not deserv'd it at your hands. If you think you have this against me, that I have put you upon Secular Affairs, and forc'd you to look after your own concerns; regard not the Laws of Nature, let not education, converse, or any thing else sway with you, but account me as an Enemy, and an underminer of your happiness. But if it shall appear, that I have so transacted all Affairs, as that you in the mean time may enjoy the most easy and undisturb'd course of life, though there were nothing else, let this prevail with you to stay with me. For although you may pretend there are a thousand love your Company, yet there can be none that can so much minister to your ease and freedom, nor can there be any, to whom your Credit and Reputation can be equally dear, as it is to me.

IV. THIS and much more to the same purpose the indulgent Mother lay'd before him, with all which he failed not immediately to acquaint his Friend, who was so far from yielding that he should acquiesce in those Counsels, that he press'd him so much the more to adhere to his former Resolutions. They spent some time in these debates, the one importuning, the other suspending his Consent, when on a sudden a rumour was spread abroad, that they were both to be made Bishops. *Chrysostom* was strangely surprized at the report, and equally divided between fear and admiration; afraid he was left the rumour should be so far true, as that the sacred Function should be forc'd upon him; but wondered withal, how such a design should be taken up by any, especially considering his own unworthiness and unsuitness for it. (I might add, considering also the incompetency of his years for so grave and solemn an Office: For according to the commonly-receiv'd account of his age he could not at this time be much more than twenty one years old.) He was entertaining himself with these reflections, when in comes *Basil*, who supposing him ignorant of what was talk'd abroad, took him privately aside and told him the whole matter, desiring, that as always hitherto, so now they might steer the same Course, protesting he was most ready to follow his Conduct, either in declining, or accepting the proposal. *Chrysostom* resolv'd not to engage in that weighty Office, but being unwilling that his refusal should deprive the Church of the others excellent assistance, for once conceal'd his intentions from him, putting him off with a general answer, that there

^u *ibid.* c. 2.
^{p.} 5. ^{sec.}

there was time enough to consult, and no need to come to a present conclusion in this matter, but withal giving him some ground to believe, that if the business should go on, he would go the same way with him. The day for their Consecration being come, *Basil* supposing his Colleague would be there, or, as some would persuade him, that he had been before him, was taken hold of, and the holy hands laid upon him. The Solemnity being over, and *Chrysostom* never appearing, his first business was to find him out, which having done, with a look divided betwixt grief and anger, he sat down by him, but was not presently able to vent his mind. *Chrysostom* perceiv'd his passion too hard for him, but smiled upon him, and taking him by the hand, offered to kiss it, thanking God, that he had so successfully accomplish'd his desires. *Basil* at length mastering the discomposure of his thoughts, fell into a long harangue, wherein he expostulated with him for his unfaithfulness and unkindness, and that though he had had no regard to the Laws of Friendship, yet he should have had some tenderness for his own Reputation, which by this means he had expos'd to the censures of every Company, that he could go no where, but it was cast as a reproach upon him, and that now in a time of most need he had drawn back his hand, and cut off the aids of their mutual assistance. *Chrysostom* replied, he had done nothing but what was justifiable, he had deceiv'd him 'tis true, but for his own advantage, and much more for the good of the Church, and in such cases he shew'd from several instances, 'twas not unlawful by little Arts to over-reach another. After some contest in these light Skirmishes, they next enter into the merits of the Cause, and discourse at large concerning the nature and necessity, the burden and difficulty, the danger and the reward of the Pastoral and Episcopal Office, the qualification and demeanour of the Persons, and the great charity of the undertaking. All which afterwards in the time of his recess he drew up into those six excellent Books de *Sacerdotio*, extant at this day.

V. HE was now at liberty, and away he goes to the neighbouring Mountains *, which were full of Monasteries, where he fell in to converse with an aged Hermit of that Countrey, whose strictness and abstinence he set before him, inuring himself to study and hardship. Four years he continued in his Company, when he betook himself to a more solitary part, where he dwelt alone, and shutting himself up in his Cell, allow'd himself little or no rest, not going to Bed, nor so much as lying upon the ground day or night for two years together, perpetually intent upon his Devotions, and the study of the holy Scriptures: Till finding all irregular appetites wholly subdued, and through his continual standing, watching, and abstinence, infirmities growing fast upon him, and no body near at hand to give him any assistance, he came back to *Antioch*. Where he was ordain'd ¹ Reader of that Church by *Zeno* (who return'd that way from *Jerusalem*) *Melchius* Bishop of *Antioch* being at that time probably from home, or else deputing *Zeno* to that service; this *Palladius* ² expressly says, 'twas done before *Chrysostom*'s retirement into the Wilderness, and that for three years before that he had remained in *Melchius*'s Family, who being taken with the quickness of his parts, and the honesty of his temper, had perfectly instructed

* *pass. ib.*
c. 5. p. 41.

¹ *Socr. hist.*
supr.

² *ibid.* p. 42.

fructed him in the Faith, and first baptiz'd, and then ordain'd him. About the beginning of the year CCCLXXXI. if not the year before, *Meletius*, some time before his going to the Synod at *Constantinople*, made him *Deacon*, after whose death (for he dyed that year) the Church of *Antioch* was again miserably distracted by the pretensions of *Paulinus* and *Flavianus* to that See. *Chrysostom* thought it his prudence to side with neither, but pursued his Studies with unwearied diligence, composing at this time several useful and excellent discourses, his Books *against the Jews*, that *against the Gentiles*, and the five *against the Arian* Hereticks, besides those *de Saecrdotio* (which he had begun, if not perfected, during his retirement in the Mountains) and a vindication of providence in three Books, written to his dear Friend, *Stagirius*, a Monk, who laboured under a deep-rooted Melancholy, and contested with the fierce and frequent assaults and conflicts of the Devil; and some others. ^a Five years he served in the Diaconate, when having given a sufficient Testimony of his great abilities, and excellent life, *Flavianus* (for surely *Socrates* mistakes, when he says it was *Eugarius*) promoted him, though not without great reluctancy on his part, to the order of Presbyter. And the first sermon ^b he preach't was on that occasion, the Bishop himself being present, where in a very elegant discourse he declaims against the unfitness of the Choice, and wonders that in so great and eminent a City the burden of such a work should be devolv'd upon such young feeble Shoulders, begging however that they would own what was done, and assist him by their prayers to Heaven, that he might be able to go through with it, and to acquit himself of the trust, that God had committed to his Charge, at the great day of accounts. And indeed the People were so charm'd with his eloquent Sermons, that the Bishop for the most part committed that Province to him, who manag'd it with equal modesty and diligence, and to the no less content and satisfaction of his Auditors.

VII. *AN. CCCLXXXVII*, as some will have it, but more truly the following year (for he entred upon the Empire *January* the *XVI. b. CCCLXXXIX.*) the Emperor *Theodosius* prepar'd to celebrate his *Quinquennalia*, as also the *Quinquennalia* of his Son *Arcadius*. But his Coffers were low, sufficiently drain'd by his late Wars, not to mention the expedition he had now in hand. To supply these Charges new ways must be thought of, and an extraordinary Tax ^c is agreed to be levied. The Warrant for which, coming to *Antioch*, was executed with great rigour and severity, those that refused payment, being some of them thrown into Prison, others put to the torture, and some hang'd up. The Assessment it self gave no small discontent, but more the manner of its Execution, and the People of *Antioch* being naturally of a turbulent and unquiet temper, things tended apace to an open tumult. The night before it broke out, a *Spectrum* (they say) in the shape of a Woman, of an immense bigness, and a terrible aspect was seen flying up and down with a swift motion through the streets of the City, lashing the air with a whip that made a dreadful noise. The next day the People gathering together, the Boys began the rout, then the youth, and last of all the body of the People came in, who inflam'd and encourag'd one another

^a P. Ad. loc. citat.

^b Ev. Tom. 4. p. 553.

^c Sozom. l. 7. c. 23. p. 740. Theod. l. 5. c. 20. p. 224. Niceph. l. 12. c. 43. p. 324. Zoj. l. III. Rom. l. 4. p. 765. 766. Liban. de vit. l. 4. p. 75. & Orat. XII. p. 204. Orat. X. l. 11. p. 405. 407. XX. p. 516. XXI. p. 525.

ther to that height, that casting off all reverence to Law and Government, they pull'd down the brazen Statues of the Emperor, and his Lady *Placidia* dead some time before, together with those of his Father and Mother, and the two young Princes, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and tying Ropes to their feet, dragg'd them some broken, some whole, in contempt up and down the Streets, and treated them with that insolent rudeness, and those bitter Sarcasms and Reflections, that are incident to all popular commotions, but more peculiar to the *genius* and temper of that City. News hereof was soon carried to Court, whereat *Theodosius* storm'd, and vow'd revenge, that he would take away their Charter, abrogate their Privileges, and bestow the Metropolitan honour upon *Laodicea* their neighbour rival City, that he would fire their Town, and reduce it to a petty Village, and by exemplary punishment upon the Citizens make them for ever tremble to think of the like attempts. And that they might see he was in good earnest, he appointed *Ellebius* Master of the Horse, and *Casarius* Controulor of the Pallace to go Commissioners to inquire into the Fact, and to proceed according to Law and Justice; and to take sufficient Forces along with them, to put their Orders into execution.

VII. *SAID* ^d in the mean time was the face of things at *Antioch*. The Riot being over, and their rage cooling, they began to consider what they had done, and apprehending the Consequences of Majesty so desperately provok'd, nothing but slight and fear, amazement and consternation fill'd every corner. Those that conveniently could, fled the City, those that were taken, were hurried to Prison, the greatest part kept their Houses and durst not stir abroad, and only by whispers dar'd to enquire of one another who was caught, or who had been punish'd that day? The *Forum* that a little before was so throng'd and crowded, was now naked and empty, one or two perhaps seen run creeping or skulking over it, and that with a dejected or a frightful look. Those that staid lived *Caesars* life, full of fear and trembling, hourly expecting when an Army should arrive to lay waste the City, confiscate their Estates, and take away their Lives. The Images of death, and the most barbarous cruelty were perpetually before their eyes, flight, imprisonment, violence, beating, were familiar objects, and worse was yet behind, and what was worse than meer dying, the dreadful apprehension and expectation of it. In this sad and doleful juncture of Affairs, *Chrysostom* behaved himself with a truly generous and Christian Resolution. A week being now past, and mens minds somewhat more compos'd and settled, he summoned his Auditory into the *Old Church*, and it being now the *Lent*-season preach'd to them every day, persuading them to a more than ordinary Repentance, and endeavouring to support their minds under that black and dismal Storm that hung over their heads. And now it was that he preach'd those *XXI.* famous *Homilies*, styled *de res' And exaslas*, or, concerning the Statues, to the People of *Antioch*, all which, two or three excepted, were peculiarly preach't upon this occasion. The truth is, the unhappy Circumstances they were under had this good effect, that it startled all sorts of men into sober thoughts, retrencht vice and lewdness, and made men more fervent and serious in religious duties.

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^d Vid. Chrys. Homil. II. ad pop. Antioch. p. 23, 24. Hom. VI. p. 82. XII. p. 137. XIII. p. 148. XVI. in init. XVII. p. 192. & alibi. Liban. Orat. XXI. p. 527.

^e Vid. Hom. IV. p. 57. VI. p. 81. XVII. p. 192.

"and Majesty, to create but one single hair of the head of any of those Persons, whom he shall put to death. The gravity of the man, and the weight of his reasonings made them listen to his discourse with great attention, which afterwards they transmitted to the Emperor.

IX. THE Commissioners in the mean while applied themselves to the Execution of their Commission, they disfranchis'd the City, abolish'd their Charters and immunities, shut up all places of publick commerce, their Baths, Market-places, and Theaters, seiz'd suspected Persons, especially the Nobility and those of the better sort, who had been either Authors or Aiders in the late Commotions, whom they imprison'd, and summon'd before the Courts of Judicature. Guards are set in every place, Tables of proscription affixt and publisht, and instruments of Execution made ready. Thus it was, and little better had it been even before the Commissioners arriv'd, the ordinary Magistrates bestirring themselves in their several places, so that the whole City appear'd but one continued Scene of misery and sorrow. *Chrysostom* to gratifie his curiosity, went one day up and down the City to take a melancholy survey of the state of things. Coming towards the Courts of Justice, he saw the little remainders of the City standing at the Gates, but in a profound sadness and silence, none daring to ask a Question, lest he should be the next that should be pickt out, every one with dumb signs of devotion making his address to Heaven, that God would assist the afflicted, and dispose the Judges to clemency and favour. Ent'ring within the Court, he beheld nothing but armed Guards, Souldiers standing with Swords and Spears, to keep out the press of Women and Children, who with the most lamentable cries and tears came to solicit the Bench for mercy to their Husbands and Fathers, and other near Relations, who within were in the mean time condemned, scourg'd and punish'd. They threw themselves upon the ground, and with all the passionate expressions that might move pity, besought favour for their Relatives; but all in vain; the hard-hearted Souldiers drove them back, and treated them with great savageness and inhumanity. 'Twas a melancholy sight, the good man sigh'd, and as he went home, entertain'd himself with this meditation, "What would be the state of things at the great day, if humane Tribunals be so inexorable, that not a Mother, a Sister, a Father, though themselves innocent and unguilty of the Fact, can prevail for the Pardon of their nearest Relatives, who shall be able to stand by us before the dreadful Judgment Seat of Christ? Who shall plead for us at that Bar? Or be able to deliver us, when hal'd away to those everlasting punishments? The Persons here judg'd were no common Persons, but the prime Nobility of the City, and yet they would have account'd it a fair bargain, to have parted with their Estates, and their Liberties too, to have sav'd their Lives. The People daily pray'd to Heaven to incline the hearts of the Magistrates to put a present stop to these Proceedings, but the Judges went on in their Tryals and Examinations, till by the importunity and intercession of the Monks and Clergy, a respite was granted, and that no farther execution should be made, till the whole Affair had been laid before the Emperor, and his Sentence were given in the case. The news whereof fill'd the

City

City with joy and triumph, and greatly quieted mens fears, as appears by the Sermons, which *S. Chrysostom* immediately preach'd upon it.

X. BUT we must leave *Antioch* for a while, that we may follow after and overtake *Flavianus*, whom we left upon his Journey to *Constantinople*. Arriving at Court, he came into the presence, but kept himself at a distance, and stood with a dejected look, and tears in his eyes, as if ashamed to be seen, or taken notice of. Whom *Theodosius* espying in this mournful posture, came towards him, and without any transports of passion began calmly to expostulate with him about the ingratitude of the City of *Antioch*, upon which throughout the whole course of his Reign he had heap'd so many Graces and Benefits, at the mention of each of which he add'd, and must I be thus requit for all my kindness? What evil have I done them, that they should take such a revenge? What hainous matter have they to charge upon me, that they should disgrace not only me, but the deceased? Could not their spleen and passion be satisfied with the living? Or did they think it nothing, unless they did reproach and affront the dead? Admit I had done as much injury, as they suppose, yet they ought to have spar'd the deceased, who had done them none, nor can they pretend to charge her with it. Did I not ever highly value and esteem that City above any other, yea beyond my own native Countrey, and was it not my constant wish, and that to whom upon all occasions I had oblig'd my self by the most solemn engagements, that I would make a personal visit to it. The good Bishop stood by, and wept plentifully, and when the Emperor had done, summon'd his reason, and began in this manner. "We acknowledge, Sir, with all readiness your Majesties great favour towards our City, and 'tis this that puts us into mourning, that at the envious instigation of the Devil, we have appear'd so ingrateful to our great Benefactor, and have so much exasperated a Person, who had so immense an affection for us. Though you should demolish, or burn our Houses, or kill our Persons, or do any other acts of severity, you would not take a sufficient revenge upon us. "We our selves have before-hand adjudg'd our selves to what's worse than a thousand deaths. For what can be more bitter, than that when we have unjustly provoked so kind a Benefactor, the World should ring of it, and reproach us with our monstrous ingratitude? Had the *Barbarians* besieg'd our City, pull'd down our Walls, or fir'd our Houses, and carried our Citizens into Captivity, this had been a far less evil: Because so long as you live, and continue such a generous kindness towards us, there would be hope that these miseries would have an end, and that we might again repair and enlarge our broken Fortunes. But having now forfeited your favour, and violated your gracious protection, which was a defence to us beyond all our Walls and Bulwarks, whither shall we now fly for shelter? So benign a Lord, so indulgent a Father being disoblig'd, whence can we look for help? The things they have done are intollerable, but they have heavily punish'd themselves, having brought themselves to that pass, that they are ashamed to look any man in the face, or so much as to lift up their eyes to behold the Sun: They have lost their Liberty, and are be-

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"come

“ come more despicable than the vilest Slaves : And reflecting upon
 “ the evil Circumstances into which they have brought themselves,
 “ they are ready to sink under a fence of that dishonour which the
 “ concurrent Judgment of the whole World must needs cast upon
 “ them. But yet, Sir, if you please, this wound may be heal’d, and
 “ these evils are yet capable of a Remedy. Then he proceeds to
 “ shew, “ that great Offences have oft given occasion to the exercise
 “ of a noble and a generous Charity ; that the broken Statues might
 “ be repaired, but to pardon so great Crimes in this case, was the
 “ way to erect a better, more noble, and durable representation of
 “ himself in the minds of men, and to set up as many several Images
 “ of his great Compassion and goodness, as there were, or ever
 “ should be Persons in the World : He urg’d him with the Example
 “ of the great *Constantine*, who when some about him perswaded
 “ him to be reveng’d on those that had abus’d his Statue, saying they
 “ had miserably battered his Face, felt with his hand about his Face,
 “ and smiling, said, *I don’t at all find my self bruis’d or broken, but*
 “ *that Head and Face are both sound and whole.* An answer that ren-
 “ dred him famous to all Posterity beyond the Trophies of his great-
 “ ness, and all the Monuments of his Victories. He put him in mind
 “ of his own Edicts, sent into all parts for the pardoning and relea-
 “ sing of Prisoners in the *Paschal* Solemnities, wherein he had testi-
 “ fied so heroic a Charity, that for those already executed, he wish’d
 “ he were able to bring them back to life again : That the honour
 “ of his Religion was greatly concern’d in the humanity of his Reso-
 “ lution, seeing the eyes of *Jew* and *Gentile* were upon him, and
 “ would thence take the measures of it : That there was no fear o-
 “ thers should by this Clemency be encourag’d to Rebellion, this be-
 “ ing an act of Grace, not of weakness and want of Power, with
 “ which he was sufficiently furnish’d to call any to Account : That
 “ this was the way to oblige all mankind to him, and to entitle him
 “ to greater Blessings from Heaven ; and that it would be an honour
 “ to him in future ages, that when he would do it at no other in-
 “ stance, yet he would do it for God’s sake, at the Petition of a poor
 “ aged Bishop, who came with this Authority to tell him from his
 “ great Master, *If ye forgive men their Trespases, your Heavenly Fa-
 “ ther will also forgive you.* And then concluded thus, “ Remember that
 “ day, when we shall all give an account of our actions, and that by
 “ this mild and merciful Sentence you may easily make way to the
 “ pardon of your Transgressions. Others may present you with Gold
 “ and Silver, I am come to your presence with Divine Laws and
 “ Precepts, which I offer instead of all other Gifts ; beseeching you
 “ to imitate your great Sovereign, who though daily affronted by us,
 “ ceases not to do us good. Do not disappoint our hopes, nor shame
 “ our expectations ; for I freely declare before your Majesty and the
 “ World, that if you please to remit your displeasure, and be recon-
 “ cil’d to us, and restore the City to its former place in your grace
 “ and favour, I’ll go back with cheerfulness and rejoicing ; if not,
 “ I am resolv’d never to see or own it more, but to fix my abode some-
 “ where else. For may it never be my Portion to have that place for
 “ my Country, with which so merciful a Prince, the mildest and best
 “ of men, refuses to be reconcil’d.

XI. THE

XI. THE Bishop ended his Discourse, and ’twas hard to say who
 was most transported, he that spake, or he that heard it, though for
 the present the Emperor made a shift to stifle and conceal his passion.
Socomen adds, that besides his eloquent Oration *Flavian* made use
 of another Artifice, which was to perswade the Pages who were
 wont to sing to the Emperor, while he was at dinner, to sing to him
 those mourning Hymns and *Litanies*, that had been compos’d and
 sung at *Antioch*, with which he was so affected, that he wept over
 the Cup which he then held in his hand. He told the Bishop, “ what
 “ great matter (*said he*) is it, that we should pardon those that have
 “ affronted us, that we that are men should forgive those that are so,
 “ especially when ’tis considered, that the great Lord of the World
 “ came down upon earth, and for our sakes became a Servant, and
 “ though Crucified by those to whom he had done the highest fa-
 “ vours, yet prayed for the pardon of his very Crucifiers, *Father,*
 “ *forgive them, for they know not what they do.* What wonder then,
 if we forgive our Fellow-servants ? *Flavian* having thus far happily
 dispatch’d his errand, was willing to have rested a while, and to have
 kept his *Easter* with the Emperor. But the good Prince ordered him
 immediately to hasten his return. I know, *said he*, the minds of the
 Citizens must needs be uneasy ; and hang between hopes and fears,
 and that the trouble and danger is not yet quite over, go and carry
 them the comfortable tidings. When they shall see their Pilor,
 they’ll forget the present storm and tempest, and the memory of all
 past Calamities. The Bishop insisted, that ’as the greatest Evidence
 and Declaration of his perfectly reconcil’d favour, his Majesty would
 please to send the Prince, his Son, along with him. Pray to God
 (replied the Emperor) that the present rubbs may be thrown out
 of the way, the Wars wherein I am engag’d, happily accomplish’d,
 and that done, I assure you I will come my self. Nor did his care
 end here, but when the Bishop had taken his leave, and had cross’d
 the Sea in order to his return, not knowing what delays he might
 make, or what interruptions he might meet with, he sent Messengers
 after him to expedite his departure. And indeed so desirous was
Flavian that the City should be reviv’d with the joyful news, that
 not being able to Travel himself fast enough, he sent the Emperor’s
 welcome Letters by the Post, that so all Clouds of fears and sadness
 might be immediately dispell’d and scattered. However himself
 made such dispatch, that he got home before *Easter*, and made his
 entry into *Antioch* in Triumph, the Forum being Crown’d with
 Garlands, replenish’d with Lights, the Doors and Shop windows
 set off with Flowers and green Branches, and all other expressions
 of the most Festival Solemnity. And to consummate all, they went
 to Church, and *Chrysostom* welcom’d his return in a gratulatory
 Oration for the prosperous success of his undertaking.

XII. THUS ended the Troubles of *Antioch*: About or not long before
 which time died *Paulinus* one of the Catholick Bishops of that Church.
 He had been consecrated Bishop of *Antioch* by *Lucifer Calaritanus* in
 the Reign of *Julian*, and had been a means to continue the unhappy
 dissentions in that Church, part of the Catholicks adhering to him,
 as others did to *Flavian*, who succeeded *Mektius*. *Paulinus*’s Cause
 was espous’d by Pope *Damasus*, and his Successor *Siricius*, and the

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l. 7. c. 23. p. 741.

chrys. ib. p. 233.

*l’id. que ha-
 ber liban. Oratio
 XIII. p. 418.*

*l. Socr. l. 5. c. 15. p. 273.
 Socr. l. 7. c. 11. p. 717.
 T. eccl. l. 5. c. 23. p. 229.*

Western Bishops; as that of *Flavian* generally was by them of the *East*, he being some years since confirm'd in that See by the great Council at *Constantinople*. Upon the death of *Paulinus* he well hoped the Schism would have expir'd, but it proved to the contrary. For *Paulinus* his Party refused to joyn with *Flavian*, and procured *Euagrius*, a Presbyter of that place, to be ordained their Bishop. Great Complaints were made to the Emperor, who more than once sent for *Flavian*, commanding him to go, and have his Cause judged in a Synod at *Rome*, who replied, "if, Sir, said he, any one can charge me with unsoundness in point of Faith, or can challenge my Life as unworthy the Episcopal Station, I refuse not to accept my very Accusers for my Judges, and shall willingly acquiesce in whatever Sentence they shall pronounce upon me. But if the quarrel be only about Dignity, and the precedency of my See, I shall not contend, nor oppose them that would invade it, but am ready to quit and throw it up; bestow it, Sir, upon whom you please. The Emperor admir'd the wisdom, and even temper of the man, and dismiss'd him home without further trouble, and by his mediation in the *West* reconciled at length all Parties to him. Though most probable it is what *Socrates* reports, that *Euagrius* dying not long after his Consecration, *Flavian* by his prudent care prevented any further Succession, and in a little time brought over the other Party to him, and thereby put a Period to the long-continued Schism in that Church.

SECT.

SECT. II.

His Acts from his being made Bishop, till the Tryal of Antoninus Bishop of Ephesus.

The death of *Nectarius*. *Chrysofom* recommended to be his Successor. The Emperor's Warrant to *Antioch* for his removal. His private conveyance to *Constantinople*. *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* against his Consecration, and why. His zealous and impartial reformation of his Church. His Revenues employ'd to build and endow Hospitals. His correcting the abuses of all ranks and conditions. The spite and ill-will the corrupt Clergy bore him. A Woman of the *Macedonian Sect* miraculously converted. His free reproving *Eutropius* the Emperor's Favourite, and upon what account. The fall of that man, and his taking Sanctuary in the Church. *Chrysofom's* Sermon upon that occasion. The disgrace, banishment and death of *Eutropius*. *Chrysofom's* obstinate refusal to grant a Church to the *Arians* at the request of *Gainas*. Their quarrel upon that account. *Chrysofom's* bold address to the Emperor. *Gainas* his Treason and Rebellion. *Chrysofom* sent on an Embassy to him. *Gainas* slain. The arrival of the *Egyptian Monks* at *Constantinople*. *Chrysofom* makes provision for them, but denies to admit them to Communion. Messengers from *Theophilus* to *Chrysofom* about this matter. *Chrysofom's* intercession in their behalf. His second Letter. *Theophilus's* last answer to him.

I T hapned towards the declining part of *Ann. CCCXC VII. viz. Septemb. XXVII.* that *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople* departed this Life. Great expectations there were who should succeed in the Imperial See. Many Candidates and Competitors appeared for it, and as in such cases it too often happens, the unwor-thiest Persons, who had nothing else to recommend them, sought by Bribes and ill Arts of insinuation to oblige the great men at Court, the People in the mean time earnestly petitioning the Emperor, that they might have a worthy Prelate plac'd over them. The man that was then most in favour at Court was *Eutropius* the Eunuch, chief Chamberlain of the Pallace. He had in pursuance of the Emperor's Affairs resided for some time in the *East*, where he had been acquainted with *Chrysofom*: Him he very heartily recommended to the Emperor, as a Person for his Life, Learning and Eloquence of all others fittest for that place, but that withal, that the Affair should be secretly manag'd, it being otherwise no easie matter to get him thence. The motion pleas'd *Arcadius*, and was as well receiv'd among the People. So Letters were written to *Asterius* Governor of the *East*, to take care about this matter, who knowing the turbulent temper of that People, and how impossible it was to persuade them to part with their admir'd eloquent Preacher, kept the Letters to himself, and pretending some private business

^u Pallad. c. 5.
p. 42. Socr. l. 5.
c. 2. p. 300.
Socr. l. 8.
c. 2. p. 755.
758. Theod.
l. 5. c. 27.
p. 235. Niceph.
l. 13. c. 2.
p. 348.

with *Chryſtoſtom*, deſired him to accompany him a little way out of Town as far as the *Martyria* beyond the *Roman Gate*. So taking him up into his Chariot, he drove in all haſt to *Pagye*, the next Stage to *Antioch*, where he delivered him to the Officers whom the Emperor had ſent to receive him, who forthwith convey'd him to *Conſtantinople*. The Emperor that he might render both his Arrival, and his Conſecration more auguſt and venerable, and that it might be performed with the utmoſt Solemnity, had ſummon'd a convention of the moſt eminent Biſhops to aſſiſt at it. *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſtrenuouſly oppos'd his Ordination, by his looks he gueſs him to be a man of an inflexible temper, and one that would certainly thwart his humour and intereſt. Beſides he was deſirous to advance *Iſidore* his own beloved Preſbyter to that See, and thereby to have made ſo great and powerful a part of the *Eastern Church* ſure to him. Upon theſe accounts he ſtood off, till ſeeing that he ſwam againſt the ſtream, he conſented and concur'd with the reſt, eſpecially after *Eutropius* had threatened him, that unleſs he ratified the common choice, he ſhould be himſelf preſently brought to Tryal, there being ſeveral in Town ready to exhibit to the Synod a Charge of many Crimes and enormities committed by him. Hereupon he ſtruck Sail, and *Chryſtoſtom* was conſecrated and inthron'd, *February* the XXVI. *Ann.* CCCCXVIII. But though *Theophilus* thus complied, it was with no little uneaſineſs to his mind, and it heightned his prejudice againſt *Chryſtoſtom* into an inveterate and irreconcilable ſpleen againſt him to his dying day.

II. NO ſooner was he entred upon his Charge, but he diſcovered the mighty Zeal * and impartiality of his temper. He found the ſtate of the Church within his Province through the too much facility of his Predeceſſor lapſt into a ſtrange degeneracy, which he reſolv'd to reduce to the ſtrictneſs of ancient Diſcipline. And firſt he began to inſpect the manners of the Clergy *, and all other Eccleſiaſtick Perſons. A corrupt Cuſtom had crept in amongſt them to keep in their Houſes Maids or Matrons, whom the Writers of the Church uſually ſtyle *οικουμένης ſυμβιτρον* d or *Associated Women*, not under pretence of Marriage, or to gratifie any unlawful appetite, but out of ſpiritual Affection, or greater Edification, or to conduct the neceſſary Affairs of the Family. This he utterly diſlik'd, and inveigh'd againſt as an ordinary means of temptation, or however that which furniſh'd out matter for an intolerable ſcandal, and accordingly in two Diſcourſes made on purpoſe, decries and pleads againſt it, not giving it over till he had quite reform'd it. Next he ſet upon their covetouſneſs, and the ill arts by which they were wont to fill their Purſes. He laſht their nice and intemperate Palates, their ſlighting their own mean Proviſions, and haunting great mens Tables, where full Bellies would make way for wanton Inclinations, and not fail to bring them under the ſuſpicion of Pick-thanks and Paraſites. The Stewards of his Church he took under a ſtrict Examination, and retrencht all unneceſſary Charges, enquired diligently into the Expences of his Family, and finding a moſt profulſe way of living had crept in in the time of his Predeceſſor, he cut it ſhort, ordering the Surpluſage for the maintenance of the infirm and needy. And when a conſiderable ſtock was yet remaining, he built ſome Hoſpitals for the

the reception of the infirm and ſick ; over theſe he made two of his own Preſbyters Overſeers, appointing Phyſicians, Cooks, and other Officers to attend them, but withal taking care that they ſhould be unmarried perſons, leſt the diſtractions or neceſſities of a Family ſhould tempt them to neglect or abuſe their truſt. From theſe he proceeded to take account of the Widows, which the Church maintain'd, whoſe Converſations he enquir'd into, and thoſe of them whom he found addiſt to the modes and pleaſures of the age, he admoniſh'd either to ſubdue their Inclinations by Faſting and Prayer, and to abſtain from the Baths, and all nice and modiſh Garbs, or elſe preſently to marry, leſt by their looſe way of living, Religion ſhould be expoſ'd to Cenſure and Contempt. The Laity he preſs'd to a more exemplary devotion, that the men whoſe employments would not ſuffer them to attend the Church in the day time, would come at night, and there exerciſe themſelves in Prayer and Faſting. No very welcome news to thoſe of the Clergy, who had for ſometime indulg'd themſelves in eaſe, and left off thoſe night-offices of devotion. In this way he proceeded without fear or favour, thoſe who complied and took up, were encourag'd and commended, thoſe who continued obſtinate, he ſuſpended, and ſuffered not to exerciſe their Offices in the Church, ſaying, 'twas unreaſonable they ſhould enjoy the honour and the privilege, who would not live the lives of true Priests and Miniſters.

III. B U T in a ſick ſtate of Affairs he that will reform all at once, is more like to exaſperate the humours, than to calm or purge them. Where there is a plethora of peccant humours, Nature muſt be relieved by eaſe and gentle methods, and the Cure not be attempted by one evacuation. *Chryſtoſtom's* Zeal tranſported him to too quick and violent Remedies, conſidering the condition wherein he found things at his firſt coming to the Episcopical Throne. The Clergy thus ſuddenly alarm'd and powerfully enrag'd, combin'd againſt him, and all their corrupt intereſts ſlowed into one common Channel. They openly traduc'd and miſrepreſented him to the People, and where there was but any umbrage of ſuſpicion, they improv'd it into a formal charge and calumny. But he deſpis'd their malice, nor did the People give any great heed to it, being infinitely delighted with the honeſty of his deſigns, and his excellent Preaching. His Life was unblameable, his Zeal impartial, his Doctrine ſound, his Sermons eloquent. So that the People flock'd after him in great numbers, yea, the Diſſenters themſelves that were of another perſwaſion, would attend upon his Preaching, and that not without ſucceſs, many of them being brought over to the Catholic Faith ; amongſt which we are told this memorable inſtance. A certain man of the *Macedonian* Sect heard him Preach concerning the holy Trinity, and was ſo fully convinc'd by him of the truth of that Doctrine, as not only himſelf to renounce his Errors, and embrace the Catholic Belief, but to urge his Wife likewiſe to do the ſame. She was a great Bigot in her way, and being encourag'd by her Female Companions, plainly reſuſed to comply with his perſwaſions ; till at laſt he threatned he would leave her, if ſhe would not go with him to Church, and receive the holy Communion with him. In this ſtrait ſhe advis'd with a Maid that waited on her, what was to be done, and be-

O o o

tween

y. *Socr.* l. 8. c. 5. p. 764.

* *Socr. l. 6. c. 3. p. 753.*
Tort. l. c. 28.
 * *Palad. ib.*
 p. 45. &c.

tween them 'twas agreed to put a trick upon him. She went along with him, and at the time of the Communion, when she receiv'd the Sacramental Bread, stooping down her head, as if with an intent to betake her self to Prayer, she kept the Bread she had taken of the Bishop, and secretly took another piece, which her Maid, who stood by, had brought from home: Which she had no sooner put into her mouth; but it immediately became hard as a stone. The Woman was strangely surpriz'd and confounded at the accident, and her Conscience being now thoroughly awakned, she goes presently to the Bishop, confesses her wickedness, and shews him the Stone, bearing the impression of her teeth, and being both of an odd substance, and an unusual colour; and having with abundance of tears begg'd pardon for her fault, she ever after persever'd with her Husband in the Catholick Communion. As an evidence of all which, my Author (who liv'd and wrote there but a few years after) tells us, this very Stone was preserv'd among the Rarities in the Archives of the Church of *Constantinople*. But to return. It was not all the malice and artifice of the Clergy, who were stung and vext with his zealous Proceedings, could lessen *Chrysostom's* esteem and reputation with the People, who lik'd him never the less for it. Indeed so long as his Reproofs and Corrections went no further than the Clergy, it made no great noise; but he stay'd not here, but let fly at the wealthy and the honourable, whose pride and luxury, whose tyranny and oppression he reprov'd with the same freedom and impartiality, that he did those of the meanest Tradesmen. This touch'd to the quick, and soon conjur'd up a turbulent spirit against him, that haunted him to his dying day. Among others he fell into Contest with *Eutropius*^a, the great Favourite of that time, who had gain'd so absolute an ascendancy upon the Emperor, that though an Eunuch, he was made *Consul*, and had the honourable Title of *Patricius*, or Father to the Emperor conferred upon him. A piece of Honour next to that of the Empire. But not being able to bear the weight of so much power and greatness with an even and composed mind, he let himself loose to cruelty and oppression, and abus'd his Court-interest to extravagant designs. He bore hard upon Persons of all ranks and qualities, and when to avoid the effects of his Tyranny, they fled (as was usual) to take Sanctuary in the Church, priviledg'd to this purpose by the Laws of all Christian Emperors, he without any scruple violated the immunities of that holy place, and by force drew them thence. Which that he might do with some shadow of Authority, he procur'd *Arcadius* to pass a Law, taking away the benefit of the Churches *Asylums*, and giving leave to Officers to take Persons thence, who had fled thither for shelter. *Chrysostom* dislike'd the man, and oppos'd his Proceedings, though the others Interest was too big for him. But see how signally the Divine Justice return'd upon him. For not long after being undermin'd at Court, and charg'd with affronts offered to the Emperess, whom he had insolently threatned to expel the Court, and especially being petition'd against by some great ones, whose powerful demands the Emperor knew not well how to decline, he was sent for, and strip'd of all his Honours and Offices, and not daring to trust the mercy of his Enemies, was forced to fly for protection

to

^a *Socr. l. 6. c. 5. p. 304. Sozom. l. 8. c. 7. p. 766. Philost. l. 11. c. 4. p. 528.*

to that Church, which he had so lately dispos'd of its immunities. And now his hated Villanies rais'd a common out-cry, and both the displeasure of the Prince, and the odium of the People conspired his ruin, and the Officers had not failed according to the tenor of his own Law to have fetch'd him by violence out of the Church, had not *Chrysostom* interpos'd and hindred it, who finding him prostrate at the foot of the Altar, and the multitude ready to crowd into the Church, stept up into the Pulpit, and in a very elegant Oration^a represented the vanity of all worldly honour and greatness, putting the Wretch in mind how oft he had dealt plainly with him in the time of his prosperity, when flattery and outward splendor made him deaf to all wise and sober Counsels, and slight the evils then foretold him, and which he now felt to his cost; he might now see the ingrateful returns he met with from his most passionate admirers; the multitude that had lately thronged to behold the magnificence of his Train, that had cryed him up with such loud Acclamations, and whose applause he had courted with such vast Expences, were now come out with drawn Swords against him; the *Circus* and the Theaters, whose sports he had so oft honoured with his presence, and maintained at his Charge, and for whose sake he had so oft been angry with *Chrysostom*, were now become his violent Persecutors: While the Church, whose Priviledges he had openly invaded, stretcht out her Arms, and kindly received him into her Bosom, and sent Agents all about, to endeavour his rescue out of those miserable Circumstances, into which he had plung'd himself: That if he had affronted and wronged the Church, and by Law destroyed its immunities, dear-bought experience had sufficiently rebuk'd his folly, and taught him what he had done, and himself by his practice was the first that had abolished his own Law. Not that in saying all this he insulted over the man, but warned them to be cautious by his Example, who was become the great instance of humane calamity, and change of Fortune: That he was desirous to allay the sharpness of that fury, wherewith they were set against him, and however it might seem a thankless Office to protect and plead for a Person, that had so lowly trampled upon the rights of the Church, yet 'twas our duty to pardon injuries, and to be kind to the *unthankful and to the evil*; that therefore they should all joyn in a Petition for mercy, and the Emperor having sufficiently testified his readiness to compassion, they in imitation of his Example should lay aside all Offences, and practice their own Prayers, to forgive, as they would be forgiven. The Discourse had its due effects upon the Auditory, the People becoming more calm and gentle, nor would the Bishop consent to deliver him up to the Emperor's Officers, till provision was made for the saving of his life. By which 'tis evident with how little pretence to truth he is reported^b by a scornful and petulant invective to have triumph'd over a man in misery, when as the far greatest part of the Discourse breaths nothing but a noble and truly Christian tenderness and compassion. The issue was that *Eutropius* was banish'd into *Cyprus*^c, from whence not long after he was brought back, and a fresh Indictment commenc'd against him, especially for that in the time of his Consulship he had usurp'd the imperial Ornaments, and at *Pantichium*, a Stage Town between *Chalcedon* and

^a *Ext. Tom. 4. p. 549.*

^b *Socr. & Soz. loc. cit.*

^c *Philost. l. XI. c. 6. p. 529.*

Nicoph. l. 13. c. 4. p. 352.

Nicomedia,

Nicomedia, was brought to his Tryal before *Aurelian* the *Prætorian Prefect*, and other illustrious Persons constituted Judges for that purpose, where he was condemn'd of high Treason, and lost his head. *Zosimus*^a says, that having sworn at the time of their taking him out of the Church, not to take away his life, they evaded it thus, that they would not kill him so long as he continued at *Constantinople*, so they brought him to *Chalcedon*, and there put him to death. His name was raz'd out of the *Fasti Consulares*, and the Law that he had procur'd for the violation of Church-priviledges taken out of the Records, that no memory of it might remain.

IV. *Chrysoſtom* had not well got over this but the same year, viz. Ann. CCCXCIX. he was engaged in a fresh rencounter with a man more potent than the other. *Gainas*^c a Goth, born in *Seythia* not far from the River *Ister*, had fled over to the *Romans*, where from a common Souldier he by degrees arrived to be General of the Army. And being a man of a proud aspiring humour had the Empire in his eye. In order whereunto he call'd in his Countrey-men the *Goths*, and preferred his Kindred to the chief places of Trust and Command in the Army. And having thus strengthened himself, committed waſts in several parts of the Empire, and struck a terror into the whole Court, which by many unreasonable Concessions fought to oblige and gain him by fair means. At length an interview was appointed between him and the Emperor, they met at *Chalcedon* in the Church of S. *Euphemia* the Martyr, where having given their oaths for mutual security, they began to treat, and *Gainas* seeming to comply with the Emperor, went over with him to *Constantinople*, where finding his Affairs to succeed prosperously enough, he proceeded to more insolent demands. He was by his Religion, as all the Christian *Goths* were, an *Arian*, and being instigated by his own Ambition, and prompted by the Churchmen of his party, required of the Emperor, that one of the City Churches might be given to him, and the men of his Communion, it being unfit, he said, that so great a man as the General should be forced to go out of Town to his Devotions. The Emperor, a man of a soft and cowardly temper, promised he would advise upon it, and do what he could to gratifie him in it, who thereupon sent for *Chrysoſtom*, and acquainted him with the General's request, telling him withal, that he was an over-powerful Person, and a man of dangerous designs, and therefore desired that by granting his request, he would sweeten and allay his fury. The Bishop replied, Sir, I beseech you promise no such matter, nor command holy things to be given to dogs: For I will never yield, that those who preach and magnify God the Son should be cast out, and the holy Church be delivered up to those who disparage and blaspheme him. And be not, Sir, afraid of this Barbarian, but call us both before you, and while you sit silent by, I will so stop his mouth, that thenceforth he shall make no more such unreasonable demands. The Emperor was glad of this expedient, and the next day sent for both of them to Court, *Chrysoſtom* coming attended with all the Bishops that were then in Town. As soon as they were come into the presence, *Gainas* began to claim his promise; but this, the Bishop told him, an Emperor that profess'd Religion, could not grant, nor might take upon him thus to intermeddle in the things of God. The General answered, 'twas but fit he should

should be allowed a Church for his Devotions. For that, said the Bishop, all the Church-doors are open for you, and no man hinders you from praying where you please. But I, replied *Gainas*, am of another way, and desire but one Church for me and my Party to assemble in: A request which I may reasonably make, who have fought so many Battels, and undergone so many dangers for the safety of the *Roman Empire*. True, said *Chrysoſtom*, but you have had Rewards far beyond your Services. You are General of the Army, and have the privilege to be clothed with *Consular* Ornaments. You should do well to remember what you once was, and what you are now, your former poverty, and your present plenty, how you were clad, when you first pass'd the River *Ister*, and what you have now upon your back. Remember how inconsiderable are your Services, compar'd with the largeness of your Rewards, and be not ingrateful to those that have thus honoured and advanc'd you. He put him in mind of his Oaths^f and Engagements, the fealty he had sworn to the Empire, and the obedience he had promised to those Laws, which he now so insolently attempted to trample under foot. And to strike the matter dead at once, he pluck'd out a Law of *Theodosius*, prohibiting Hereticks to hold their Assemblies within the City. And then turning to the Emperor, perswaded him to ratify and execute this Law against all other Hereticks, advising rather to lay down the Empire, than impiously to betray the Church of God.

V. BUT *Gainas* though baffled, was not satisfied. For seeing himself defeated of his ends, he was no longer able to master his revenge, but broke out into open Rebellion. And first he intended to seize the shops of the Bankers, but they upon intimation, had withdrawn and hid their Money. Then he sent some of his *Goths* by night to set fire to the Pallace, but they frighted with the Apparition of an Army of tall Souldiers, fled back, and he went himself the next night along with them, and found it so. With that he left the City, and endeavoured privately to convey away great numbers of Arms, which being seized and search'd at the Gates, brought the whole Conspiracy to light. Hereupon a Proclamation is issued out, denouncing *Gainas* a Traytor, and commanding the *Goths* whom he had left behind him in the City, to be put to death. Seven thousand of them fled for Sanctuary into the great Church that stood next the Pallace, where the Emperor commanded them to be killed, not thinking it reasonable that any place should protect such notorious Rebels from the stroke of Justice. But none durst attempt either to attack them there, or to pluck them thence, not knowing to what outrageous effects so hopeless and forlorn a condition might drive desperate Persons. Whereupon Persons were employ'd to untile that part of the Church that was over the Communion Table, whence they threw down upon them pieces of Wood set on fire, till they had destroy'd them, to the no little Prophanation of that holy place in the judgment of all sober and pious Christians, as the Heathen Historian^g himself animadverted upon this occasion. The news whereof coming to *Gainas*, he fled into *Thrace*, where gathering his Army together, he committed miserable devastations where-ever he came, which struck such a terror into all Persons, that the whole Countrey fled before him, no man daring to make Head against him. And in this general Con-

sternation

^a Hist. l. 5.
p. 794.

^c Sac. ib. c. 6.
p. 305. *Socrom.*
c. 4. p. 760.
Theod. l. 5.
c. 32. p. 237.
Zosim. l. 5.
p. 794.

^f *Socrom. ib.*
p. 761.

^g *Zosim.* l. 5.
p. 795.

^h *Thilo l. ib.*
^{c.} 33. p. 239.

sternation ^h when every man else declin'd the Service, they perswaded *Chrysostom* to undertake the Embassy, and to treat with the Tyrant. He well understood the fierceness and brutishness of the man's temper, and how highly he himself had but a few days since exasperated and provok'd him. But in so good a Cause he fear'd no danger, and without any demurr, betook himself to his Journey. The Barbarian hearing of his Arrival, went forth a great way to meet him, and received him with great demonstrations of reverence, taking him by the right hand according to the mode of his Countrey, and putting it upon his eyes, and causing his Sons to fall down and embrace his knees. We are told, that in this Embassy *Chrysostom* concluded a Peace between him and *Arcadius*, but the more ancient Historians are silent in that point. ⁱ 'Tis certain that not long after he fell upon part of the *Roman* Forces, which gave him Battel, routed his whole Army, and cut off the greatest part of them, *Gaius* himself being slain; *Zosimus* and others say ⁱ, 'twas in an engagement with *Huldes* Prince of the *Huns*, who prosecuted him both as an ill Neighbour to himself, and as an Enemy to the *Romans*, whose Head he salted and sent in Triumph to *Constantinople*.

ⁱ *Ibid.* p. 758.
Polist. l. 11.
^{c.} 8. p. 531.

^k *Soc.* l. 6.
^{c.} 9. p. 314.
Soc. l. 8.
^{c.} 13. p. 774.

ⁱ *Polist.* c. 7.
^{p.} 53.

VI. ABOUT this time came *Ammonius* and the rest of the *Egyptian* Monks ^k to *Constantinople*. They had been haras'd out of their own Countrey by *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and had for some time settled themselves at *Scythopolis* in *Palestine*, where hearing that *Theophilus* still intended to proceed against them, they removed to *Constantinople*, to present their Complaints before the Emperor and the Bishop, and to be ready to answer to any Charge that might be exhibited against them. Being come to Town, they waited ⁱ immediately upon the Bishop, and kneeling before him, begg'd the interposal of his Authority, that he would stand by a company of innocent Persons, unjustly oppress'd by those, who designed nothing but their ruin. The Bishop beholding a company of grave venerable Persons, to the number of fifty, thus before him, rose up, and with tears in his eyes asked them, what hard fate had driven them thither. They requesting him to take his Chair, told him, that they had been wounded by the fury and malice of *Theophilus*, and desired his help to cure them, unless he also should refuse to mediate on their behalf: Which if he should, as other Bishops had done, either out of fear or favour to *Theophilus*, they had no other way left them, but to address to the Emperor, where they must be forc'd to publish his vile and unwarrantable doings to the scandal of the Church: If therefore he had any regard to the Churches Reputation, he should perswade him to suffer them to return, and dwell quietly in their own Countrey, they having neither offended him, nor violated the Laws of their Religion. *Chrysostom* willingly undertook in due time to intercede for them, and in the mean time assigned them lodgings adjoining to the Church called *Anastasia*, where partly by their own hand-labour, partly by the Charity of others, and especially *Olympius*, they were supplied with all necessary Provisions and Accommodations. But though *Chrysostom* treated them with great humanity, and permitted them to come to the publick prayers, yet would he not communicate with them, till their Cause had been heard and tryed. Nor did they want favour and

^m *Soc.* l. 6.
^{supr.} cit.

and assistance at Court ^m; for having made known their case to the Empress, she entertained them with singular respect, and espousing them as she pass'd through the Street, commanded the Chariot to stop, and looking out bow'd to them, and desired their blessing, and that they would pray for the Emperor, for her self and Children, and for the happiness of the Empire, assuring them she would take care, that a Synod should be shortly called, and that *Theophilus* should be summoned to it.

VII. By this time Messengers were arrived from *Alexandria*, whom *Theophilus* had sent to manage his Cause, and to make an interest for him with the Governors that were to be sent into *Egypt*. *Chrysostom* sent for them to come to him, enquiring of them whether they knew the Monks that were then in Town: They replied, they did, and confessed they had had hard measure, but pray'd that whatever kindness else he might shew them, he would not out of respect to *Theophilus* admit them to Communion. Hereupon he wrote in their behalf to *Theophilus*, that he would recal the men, and receive them into favour. This *Theophilus* refused, and sent back Messengers furnished with Libels of accusation against them, and who might insinuate at Court ill suspicions of them. The Monks perceived now all hopes of reconciliation desperate, and therefore taking some Persons of Quality along with them, they went to the Bishop, and having with an *Antibem* renounced the *Origenian* Heresie, delivered into his hands a Libel, containing an account of *Theophilus* his Tyrannical proceedings, with other Articles of impeachment which they gave in against him. *Chrysostom* both by himself and other Bishops dissuaded them from this way, advising them to suppress their Charge, and wrote a second time to *Theophilus*, to let him know what the Monks had done, desiring him to write back what he thought best to be done in this matter, for that he could not prevail with the Monks to lay down their charge, or keep them from exhibiting their complaints at Court. The man was nettled to the quick, and though he made a shift to stifle the height of his resentment, could not forbear to give a taste of it in this tart Letter, which he sent back to *Chrysostom*. *I suppose you are not ignorant of the Canons of the Nicene Council, which provide, that no Bishop shall judge Causes out of his own Jurisdiction. If you know not this, then learn it, and cease to receive Libels against me. For if I must be judg'd, it's much sifter it should be done by Bishops in Egypt, than by them, who are LXXV. days Journey distant from us.* *Chrysostom* receiv'd the Letter, and laid it by, and perswaded both Parties to agree, who yet, as it commonly happens in such cases, went both of them away dissatisfied and discontented. All which passages relating to these *Origenist*-Monks, were transacted *Ann.* CCC. and the following year, what further ensued upon it, shall be related in its due time and place.

S E C T. III.

His Acts from the Tryal of Antoninus till the Combination made against him by Antiochus and others.

The impeachment of Antoninus in a Convention of Bishops at Constantinople. The Articles exhibited against him. Chrysostom's endeavour to compose the business. Antonine's denial of the Charge. Chrysostom's resolution to go and judge the Cause at Ephesus, countermanded by an order from Court. Commissioners sent into Asia to examine matters. The foul juggling of Eusebius the Plaintiff and Prosecutor. The death of Antonine. Chrysostom desired by the Clergy of Ephesus to come thither, and settle their Affairs. His Journey to Ephesus, and the Synod holden there. The Examination of the Case of Antonine, and others concerned with him. The Synodal determination of this matter. Heraclides ordained by Chrysostom to the See of Ephesus. Gerontius of Nicomedia deposed, and why. What number of Bishops deposed by Chrysostom in this Visitation. The insolence of the Arians at Constantinople. Chrysostom's introducing Antiphonal Hymns, and solemn Processions in opposition to them. The tumult rais'd by the Arians. Their meetings prohibited by Proclamation. Chrysostom's endeavour to reduce the Goths to the Catholic Faith. His care to plant the Gospel in Scythia, and to root Paganism in Phoenicia.

I. **W**HILE Chrysostom was thus taken up, an Accident happened, that engaged him in a Journey as far as Ephesus, the occasion whereof must be fetcht from the foregoing year. *Ann. CCCXCIX.* about the time of *Gainas* his insurrection at Constantinople, several Asian Bishops came to Town, where they met with *Theotimus of Scythia*, *Ammon of Thrace*, and *Arabianus of Galatia*, in all to the number of XXII. They frequently convened about several important Affairs of the Church, when *Eusebius* Bishop of *Valentinople* start up, and delivered a Libel of accusation subscribed to Chrysostom and the Synod, against *Antoninus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, the Charge consisting of seven Articles. I. That he had melted down the Church-plate, and put out the Money in his Son's name. II. That he had taken away a piece of Marble from the door of the *Baptisterium*, and had plac'd it in his own Bath. III. That he had made use of some Columns, that had lyen several years for the use of the Church, and had set them up in his own Dining-room. IV. That a Youth whom he kept had kill'd a man, and yet he retained him in his Service, as if he had been blameless and innocent. V. That he had sold the Farms which *Basilina* the Emperor *Julian's* Mother had bestow'd upon that Church, and kept the Money to himself. VI. That after he had put away his Wife, he lived with her again, and had Children by her. VII. That it had been his Rule and Custom, to sell the Ordination of Bishops at a set rate, as men sell their Lands. And that both he that ordained, and they

they who had been thus ordained, were present; and that he was ready to make proof of all the Articles he had given in. Chrysostom unwilling the matter should be blown abroad, told *Eusebius*, that such hot and hasty Charges very often wanted sufficient proof, and therefore he intreated him to desist, and what real grievances there were, they would take care to remove them. But the man was not so to be taken off, he storm'd the more against the Bishop of *Ephesus*, and resolv'd to pursue his Charge. Whereupon Chrysostom besought *Pant* Bishop of *Thracia*, who seem'd to take *Antoninus* his part, to endeavour to make them Friends. And so rising up, the Assembly went to Church, it being the time of the publick devotions. Chrysostom having bless'd the People, sat down with the other Bishops, when *Eusebius* coming in, deliver'd him another Libel of the same charge before the whole Congregation, conjuring him by all that was dear and sacred, and by the life and safety of the Prince, that he would proceed in it, which he urg'd with that extreme vehemency, that the People thought he had been importuning the Bishop to intercede with the Emperor for his Life. Chrysostom to prevent any further disturbance, took the Libel, and the Lessons being read, he was not willing in such a hurry and disturbance of thoughts to approach the holy Mysteries, and therefore desired *Pantiphilus* Bishop of *Pisidia* to finish the remainder of the Service, while he and the rest of the Bishops went out.

II. THE People were now dismiss'd, and Chrysostom and the rest taking their places in the *Baptistry*, called for *Eusebius*, and renew'd to him his former motion, adding, that if he did know things whereof he might accuse him (for as they would not reject him, if he desired it, so neither would they force him to it, if he had not a mind to it) he should consider what was most fit to be done before the Accusation was read; for after it was once publish'd, and spread abroad, and entered upon the Register, he could not then recede or be discharg'd. But he persisting in his Resolution, the Libel was read in every Article. Which done, the senior Bishops mov'd the President, that though all the Articles were bad enough, yet that for the gaining of time, they might insist only upon the most Capital, the Charge of Simony, and if that was made good, there would be little reason to dispute the other. This was agreed to, so the Tryal began, and Chrysostom ask'd *Antoninus*, what he could say for himself? He stoutly deny'd the Charge, and the Bishops that were challeng'd so to have procur'd their Consecration, being likewise interrogated, deny'd the Fact. Eight hours were spent in canvassing the case *pro* and *con*, when at last the Witnesses were call'd for, who were pretended to have been present when the Money was paid. But the most material Evidences were not there. Chrysostom therefore finding it would be a difficult matter to determine it at this distance, resolv'd upon a Journey thither, that he might with more advantage examine things upon the place. *Antoninus* was startled at this, he knew Chrysostom to be a man of resolution, and of a most equal and unbias't temper, and had no other way to prevent it, but by addressing himself to a great man at Court, whose Estate in *Asia* he managed for him, beseeching him to procure Chrysostom's Journey to be stop'd, engaging that the Witnesses should be brought to Town. Immediately came

an Order from Court, to let *Chrysoſtom* know, that in this diſtracted ſtate of Affairs, his preſence could not well be ſpared, and that 'twas needleſs to take ſo long a Journey, when Witneſſes might be eaſily brought to Town. Glad was *Antoninus* he had gain'd this point, knowing of what huge importance to his Affairs the leaſt delay would be, as furniſhing him with an opportunity to tamper with the Witneſſes, whom he doubted not either by his power or intereſt to take off. This *Chryſoſtom* was aware of, and therefore preſently ſummoning a Synod, they ordered three of their number to go out of hand into *Aſia*, to take the Examination of Witneſſes. *Synectius* Metropolitan of *Trajanople*, *Heſychius* Biſhop of *Parium*, and *Palladius* of *Helenople* were the Perſons pitch'd on for this errand; but *Heſychius* ſecretly favouring *Antoninus*, excus'd himſelf upon pretence of ſickneſs. *Hypæe* a City of *Aſia* was the place appointed for the Commiſſioners ſitting, as being neareſt to thoſe Perſons that were to appear, and a power was given them, that whoſoever upon ſummons ſhould not appear within two months, ſhould ſtand excommunicate. The Commiſſioners being diſpatch'd, went to *Smyrna*, and iſſued out their Warrants to ſignifie their arrival, citing all Perſons concerned of either party to appear at the place appointed. But they found fraud and foul dealing on all hands; for the Proſecutors had been brib'd off, and engag'd by Oaths not to Proſecute, and hop'd to weary out the Judges by delaying the Evidence, pretending they were not preſently to be found. The Commiſſioners call'd for *Eusebins*, and ask'd him how long it would be before his Witneſſes were ready, and they would ſtay for them. He ſuppoſing they would not be able long to endure the extream heat of the ſeaſon, answered he would produce them within forty days, or be content to undergo the penalty inflicted by the Canons. So they waited, while he pretending to go ſeek his Witneſſes, fled directly to *Conſtantinople*, and there conceal'd himſelf, and not appearing at the time prefix'd, the Commiſſioners wrote to the Biſhops of *Aſia*, and denounc'd him Excommunicate. After which they ſtay'd thirty days longer, and none appearing, they returned back to *Conſtantinople*, where they met *Eusebins*, whom when they challeng'd with his perſidious dealings, he pretended indiſpoſition and want of health, but promiſed that he would ſtill produce his Witneſſes.

III. THE Controverſie was thus bandied up and down, when *Antoninus* the ſubject of the quarrel, departed this Life, after whoſe death the Church of *Ephesus* was in a more deplorable caſe than before, whereof the Clergy of that Church, and the neighbouring Biſhops certified *Chryſoſtom*, and beſought him to lay to his helping hand, which they did by this addreſs. *Forasmuch as heretofore we have been governed diſorderly, and contrary to the Rules and Canons made by the ancient Fathers, we beſeech your reverence, that you would come down hither, and ſettle this ſo long afflicted and diſtracted Church; the Arians infeſting us on the one ſide, and the covetouſneſs and ambition of ſome of our own no leſs diſturbſing us on the other. For there are a great many that like ravenous Wolves lie at catch, and greedily endeavour by Bribes to invade and uſurp this See. This Letter found *Chryſoſtom* in no good ſtate of health, and the Winter-ſeaſon (for ſuch it now was, ir being the latter end of the year. CCCXCIX.) rendered him yet leſs*

leſs unfit for ſuch a Journey. But reſolving to make all private and perſonal Conſiderations ſtoop to the publick Intereſt, he took ſhipping, and after a very dangerous paſſage came to *Aſiania*, where *Palladius*, *Cyrinus* and *Pavlus*, whom he had choſen for the Companions of his Journey, waited his arrival. Hence they went on foot to *Ephesus*, whither he ſent for the Biſhops of *Lydia*, *Caria*, and the *proconſular Aſia*, though there little needed any formal Summons, ſeveral flocking thither meerly to enjoy the Company and Converſation of this great man. There met to the number of LXX. Biſhops, with whom he entered into conſultation about the ſtate of thoſe Churches. To this Synod came *Eusebins* of *Valentinople*, the late fierce accuſer of *Antoninus*, humbly petitioning, that he might be reſtored to Communion. Many of the Synod were againſt it, pleading, that he had been thrown out for calumny and detraction. But he preſ'd his ſuit, and told them, that for as much as the Cauſe had been under debate for almoſt two years, and that the delay of the Witneſſes had been the only reaſon that had hindered it from coming to a final iſſue, he beſought them now to examine the Witneſſes, who were ready to appear. And although *Antoninus*, who had taken the Bribes was dead, yet the Perſons that had given them, and been ordained upon it, were ſtill alive. The Synod agreed to take the buſineſs under conſideration, and the Registers were produc'd, and the whole Proceedings read before them. Then the Witneſſes were brought in, and the Perſons charg'd with Simony cited, who at firſt deny'd it, till the Witneſſes (who were not only Lay-men and Women, but Presbyters, their own Friends and Confidants) depoſing as to time and place, and the Sums paid, and the very ſpecimens of the Money, their conſciences would ſuffer them to ſtand out no longer; they confeſs'd they had given ſuch Sums, but pleaded, that they took it to be the Cuſtom ſo to do, and that they muſt do it to be free from the proceedings of the Courts; that if it might be granted, they deſir'd to be continu'd in the Service of the Church; if not, that they might at leaſt have their Money return'd them, ſome of them having parted with the Money and Furniture that belong'd to their Wives and Family. As to their being diſcharged in Court *Chryſoſtom* undertook it, promiſing the Synod he would intercede with the Emperor, whereupon the Council order'd that *Antoninus* his Heirs ſhould make Reſtitution: And as for themſelves, they ſhould have liberty to Communicate within the Chancel, but ſhould be, and be look'd upon only as Perſons that had once been Biſhops. They being depos'd, others who were men of parts and integrity were planted in their rooms, who yet about four years after, when *Chryſoſtom*'s Affairs went down the wind, were ejected, and the former brought in again. In the See of *Ephesus* they plac'd *Heracles*, by birth a Cypriot, who had been heretofore a Monk at Mount *Nitria* in *Aegypt*, and *Chryſoſtom*'s Arch-deacon at *Conſtantinople*: ever ſince he came thither, a man of approved learning, and a moſt ſtrict life, but who upon the turn of Affairs was ejected, and impriſoned, and a ſervile Eunuch belonging to *Victor* the Tribune, a man of bad Principles, and worſe Morals, being of a moſt debauch'd diſſolute Life, thruſt into his room. He depos'd a likewiſe *Gerontius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, who had ſtrangely bewitch'd the affections of that

* See. 1. 2.
c. 6. p. 765.

People. This *Gerontius* had some time been Deacon under S. *Ambrose* at *Milan*, where studying or pretending to study the Art *Magick*, upon a frivolous story he told of his encounter with an *Empusa* or *Spectrum*, he was confin'd by S. *Ambrose*, till he had given satisfaction. He slighting the Bishop, left *Milan*, and went to *Constantinople*, and being a man of parts, witty, eloquent, and admirably skill'd in Physick, quickly wrought himself so far in with some at Court, that he was prefer'd Bishop of *Nicomedia*. S. *Ambrose* wrote to *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople* about the man, but he could do nothing in it, the People not enduring any other; nor could any thing be effected in it, till *Chrysostom* being in these parts depos'd him, and ordained *Pansophius*, who had been Tutor to the Empress, a meek and pious man, Bishop of that place. But the People were horribly discontented at it, even to rage and madness, they did nothing but recount his praises, and the benefits they had received by him, and as men are wont to do in some dreadful Calamity, ran up and down the streets both there and at *Constantinople*, singing Hymns, and Supplications, that they might have him for their Bishop. The Synod being dissolved, *Chrysostom* left these parts, having depos'd in all six Bishops, which the malice of his Enemies afterwards improved to sixteen; and though *Sozomen* says there were thirteen, yet 'tis much more reasonable to believe *Palladius*, who was present at the whole transaction from first to last, and appeals to the publick Records for the truth of it.

IV. *CHRYSOSTOM* at his return to *Constantinople*, was receiv'd with great demonstrations of rejoycing by the People, which he acknowledg'd the next day in an Oration to them, wherein he commends their constancy and perseverance, and the quick eye they had kept upon the attempts of Hereticks during his absence. And indeed the *Arians* about this time, and for some years before, were grown to a strange height of insolence. They kept their Conventicles out of Town, but were wont upon Saturdays and Sundays, which were constant times for the publick Assemblies, to come within the City, and dividing themselves into Companies, walk'd about the publick *Portico's*, singing as they went along Hymns compos'd in defence of their own Principles, one part responding to the other; and not content to do this, they added several Clauses, petulantly reflecting upon those that maintain'd the Doctrine of the holy Trinity; thus they did the greatest part of the night, and early the next morning they march'd through the heart of the City, singing their *Antiphonal* Hymns, and so went out to their own Meeting-house. *Chrysostom* was very sensible of the affront given to the Catholick Faith, and the Establish'd Religion, and fear'd withal, lest the minds of weak and undiscerning People might by these specious Artifices be drawn over to them. He resolv'd therefore to countermine them in their own way, and to that end compos'd certain Hymns containing the Catholick Doctrine, which he deliver'd to his People to be sung the same night. And that the business might be manag'd with the greater Pomp and Solemnity, Crosses of Silver were made at the Empress's Charge, and lighted Torches born before them, and *Briso* the Empress's own Eunuch as *Prætor* walked before the Company. A good design, but it had a bad effect. For the *Arians* finding themselves

themselves thus out-done both in number and splendor, fell upon the Catholics in their Procession, in which conflict some were slain on both sides, and *Briso* himself dangerously wounded in the forehead. To prevent which disorders, *Acadius* forbade the *Arians* to assemble in this manner, and left the Catholics in the sole possession of this way of *Antiphonal* Procession, a custom which continued many years after. The *Arians* had been restrained herein some years before, as appears by a Law of *Acadius*, made *Ann. CCCXCVI.* to seize upon all places of Religious Assemblies held by all sorts of Hereticks, and to adjudge them to the Exchequer, that none of their Clergy should inhabit within the City, nor any of themselves assemble either by night or day to make their publick *Letanies* or Supplications; and this under the penalty of an hundred pounds of Gold to be inflicted upon the City-provoft, if he permitted it. But this Law being general, the *Arians* it seems reckon'd not themselves so particularly concern'd in it, but that they soon after revived their Custom, till it was now put down by a particular Prohibition.

V. NOR did *Chrysostom's* pious care herein stop here. He found the Nation of the *Goths* miserably overcome with *Arianism*, which he endeavour'd to cure by this method. He ordain'd some of that Country Readers, Deacons and Presbyters, and assign'd them a Church within the City, by whose industry he reclaim'd many to the Catholick Church. And that his design might succeed better, he himself went often and preach'd there, making use of an Interpreter to convey his Discourse to the People, and prevail'd with the most eloquent Preachers about the Town to do the like. And understanding that the *Scythian Nomads* that dwelt beyond *Ister* were greatly dispos'd to entertain the Gospel, but were destitute of any to preach it to them, he procur'd Persons to undertake that work, and wrote to the Bishops that bordered upon those parts to assist in it, and furnish out fit Persons, who might carry on the Conversion of those Countries. It griev'd him not a little, when he was told that even in *Phœnicia*, a Countrey that lay within the heart of the Empire, Pagan Idolatry was still the Paramount Religion. For the Reformation whereof he engag'd a Company of zealous Monks, whom he sent into those parts, and that they might not go without the Royal Authority, he procur'd an Edict from the Emperor, empowering them to pull down and destroy all the Pagan Temples. And because 'twas a matter of Charge as well as Difficulty, he did not think fit to burden the Exchequer with it, but perswaded several rich and pious Matrons to furnish out the Expences at their own Charge. But though for the present things succeeded well, yet not long after the *Gentiles* made Head against them, defended their Temples, and slew many of the Monks, and wounded more. The exact time of his setting on foot this excellent design I cannot precisely fix; though whether it was done *Ann. CCCC.* or immediately upon his advancement to the See of *Constantinople*, is not very material to enquire.

SECT.

P. Ev. Lat. in
Append. tom. II.
p. 43.

9 Socr. l. 6.
c. 8. p. 312.
Soz. l. 8. c. 8.
p. 767.

9 Ev. lib. 15.
c. 76. Tit. 5.
l. 30.

9 Theod. l. 5.
c. 30. p. 235.
9 27 Phil.
c. d. ccc. xxiii.
col. 1517.

S E C T. IV.

His Acts from the Combination of Antiochus, Severian, &c. till his being depos'd by Theophilus.

Antiochus and Severianus who. Chrysostom's great kindness to, and confidence in Severianus. Quarrels between Severianus and Serapio Chrysostom's Arch-deacon. The Case heard in a Synod. Contentions between Chrysostom and Severianus upon this account. Severianus dismissed Constantinople. Reconciled to Chrysostom by the means of the Empress. Severianus, Antiochus, Acacius of Beroea, and Isaac combine against Chrysostom. Their consult how to manage their Plot. Their engaging Theophilus of Alexandria in the Confederacy. The suitableness of Circumstances to bring him in. Theophilus summon'd to Constantinople. The Empress Eudoxia's displeasure against Chrysostom, whence. The temper of that Princess. Theophilus's arrival. His shunning all converse with Chrysostom. His first allings, and procuring fit Instruments for the prosecution of his designs. The Synod at the Oak holden by Theophilus. The Persons chiefly active in that Synod. A Charge of XXIX. Articles given in against Chrysostom. A Convention of Chrysostom with the Bishops of his Party. His excellent discourse to them. A Summons to him to appear at the Synod. The several Answers return'd by him and his Bishops to that Summons. Another Summons. Chrysostom's answer. Which of the Articles insisted on by the Synod. XVII. Additional Articles deliver'd in. The most material of them represented. Judgment demand'd and pass'd against Chrysostom. An account of it sent the Emperor, who ratifies the Sentence. Theophilus reconcil'd to the Egyptian Monks. An account of the death and burial of Dioscorus and Ammonius. Theophilus's conversing with Origen's works, notwithstanding his clamours against them.

HITHERTO the good man had gone on without any considerable opposition. But now the storm began to gather, which at last poured down upon him. It hapn'd that two Syrian Bishops resided for some time at Constantinople, Antiochus Bishop of Ptolemais in Phœnicia, and Severianus of Gaba's Port-town in Cælo Syria not far from Laodicea, both of them learned and eloquent men. Antiochus had a very nimble and voluble tongue, and preach'd with singular applause in the City, and had made no little advantage by it to himself. Encouraged by his example came Severianus, who though he wanted the others soft and nimble pronunciation (for his Syriac Dialect added a kind of unpleasing harshness to his Speech) yet he made it up in the gravity of his Sentences, and his profound exposition of Scripture. He was welcome to Chrysostom (whom he courted even to flattery) and by the constancy and accuracy of his Sermons, recommended himself to all the Grandees about Court and City, and to the Emperor himself, and

Socr. l. 6.
c. 11. p. 216.
Sozom. l. 8.
c. 10. p. 770.

taking the opportunity of Chrysostom's absence, when he was at Eplesus, endeavour'd much more to strengthen and secure his Interest, though Chrysostom had admitted him to that degree of Friendship, as to intrust him with the care and inspection of his Church during his absence, which the other was wise enough to improve to his own advantage. Serapio Deacon of the Church at Constantinople, watched all his motions, and failed not to advertize Chrysostom of every passage, but being a man proud and passionate, and bearing himself high upon the Bishop's favour, he helpt to bring his Enemies faster upon him, as it hapned in this very Case. For not long after Chrysostom's return Severian accidentally passing by, Serapio sat still, and refused to give him the respect usually paid to Bishops, intending it as a publick affront to him. Severian resent'd it accordingly, and without further deliberation took upon him to depose him from his Deaconship, and expel him out of the Church, and in his passion, said, if Serapio dye a Christian, then Christ never became man. Of this Serapio immediately complain'd to Chrysostom, who thereupon conven'd a meeting of his Bishops and Clergy; where the case was brought under examination. As to the irreverence, Serapio excus'd himself, protesting he did not see Severian, and produc'd Witnesses to attest it. Whereupon he was acquitted by the Assembly, who also interceded with Severian for a reconciliation, and Chrysostom that he might shew how ready he was to give any reasonable satisfaction, suspended Serapio from his Office for the space of a Week. As for the words spoken by Severian, which Serapio proved before the Assembly, some of his Friends pleaded for him, that his Enemies mangled his words, and suppressing the former part, charg'd him with asserting, that Christ was never made man; but Chrysostom answer'd, that taking the whole together, 'twas bad enough, for though Serapio should, or should not dye a Christian, yet it follow'd not thence, that Christ was not made man. After all, the meeting came to no conclusion, Severian was obstinate, and would comply with nothing, unless Serapio were not only put from his Office, but excluded all Communion. Whereupon Chrysostom rose up in some heat, and bad the Bishops judge the Cause, for that for his part he would meddle no further in it. But with him they all rose up, and went away, and so the Consistory broke up, with some reflection upon Severian, for his unreasonable obstinacy and perverseness. Soon after Chrysostom advis'd him to be gone home, sending him this Message, that it was not fit that he should so notoriously neglect his Charge, and that the Church committed to him should for so long a time be destitute of the care and presence of its Bishop; that therefore he should immediately return thither, and improve the Talents and Abilities God had given him in his own Sphere and Station. With which smart admonition he left Constantinople. The Empress Eudoxia was angry at what was done, and sent for Severian, who was retired to Chalcedon, to come back, but Chrysostom refused any converse with him, till the Empress being resolv'd to make Peace, took up the young Prince Theodosius, Chrysostom's God-son, and carrying him in her Arms into the Church, lay'd him down at the Bishop's feet, and for his sake besought him to be Friends with Severian, which at last she obtained. Chrysostom hereupon made an Ora-

* Soc. ib. Socr.
loc. cit. &
Append. ad
lib. 6. p. 333.
334.

tion w to the People to dispose their minds towards *Severian*, and the next day *Severian* himself made another * in commendation of Peace, and particularly that Reconciliation that was now made between them.

II. BUT whatever *Severian* might do to serve a present Interest, 'tis plain his Friendship was but pretended. For soon after he entered into a Combination with *Antiochus*, and *Isaac*, a turbulent and ill natur'd *Archimandrite* against *Chrysoſtom*. With them joyned *Arcadius* Bishop of *Berea*, on no other provocation, than that coming to *Constantinople*, and wanting a convenient Lodging, he was angry that *Chrysoſtom* had slighted him, and not given him entertainment, and he could not forbear to express his resentment to some of *Chrysoſtom's* own Clergy, telling them in Language proper enough to the occasion, *I will season his pot for him*. These four laid their heads together how to manage their designs against him. And first they sent Spies to *Antioch*, to hunt after the miscarriages of his younger days, but finding nothing thereupon the strictest scrutiny they could make, they bethought themselves of *Theophilus* at *Alexandria*, who they knew bore no good will to *Chrysoſtom*, and who had a head fitted to contrive and carry on such designs. To him they write about it, who received the message with both hands, as an opportunity he had long wished for of venting his spleen against him, encreas'd of late by the favour *Chrysoſtom* had shew'd to the Monks whom he had driven out of *Egypt*, and whom it was reported *Chrysoſtom* had not only been otherwise very kind to, but that he had admitted them to Communion. And as if there had been a conspiracy of Accidents as well as Persons, his affairs at this time seem'd to lye fair for such a purpose. For having Synodically condemn'd the *Origenian* Heretic (as they then call'd it) and procur'd *Epiphanius* to do the like in a Council in *Cyprus*, he had engag'd that good old man to carry the Decrees to *Constantinople*, and to solicit *Chrysoſtom* to enter into this quarrel, and to prosecute the *Aegyptian* Monks (whom they unjustly charg'd with *Origenism*) but with what success, has been related in its proper place. *Chrysoſtom* had in vain mediat'd with *Theophilus* on their behalf, whereupon they had impeach'd him, and he recriminated upon them, and had sent his Legates to *Constantinople* to manage his Cause against them. The *Origenian* Monks growing weary of delays, petitioned the Empress, that the Libels which the adverse Party had prefer'd against them to the Provost of the City might be examined, that *Theophilus* might be summon'd, and undergoe his Tryal, and that his Messengers might either prove their Charge, or suffer the Penalties in that case provided against false Accusers. This request was thought reasonable, and in pursuance of it *Elaphius* a great Officer at Court was dispatch'd with Orders to *Alexandria* to bring up *Theophilus*. The Judges in the mean time proceeded in the Cause of his Legates, who had accus'd the Monks, and the Legates being found guilty of Calumny and Subornation, and seeing themselves expos'd to the present lash of the Laws, threw the whole blame upon *Theophilus* as the sole Author and Contriver of it, and were thereupon cast into Prison, where some of them dyed, others alter his arrival were by his interest banish'd into *Preconessus*.

III. WHILE

III. WHILE these things were transacting, *Chrysoſtom* began to lose ground at Court, especially with the Empress *Eudoxia**, who in a manner intirely sway'd *Arcadius*. Daughter she was to *Bauto*, who was a *Frank* by birth, and General under *Gratian* in the *West*, and *Consul* together with *Arcadius*, *Ann. CCCLXXXV*. she inherited the spirit of her Countrey, having (as Historians particularly note) a great deal of *Βαβυλωνijs* *Σπῆς* in her temper; haughty, fierce, cruel, and revengeful, a Woman of a quite different make from the soft and easie temper of her Husband; the sad effects whereof fell heavy upon our good Bishop. By some^a she is said to have taken Offence at his over-free reproving her unjust dispossessing the Widow *Callitrope* of her Vineyard, which yet he left not off, till she had restored it. By others^b, that resenting a Plot which he supposed she had laid with *Epiphanius* against him, he soon after made a very sharp Invective against Women, and, if it be true what some add, dropp'd some tart reflections upon *Jezabel*, and the Priests whom she fed at her Table. There were those at Church that took Notes, which they carried to the Empress, who presently apply'd them to her self, and complain'd to the Emperor of the publick affront offer'd to her. Besides, the main of the discourse being general, most of the great Ladies about the Town reckon'd themselves concern'd in it. They had a pique against him before for the severe and impartial reproofs, which he was wont upon all occasions to scatter amongst them. For 'twas his custom^c both publickly, and in his private visits from House to House, finartly to chide the more aged Widows and Matrons for their light airy dreses, as an unseemly and meretricious Garb, and a vain attempt to make themselves seem young again. Nor were *Severian* and his Party backwards to blow up the Coals, knowing how powerfully these Ladies would draw on their Husbands. An easie way was by this means made for the reception of *Theophilus*, who now stood fair to appear more like a Judge than a Criminal. He was at this time upon his Journey, and though the Emperor's command at first (which 'tis probable he might afterwards alter) was, that he should come alone^d, yet did he all the way both by speeches and messages solicit as many Bishops as he could to go with him to *Constantinople*, designing from the very first to pack a Synod, and depose *Chrysoſtom*. Arriving at the City, (whither after many delays he came *Ann. CCCCIII*.) he went^e on shoar, the greatest part of his retinue being made up of Mariners, who were come with the *Corn-fleet* from *Alexandria*, who came to meet him, and welcomed his arrival with joyful shouts and acclamations. Landing, he went not, as the Custom was, into the Church to pay his Devotions to God, nor to wait upon the Bishop, and though *Chrysoſtom* had prepared Lodgings for him and his Company in the Bishops Pallace, and did more than once and again invite him thither, as he had done those that arriv'd before him, yet he refus'd it, and passing by the very Church-door, went into the Suburbs, and had his apartment in one of the Emperor's Houses call'd *Placidiana*, prepar'd it seems on purpose for him.

IV. HERE he remained three weeks^f, in all which time he touch'd not so much as once to honour *Chrysoſtom* with any act of common Civility, much less Christian Communion. His whole time

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* *Vid. z. 161.*
l. 5. p. 799.

* *Nicoph. l. 12.*
c. 14. p. 381.

b *Socr. l. 6.*
c. 15. p. 321.
vid. Soc. l. 8.
c. 16. p. 779.

c *Pallad. c. 8.*
p. 66.

d *Chrys. Epist.*
ad *Innoc. T. 4.*
p. 677.

e *Ext. Mōd.*
Pallad. nōi
supr. Socr. ib.
Soc. v. 17.

f *Pall. d. p. 66.*
c. *Chrysoſt.*
loc. cit.

v *Ext. Lat. ubi*
supr. in App.
p. 47.
* *Ext. Lat. ib.*
p. 48.

s *Pallad. c. 6.*
p. 43.

he spent in forming his design, and making Parties, which he did by accommodating himself to mens different humours and interests. Some he brib'd by liberal Presents, others that were more inclined to *Epicurism*, he treated at a plentiful Table, others he courted by flatteries and commendations, others he tempted with hopes of higher Preferments. And without taking any notice of *Chrysoſtom* (as if the See had been actually void) he sent for his Arch-deacon, and by him endeavoured to bring over the Clergy to him. So that the City Churches began to be empty, and the Clergy were brought daily to him, and perſwaded to accuſe their Biſhop, and exhibit Libels againſt him. Two more eſpecially he met with, fit instruments for his purpose, who had been turned out by *Chryſoſtom* for the moſt enormous Offences, the one for Murder, the other for Adultery; theſe he inſtructed how to bring in their Charge, promiſing them (and he was as good as his word) that he would in due time reſtore them to their Station in the Miniſtry. All this while *Chryſoſtom* was at a ſtand what to do, he treated him with mild and obliging Meſſages, and deſired to know what he meant by theſe turbulent courſes, but in vain: On the other hand he was mightily importun'd by *Theophilus* his Accuſers, to proceed judicially againſt him, the Emperor himſelf ſending for him, and commanding him to go to *Theophilus*, and there to examine the Cauſes, and hear the moſt heavy Crimes that were charg'd upon him. But he remembred the Canons, which *Theophilus's* Letters had alſo put him in mind of, that Eccleſiaſtical matters were to be judg'd within their own Provinces, and were not to be drawn before a Foreign Judicature, and was therefore unwilling to meddle in it.

V. *THEOPHILUS* had now ripened his design, and having got a competent number of Biſhops about him, XLV. in all (though others ſay but XXXVI.) whereof XXIX. came out of *Egypt*, the reſt from other places, and among them eſpecially thoſe *Aſian* Biſhops whom *Chryſoſtom* had depoſ'd, they reſolved to enter immediately upon a Synodal Convention. The place appointed for the Synod was over the Water at *Chalcedon*, a Countrey Houſe (ſamous for a remarkable Oak, thence 'tis called the Synod *ad Quercum*) belonging to *Rufinus*, a man of Conſular Dignity, who had built here a noble Palace, a large Church dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul, (thence ſtyl'd *Apoſtolum*) and a Monaſtery adjoining, the Monks whereof were to attend the ſervice of the Church. Here they met, the chief of them being *Theophilus*, *Acacius* of *Beroea*, *Antiochus* of *Ptolemais*, *Severus* of *Gabala*, and *Cyrimus* of *Chalcedon*, all profeſs'd Enemies to *Chryſoſtom*. The principal Perſon that manag'd the Charge againſt *Chryſoſtom* was *John*, who had ſometimes been his Deacon, beſides whom there came in as Witneſſes *Arsacius* Arch-Presbyter, *Atticus*, *Elpidius*, *Acacius*, Presbyters, *Eudemon* and *Oneſimus*. The Synod being opened, the Charge againſt *Chryſoſtom* was exhibited and read, conſiſting of no leſs than XXIX. Articles as they are ſumm'd up by *Photius*, whereby the Reader will ſee what an equal mixture of malice and folly there was in this Accuſation. I. That he had diſgrac'd and eſtected the forementioned *John* for no other reaſon, than becauſe he had beaten his own Servant *Eulalius*. II. That by his Command one *John* a Monk had been beaten, and hurried away, and

treated like a mad-man, being loaded with Irons. III. That he had ſold a great part of the rich Furniture and Ornaments belonging to the Church. IV. That he had made Money of ſome pieces of Marble, which his Predeceſſor *Nectarius* had provided to beautifie the Church of S. *Anaſtaſia*. V. That he ſpoke contemptibly of the Clergy, calling them vile, corrupt, trifling Perſons, and good for nothing but themſelves. VI. That he had called S. *Epphanus* a dotting man, and a little Fiend. VII. That he had deviſed miſchief againſt *Severian*, and had ſet up the *Decani*, or Sextons againſt him. VIII. That he had written a whole Book ſtuffed with nothing but Falſhoods and Calumnies againſt the Clergy. IX. That calling a Convention of his whole Clergy, he had indicted three of his Deacons, *Acacius*, *Edaphius*, and *John*, and had charged them with ſtealing the Pall that he uſed to wear about his ſhoulders, inſinuating as if they had taken it to ſome unlawful uſe. X. That he had Ordain'd one *Antoninus* Biſhop, who yet ſtood convict of violating the Tombs and Monuments of the dead. XI. That in a mutiny of the Souldiers he had diſcovered and betrayed *Count John*. XII. That he was not wont to make his prayers either as he went to, nor at his entrance into the Church. XIII. That he Ordained Deacons and Presbyters in other places, and not within the Chancel. XIV. That he made four ſeveral Biſhops at one Ordination. XV. That he entertained Women, and converſ'd with them alone, all others being ſhut out of the Room. XVI. That by the hand of *Theodotus* he had ſold the Patrimony, which *Thecla* had left to the Church. XVII. That the Revenues of the Church were diſpoſ'd of, and no man knew which way they went. XVIII. That he had Ordained *Serapion* Presbyter, though at that time under a Charge and Accuſation. XIX. That he had taken Perſons whom all the reſt of the World admitted to Communion, and at his arbitrary pleaſure had thrown them into Priſon, and when they dyed there, had neglected them, and not taken ſo much care as that their Bodies ſhould be interr'd. XX. That he had calumniated the moſt holy Biſhop *Acacius*, without ſo much as admitting him to converſe, or giving a reaſon for it. XXI. That he committed *Porphyrius* a Presbyter to *Eutropius* to be baniſh'd. XXII. That he had likewiſe delivered up *Perennis* a Presbyter with all imaginable contempt and diſgrace. XXIII. That the Bath is prepar'd for him alone, and after he has done, *Serapion* cauſes the Bath to be ſhut up, ſo that none elſe may go in. XXIV. That he has Ordained ſeveral without Witneſſes or Teſtimonials. XXV. That he uſes to eat and dine alone, and after the faſhion of the *Cyclops* leads a luxurious and intemperate Life. XXVI. That he himſelf is both Accuſer, Witneſs and Judge, as is evident in what they ſay he did in the Caſe of *Martyrius* the Arch-deacon, and of *Prohercius* Biſhop of *Lycia*. XXVII. That he ſtruck *Mammon* with his Fiſt in the Church of the *Apoſtles*, ſo that blood gush'd out of his mouth, and yet went on to Conſecrate the holy Eucharift. XXVIII. That he was wont to be dreſs'd and undreſs'd upon the Biſhop's Throne, and there uſed to eat the little Cake (this was to prevent ſpitting after the reception of the Sacrament.) XXIX. That it was his cuſtom to give Money to new-ordained Biſhops, to oblige them by hard uſage to oppreſs the Clergy. Some other things there were which they commonly

charg'd him with, as that he had administred the Sacrament after meals, and that he had slept with Women by his side, but whether these were insisted on in the Council, does not appear. The Articles being read, they resolv'd next that *Chrysostom* should be cited to answer to his Charge, whose carriage in this affair we come next to enquire into.

*† Pallad. ib.
p. 57.*

VI. *CHRYSOSTOM* foreseeing how things were like to go, had gathered about him all the Bishops[†] of his Party that were about the Town, XL. in all, who were assembled in the great dining room of his Pallace, to whom he thus address'd himself, "Brethren, be earnest in prayer, and since you love our Lord *Jesus*, let none of you for my sake desert his Charge: For, as 'twas in *S. Paul's* case, "I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. Many hardships I see I must undergo, and then quit this troublesome life. For I know the subtlety of *Satan*, who cannot endure to be daily tormented with my Preaching. Hereby you will find mercy your selves at the hands of God, only be mindful of me in your Prayers. The whole Company was troubled at his discourse, some burst into tears, others who were not able to confine their passion within tears and silence, humbly kiss'd him, and went out to give a freer vent to their sorrow. The Assembly was much disturb'd, till calling them to their places, "Brethren, said he, sit down, and cease to weep, lest you add more Affliction to my Grief: For to me to live is *Christ*, and to dye is gain (this he said upon occasion of the rumour then spread abroad, that for his obstinacy and inflexibility he was to lose his Head) if your memories serve you, call to mind how I always told you, that this life is a way, wherein both joyes and sorrow march away with a quick pace. The Scene of things before our eyes is like a Fair, where we buy, and sell, and sometimes recreate and divert our selves. Are we better than the Patriarchs? Do we excel the Prophets, and Apostles, that we should live here for ever? And when one of the Company with some passion told him, that they could not but bewail their sad condition, and the desolation that attended them, who should be left like Pupils and Orphans, the Church a Widow, the Laws trodden down, and all things expos'd to the pride and covetousness of ungodly men, and to the Ambition of such as would boldly invade the Government of the Church, that the poor would want their Guardian, and the Catholick Doctrine be deserted; the good Bishop striking more than once with the point of his right fore-finger upon the Palm of his left hand (as he was wont to do, when intent upon any serious matter) replied, 'tis enough, Brother, pursue the Argument no further, however, as I requested, desert not your Churches. And for the Doctrine of *Christ*, it began not with me, nor shall it die with me. Did not *Moses* die? And did not *Joshua* succeed him? Did not *Samuel* die? And was not *David* anointed in his stead? *Jeremy* departed this Life, and did he not leave *Baruch* behind him? *Elias* was taken up into Heaven, and did not the Prophetick Spirit rest on *Elisba*? *Paul* was beheaded, and left he not *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Apollonius*, and many more behind him? *Eulysius* Bishop of *Apamea* answered, But if we keep our Churches, we shall be compelled to communicate and subscribe; to which he replied, commu-

unicate

nicate you may, that you make not a Schism in the Church, but subscribe not the Decrees; for I am not conscious to my self of having done any thing, for which I deserve to be depos'd, or turn'd out.

VII. IN the midst of these discourses word was brought, there were Messengers at the door from *Theophilus* and the Synod, they were *Dioscorus*, and *Paulus*, two young men, lately made Bishops in *Libya*, who being brought in, and upon enquiry known to be Bishops, *Chrysostom* intreated them to sit down, and declare what errand they came upon. They told him, they had only a brief Citation, which they desired might be read. It was directed to *Chrysostom* without so much as giving him the Title of Bishop, and being delivered to *Theophilus's* Clerk, was read in this form. The holy Synod assembled at the Oak to John. We have received Libels of Accusation against you, charging you with innumerable Crimes. Make hast therefore to come hither, and bring along with you Sarapion and Tigrius, Presbyters, for whom there will be occasion. This Summons being read, the whole Company were offended at it, but told the Bishops that brought it, they would return an answer to *Theophilus* by Messengers of their own, to whom they accordingly wrote to this effect. "Presume not to intrench upon and disturb the Churches affairs, nor to confound Order; rend not the Church, for which *Christ* came down from Heaven. But if you will be so rash and hasty, as to lay aside the Canons of the *Nicene* Council, and take upon you to hear Causes without your own Jurisdiction, come hither to us into this well-regulated City, and provoke us not as *Cain* did *Abel* to go into the field, that we may in the first place hear what you have to say for your self. For we have Libels against you, containing no less than LXX. Articles, and those charg'd with the most open and scandalous Offences. And for number, we that are here assembled by the grace of God for the peace, not the destruction of the Church, are more than you. For your Synod consists but of XXXVI. Bishops, most whereof come out of one Province, whereas we are forty, met out of several Provinces, and seven of that number *Metropolitans*. And 'tis agreeable both to Reason and Custom, that in matters of this nature the lesser number should be concluded by the Major, and by the more eminent part. We have also your own Letter, wherein you admonish our Colleague *John* not to meddle with Judging a Bishop out of his own Province. Wherefore submit your selves to the Canons of the Church, and rather intercede with your Accusers, to let fall the Charge they have brought against you, or at least take them off from troubling *Chrysostom* with their Complaints. This answer being drawn up, *Chrysostom* told them, that they might send what Message they thought good, but for his own part he was resolv'd to return a particular answer to *Theophilus*, which was in substance this^k, "That he did not decline being brought to Tryal, but only refus'd to be Judg'd by a profest and declared Enemy. For he who before ever he had received any Libels, had from the very first given such plain evident instances of partiality and dissatisfaction, abstain'd from the Prayers and Communion of the Church, suborn'd Accusers, drawn over the Clergy to him, and made the Church desolate, how was he ever like to prove a fair and equal Judge, and sit to ascend a Tribunal,

^k *Chrys. Ep. ad Innoc. p. 678.*

"Tribunal, no ways agreeable to him: For 'tis not reasonable, that
 "a man that lives in *Egypt* should Judge those that dwell in *Thrace*,
 "and this man too himself lying under an Accusation, and withal
 "an open Adversary to those whom he is Judge: that for his own
 "part he openly declared, that as he was innocent, so he was most
 "ready to assert his innocency, and to answer the Allegations brought
 "against him before an hundred, or a thousand Bishops; that he
 "stood not upon the place, where he should be Tried, though he
 "thought it most fit to be within the City; they were the Persons
 "of the Judges he excepted against, particularly against *Theophilus*
 "himself, who had said both at *Alexandria* and in *Lycia*, that he
 "was going to Court to depose *Chrysostom*, which he demonstrated
 "at his arrival by refusing all manner of Familiarity or Communion
 "with him. And he who shew'd himself an Enemy before the Trial,
 "what would he be at, and after it? He excepted likewise against
 "*Acacius*, who had threatned, that he would *season his pot for him*:
 "That for *Severian* and *Antiochus*, 'twas needless to say any thing,
 "their misdemeanours being expos'd upon the publick Theaters, and
 "no doubt Divine Vengeance would quickly overtake them. If
 "therefore, *said he*, you be really desirous that I should appear, dis-
 "charge these four from being Judges; if they be only Accusers,
 "let them be brought in, that I may know in what Circumstances
 "I am like to be, and whether I am to appear before them as Ad-
 "versaries, or as Judges, and then I am most willing to appear not
 "before them only, but before a General Council. And take no-
 "tice, that though you should send me a thousand Summons, I am
 "resolved to return no other answer.

VIII. WITH these answers they dispatched away *Demetrius* Bi-
 shop of *Pisinus*, *Eleusius* of *Apamea*, and *Lupinus* of *Apiaria*, with
 whom they joyned two Presbyters, *Germanus* and *Severus*. As they
 were going out, in came a *Notary* with an Edict from the Emperor,
 granting power according to their request to force the Persons concern-
 ed to appear, which he press'd them to. No sooner was he dispatched,
 but two Presbyters of *Chrysostom's* own Clergy, *Eugenius*, who for his
 zeal in this affair was made Bishop of *Heraclea*, and *Isaac* the Monk, who
 from the beginning had confederated with *Severian* and *Antiochus*,
 came, and addressing themselves to *Chrysostom*. The Synod (*said*
they) commands, that you come over to them, to answer to the
 Crimes objected to you. In answer whereunto he sent some others
 of his Bishops to expostulate with them to this purpose, with what
 reason or order they could pretend to judge him, who would not
 dismiss his Enemies from amongst them, and who took upon them to
 cite him by those of his own Clergy. But so far were his answers
 from being satisfactory, that the Bishops who carried them were
 treated with an uncommon savageness and inhumanity, one beaten,
 another pull'd and torn, a third had those very Irons clasp'd upon his
 Neck, which they had prepared for *Chrysostom*, to have load'd him with
 as he was to be sent on Shipboard, and transmitted to some obscure
 corner of the World. Which the good Bishop hearing of, kept close
 where he was. But it's time we now return back to the Synod.

IX. CHRT-

IX. *CHRYSOSTOM* not appearing after four several Sum-
 mons (for so often *Sozomen* and *Photius* say he was cited) they
 proceeded to the examination of the Articles alledged against him,
 though of the whole XXIX. exhibited by *John* the Deacon, they
 insisted " only upon four; the two first, the IXth. and the XXVIIth.
 After which *Isaacius* (whom *Photius* styles a Bishop, but probably was
 no other but *Isaac* the Monk whom we lately mention'd, though he
 as well as his fellow-presbyter *Eugenius* might for his good Services
 be afterwards made a Bishop) gave in another Charge against *Chry-*
sostom, containing XVII. Articles, many of them the same with those
 that had been exhibited before, those that were any thing different;
 were as follows. I. That *Epiphanius* since departed had refused to
 hold Communion with him upon the account of his favouring the
Origenist Monks, *Ammonius*, *Euthymius*, *Eusebius*, and the rest. II.
 That he affirmed, that in the Church there was a Table full of Fu-
 rories. III. That he was wont to vaunt himself in the Church in such
 terms as these, *εγω, ημεωμεν, I am desperately in love, I rave, and am*
transported; and that he ought to have explained his meaning: what
Furies he meant, and what those other words imported, being such
 as the Church was not acquainted with. IV. That he gave liberty,
 and encouraged men to sin, by venting such Doctrines as these; *If*
thou sinnest again, repent again; and *as oft as thou sinnest, come to me,*
and I will heal thee. V. That he had taught this blasphemous Doctrine
 in the Church, that Christ when he prayed was not heard, for that
 he did not pray right. VI. That he stirr'd up the People to Sedition,
 and to Mutiny against the Synod. VII. That he entertained *Gentiles*,
 who had done innumerable mischiefs to Christians, and kept them
 in the Church, and there protected them. VIII. That he went in-
 to other mens Provinces, and there ordained Bishops. IX. That he
 had ordained without convening, nay against the Opinion of his
 Clergy. X. That he had taken other mens Servants before they
 were emancipated, while they lay under Accusations, and had made
 them Bishops. XI. That he had oft misus'd *Isaacius* himself, who
 prefer'd this Charge. But of this last Charge, they discuss'd no more
 than the first and the fourth Articles; from whence they went back
 to the third Article of the former Charge, which concerned the sale
 of the Church-Jewels and Ornaments, and for the proof of this they
 produc'd *Asiacius*, *Atticus*, and *Elpidius*, who also together with *A-*
cacius deposed to the fourth Article. And to add yet the more weight,
Geronimus, *Faustinus*, and *Eugenomonus*, three of the *Asian* Bishops
 stood up and delivered in their Libels, complaining, that *Chrysostom*
 had unjustly deposed them from their Bishopricks.

X. IN these Proceedings they spent twelve Synodical Sessions,
 when the managers demanded Judgment against the Person ac-
 cused. Whereupon *Paul* Bishop of *Heraclea* (who by his place was
 Chief President of the Synod, the Bishops of *Constantinople* being
 obliged to receive their Ordination from the hands of the Metro-
 politan of *Heraclea*) commanded every one to deliver his Opinion,
 which they did, beginning with *Gymnastus*, and ending with *The-*
ophilus, all of them concluding, that he ought to be deposed from
 his See. Which done, they wrote an account of it to the Clergy
 of *Constantinople*, and sent also the Emperor this following relation".
 Forasmuch

m Phot. ibid.
col. 56, 57.

m Phil. que 3le
hac re habuit
Socr. l. 6. c. 21.
p. 330.

* Pallad. p. 741

Forasmuch as John has been accused of certain Crimes, of which being conscious to himself, he would not appear, the Laws in that case depose him, which is the Sentence now pass'd upon him. The Libels contained also a Charge of Sedition, wherefore your piety will please to give Order, that whether he submit or no, he be expelled, and made to undergoe the Penalty of high Treason; it not being a matter that lay within our Cognizance. By this high Treason, meaning the affront they pretended he had offered the Empress, whom they reported he had styled *Jezabel*. A Warrant was hereupon procured for Execution of the Sentence, which was sent to, and read in the Synod. In the XIIIth. and last Session, they proceeded against some others of his Party, *Palladius* Bishop of *Helenopolis*, but especially against *Heraclides* Bishop of *Ephesus*, *Macarius* Bishop of the *Magnetes* appearing against him, and *John* the Monk exhibiting a Libel, wherein he charged him with being an *Origenist*, and that he had been guilty of theft at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, having stolen the Cloaths of *Aquilinus* the Deacon, and had been taken in the act, and that notwithstanding all this, *Chrysostom* had ordained him Bishop of *Ephesus*. But it seems he found Friends in the Synod, who stood by him, and would not suffer the Sentence of Deposition to pass against him.

XI. Amongst all the Transactions of this Synod, the Reader will wonder perhaps that he hears nothing of that which was the first and main spring of the Motion, and about which *Theophilus* had made so many clamorous outcries, viz. the Condemnation of *Origen's* works. But *Theophilus* had caught the Fish he aimed at, and the Bait was now laid aside. And he was willing to be at peace with the *Egyptian* Monks, could they but be brought to any shew of sorrow and submission, that might seem to justify his fierce Zeal against them. To this purpose Agents were set on work, who represented to them how ready *Theophilus* was to pardon what was past, if they would but sue for it, and that the Synod did intercede for them. Allured with these smooth Pretences, and desirous after all to sit down in quiet, they yielded to say, what they were wont to do when they received the greatest injuries, *Forgive us*. Upon which easy terms *Theophilus* readily received them into favour, and readmitted them to Communion. Which perhaps had not been so tamely assented to, had the two Brothers, *Dioscorus* and *Ammonius*, the prime sticklers of the Party been alive. For *Dioscorus* dyed a little before the Synod, having earnestly prayed God, either that he might see the peace of the Church, or be himself translated into a better World. He was buried in the Church of S. *Mocius* at *Constantinople* (not in that of the Oak at *Chalcedon*, as some relate) where his memory was so venerable, that several who before-time were wont to swear by the Martyr, took their Oaths henceforward upon the Prayers of *Dioscorus*. *Ammonius* fell sick about the time that things were preparing for the Synod, and accordingly caus'd himself to be carried over to *Rufinus's* Village at *Chalcedon*, where his Disease growing upon him, he dyed soon after, foretelling upon his deathbed, that there would be a mighty Schism and Persecution in the Church, after which the Authors of it would come to a very ill end, and then a blessed Peace and Union should succeed. As it accordingly came to pass. He was buried in the *Apostolicon*, or Church

r Phot. ib. col. 60.

q Id. ib. col. 55.

r Socr. l. 8. c. 17. p. 780.

s Pallad. c. 17. p. 159.

t Socr. l. 6. c. 17. p. 325.

u Pallad. ib. p. 157.

Church of the *Apostles*, and his Tomb was famous for the curing Fevers, as my Author * who lived at that time reports. A man he was, at the news of whose death *Theophilus* * himself could not but weep, and openly say of him, That none of the Monks of that time was comparable to him, though he had created him no little trouble. Thus ended the long and fierce Contention between *Theophilus* and the Monks about the *Origenian* Controversie, started at first upon unwarrantable designs, and carried on by worse Principles and Practices. And indeed that *Theophilus* herein was acted more by sinister ends, than Zeal against the thing it self, is evident in that after all the noise he had made about it, he familiarly studied * *Origen's* works. And being challenged by one for so doing, he replied, *Origen's* Books are like a Meadow beset with all sorts of Herbs and Flowers; where I find any thing that's good and wholesome, I take it to my own use: Where I meet with that that's prickly and useles, I pass it by.

* Id. p. 159.

* Socr. ib. p. 781.

* Socr. ubi. sup. p. 325.

S E C T. V.

His Acts from his departure till the Order for his second Banishment.

The Peoples disturbance at the news of his being depos'd. *Chrysostom* privately conveyed into *Bithynia*. The great distractions in the City. *Chrysostom* recalled. The Empress excuses her self to him. His refusal to enter the City, till publicly cleared. Forc'd to come in, to quiet the People. His triumphant return, and Oration to the People upon that occasion. The quarrel between the followers of *Theophilus*, and the Citizens. *Theophilus* privately returns back to *Alexandria*. A Synod at *Constantinople* to reverse the Acts of the former Synod against *Chrysostom*. He falls again under the displeasure of the Empress. His smart Inveective against her Statue, and the dissolute sports us'd at that place. His bold Sermon preach'd at that time. His Enemies furnished with secret instructions from *Theophilus*. A second Synod holden against *Chrysostom* at *Constantinople*. A Canon of the Council of *Antioch* urged against him, with his exception to it. The true state of that matter. *Elpidius's* stout pleading for *Chrysostom* before the Emperor. The Emperor overpersuaded by *Chrysostom's* Enemies. All interposals in his behalf vain. The violence used towards *Chrysostom's* Clergy and their People assembled in *Constantianus's* Baptisterium. The abuses and injuries offered to those that fled to assemble in the Fields and Woods. *Theophilus's* Message and Representation of the Case at *Rome*. *Chrysostom's* Letter to *Pope Innocent*, and other Western Bishops. *Innocent's* Letter to *Theophilus*, that the whole Cause might be fairly heard in an impartial Synod.

r Socr. ib. c. 15. p. 323. Socr. l. 8. c. 18.

p. 782. Pallad. c. 8. p. 75.

Chryf. Ep. ad Inn. p. 679.

Theod. l. 5: c. 34. p. 239.

vid. Zosim. l. 5. p. 800.

I. THE news of what had pass'd in the Synod soon flew abroad among the People, who were infinitely troubled at it, and gathering together guarded the Church night and day, lest he should be taken thence, crying out, that his Cause ought to be heard before a greater, and a more equal and indifferent Assembly.

R r r

But

But he fearing a popular Insurrection, did on the third day about noon, unknown to the People, deliver up himself to the Commander, that came with a Party of Souldiers to receive him, who in the evening carried him through the City, put him on ship-board, and sailed away that night to *Hieroa* a Port in the mouth of the *Euxin* Sea, where he landed, and was carried to some Farms that were at *Præmetum* in *Bithynia*. Where we leave him for a while, and return back to see what pass'd after his departure at *Constantinople*. No sooner was it known that he was gone, but the whole City was in an uproar, many blam'd the Emperor, more the Synod, but the whole load was cast upon *Theophilus*: those who till then had been his Enemies, were now mov'd with Compassion towards him, and many who but just before had wish'd him depos'd, cried out now 'twas malice and injustice. In this general tumult the Monks who were *Chrysostom's* fast Friends, bore not the least share, they shut up the Churches, and suffered not the People to frequent publick Prayers, till it grew up to that height of Confusion that if *Zosimus* say true, the People and Souldiers fell upon the Monks, great numbers of whom they killed in the Church, and pursued those that escap'd, sparing none whom they found in black (which was the common habit of the Monks) insomuch that many who were then in mourning, or upon some other occasions wore black at that time, were without the least distinction put to death. *Severian* hoping to quiet mens minds by justifying what had been done, went up and preach'd, and in his Sermon told the People, that though *Chrysostom* had been condemn'd for nothing else, yet his pride and insolence were enough to deserve the punishment that had been put upon him. For though all other sins may be pardoned, yet the Scripture plainly testifies, that *God resisteth the proud*. But this made it worse, and blew up the People into a greater rage, so that there was little hope to allay the Tumult. It added not a little to the general Conternation, that at night happened a terrible Earthquake, which was look'd upon as a signification of the displeasure of Heaven against the late Transactions. All which extremely affrighted them at Court, and the next morning they immediately dispatch'd away the Emperor's Secretary to bring him back; and the Empress *Endoxia*, knowing how much she had promoted the designs against him, and seeing the breath of the People run violently that way, had upon her Knees begg'd of the Emperor to recal him, and withal, sent away *Brisen* her Eunuch with Letters to him, desiring him not to think that she was any ways conscious to, or had the least hand in the troubles that had come upon him, wherein she protested she was innocent. They were corrupt and wicked men, she said, that had stained this whole Scene and Contrivance of his sufferings; calling God to witness that her tears and protestations were sincere and real, and that she honoured him as Bishop, and particularly as the Person that had with his own hands regenerated and baptized her Children. After this, other Messengers were sent to hasten his return, insomuch, that the *Bosphorus* was crowded with them. Nor were the People backward to bear a part in this triumph, they covered the mouth of the *Propontis* with their Boats, and when they met him, carried lighted Torches before him.

II. CHRT-

II. *CHRTSOSTOM* in his return landed at a Village called *Mariane* belonging to the Empress, lying near the *Asiulus* on the mouth of the *Pontus* about four miles distant from the City. Here he took up his Quarters, protesting he would not go into the City, till he could vindicate his innocency before a greater Synod, than that wherein he had been condemn'd. But the People were impatient of delays, and began to murmur openly, and throw the fault upon the Court, which therefore used all its Artifices to bring him home, to which he had no sooner yielded, but the Empress sent to Complement him, that now her Prayers were heard, and the Reformation accomplished which she had so passionately begg'd for; that she looked upon it as a greater Glory than the Crown she wore, that she had recovered her Bishop, that she had restored the Head to the Body, the Pilot to the Ship, the Pastor to his Flock, and the Bridegroom to his nuptial Bed; that those that had invaded and defiled it, were ashamed; and that now she had done this, she cared not much whether she lived or dyed. He was met on the way by crowds of People, who sung Hymns prepared on purpose for this Solemnity, others carried lighted Torches in their hands, and in this joyful and splendid Equipage they brought him to his Cathedral, where they importun'd him to ascend the Episcopical Throne, and give them his Blessing. He told them he was disabled, being under a Censure, that the Judges that had condemn'd him must reverse their Sentence, and restore him to his See. This denial did but the more sharpen the Peoples unsatisfied desires, who prest him to it with greater vehemency, till finding that nothing else would quiet them, went up, and in the accustomed form pronounced the Peace to the People. And seeing them still desirous of something more, he made an *extempore* Oration to them, wherein taking for his Theme the Story of *Pharo* King of *Agypt's* forcible taking away *Sarah*, *Abraham's* Wife, intending her for his own Bed, he shews that *Theophilus* the *Agyptian* had offered the same violence to his Church and Spouse, which with force and armed followers he had seized upon. A Case which he draws out into a very elegant Comparifon. And taking occasion, as he had good reason, to commend the kindness and forwardness both of Prince and People, he so inflamed the affections of his Auditors, that bursting out into shouts and acclamations in honour of the Emperor and his Lady *Endoxia*, they forced him somewhat abruptly to break off his Sermon. A very eloquent discourse, which though *Baronius* bewails as lost, yet is it still extant, being together with his former preserved by *George* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in the account he has given of *Chrysostom's* Life, being the most considerable and valuable piece of that Life.

III. *THEOPHILUS* we may imagine was sorely vexed at these Proceedings. A great mind he had to charge *Chrysostom* publicly with acting contrary to the Canons, in exercising his Episcopical Office, after he had been depos'd. But he was afraid to disoblige the Emperor and the great ones at Court, who he saw were forced to humour the People. Therefore he resolv'd to begin with *Heraclides* Bishop of *Ephesus*, whose Accusers he cited, and formed a Process against him. His Friends pleaded, that it was not consonant to the

* *Int. sup.*
cit.

* *Chry. Sermon.*
post v. d. ab.
Exil. T. 4.
p. 973. c.
Soc. loc. cit.

* *Serm. ab.*
sup. p. 974.

* *Ext. ab. sup.*
p. 979. c. 4p.
Georg. Alex.
in vit. Chrysof.

Laws either of Church or State, to sit upon and condemn a man that was absent, and unable to speak for or defend himself. But *Theophilus* and his Party resolved to proceed, as the others did to oppose his Proceedings, and the Contest grew so high between the *Egyptians* that sided with *Theophilus*, and the People of *Constantinople*, that it came to blows, and some were wounded, and others slain in the quarrel. Affrighted with this riot, *Severian* and the rest of the Bishops of that gang fled out of Town, and *Theophilus* himself not knowing to what this might grow, and understanding that a Council was suddenly to be called to recanvass and discuss matters, took shipping at midnight, and set sail for home. And it was time for him to be gone, for the People enraged at his wicked and malicious attempts, search'd for him, with a resolution to have thrown him into the Sea. *Chrysostom* in the mean time earnestly urg'd the Emperor, that a Council might be summoned to clear his innocence, and to re-examine the unrighteous Sentence they had pass'd upon him. The same he told the *Syrian* Bishops that stay'd behind, desiring them to deliver up the Libels of Accusation, and the Acts of the Synod, or at least to specify the Crimes he had been charged with, and to nominate his Accusers. But they refused to meddle. The Emperor hereupon sent to *Theophilus*, commanding him and his Bishops to come again, and render an account of what they had done, and that they should not think it enough that one Party had condemned the other, when the other was absent, and when they had so plainly acted against all Laws and Canons. But he had no mind to it, and accordingly excus'd himself upon pretence he was afraid of a Tumult in his absence, as indeed the People even before the Emperor's Letters came, had entertained him with a thousand Sarcasms and Reproaches. However there assembled at *Constantinople* LX. odd Bishops, who took the Proceedings of the former Synod under a review, revers'd the Acts of it, and intirely restored *Chrysostom* to his See, who about the same time prefer'd his Presbyter *Scrapius* to the Bishoprick of *Heraclea*.

IV. BUT this calm season lasted not long, the Clouds returning after Rain. He had not been long at home, when a Silver Statue of the Empress *Eudoxia* was to be solemnly erected. It was put upon a column of Porphyry, and that set upon a high Basis, and plac'd not far from the Church of *S. Sophia*, in the Street just before it. It was dedicated, as was usual in such cases, with many wild and ludicrous rites, which were so much the more at this time, the Provost of the City being a *Semipagan* and a *Manichee*, who encouraged the People to shoutings, and dancings, and all manner of exorbitant extravagancies. Indeed it was the usual place where the People met to perform their loose sports and pastimes, to the great disturbance and distraction of the Congregation in their Divine Assemblies. This *Chrysostom* could not bear, but upon all occasions reprov'd it smartly in his Sermons, blaming both them that did it, and those who patronized and encouraged it. And when he understood that the Empress thought her self deeply concerned in these reflections, and intended to have him call'd again to an account, instead of pursuing the softer and gentler methods of perswasion and insinuation, he gave way to his old bluntness and impartiality, and taking occasion from the Story of

John the Baptist, and his treatment by *Herod* and *Herodias* (read his like as the Lesson for that day) he began his Sermon^h in this manner (Though *Photius* much questions the genuineness of it, as now extant.) Now again *Herodias* raves and is vex'd, again she dances, again she seeks to have *John Baptist's Head* in a Charger. Again *Jezabel* goes up and down, trying how she may rattle away *Naboth's Vineyard*, and drive holy *Elias* into the Wilderness. And then he proceeds to lay down the Character of an ill Woman, affirming that no Beast in the World, no not the Lyon or the Dragon, is comparable to a bad Woman, which he illustrates from the Acts of several ill Women that are upon Record in Scripture. And then that he might not quite discourage that part of his Auditory, he turns the Tables, and discourses of the nature, qualities, and actions of good Women, whose examples he propounds and recommends to them. His Adversaries now thought themselves furnish'd with advantage enough against him, and all the Rooms in the Pallace are made to ring of the Sermon, and though the latter part might seem to compound for the former, yet the first part only was talk'd of, and lost nothing in the aggravation. *Eudoxia* storm'd to be thus traduced, and, as she thought, be-labell'd in publick Sermons, and therefore began to give a more open vent to her resentment, which *Chrysostom's* Enemies were not backward to improve. And first they write to *Theophilus*, desiring him, either to come himself and Head the Party, or at least to send them directions how to proceed in it. The wary man was not willing to venture his Person, but sent three Bishops, *Paulus*, *Pocmon*, and a third whom he had newly made, furnish'd with instructions, and certain Canons, which having been heretofore made against *Athanasius*, would now equally conclude against *Chrysostom*.

VI. TOWARDS the expiring of the year CCCCIII. several Bishops^k out of *Syria*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Phrygia* were convened at *Constantinople*, the chief whereof were *Leontius* of *Ancyra*, and *Ammonius* of *Laodicea* in *Pisidia*. They remembred *Theophilus* had run himself into an inconvenience by rejecting all manner of Communion with *Chrysostom*, before he had been Judicially tryed. Wherefore at their first coming to Town they scrupled not to communicate with him, till they found how things stood at Court, where his interest went more visibly down the Wind every day. For *Christmas-day* now approaching, the Emperor (easily managed by *Eudoxia*, and others about him) came not as he was wont to Church, but sent *Chrysostom* word, that he could not communicate with him, till he had cleared himself of the Crimes that had been objected to him. *Chrysostom* desired nothing more, and publickly challeng'd his Accusers to make good their Charge. But they had not the hardiness to venture upon it. And therefore *Leontius* and *Ammonius* privately acquainted *Acacius* and *Antiochus*, that the best way was to let go the old Charge, and to insist only upon this, that being Synodically deposed, he had of his own head without sufficient Authority reposited himself of his See. *Chrysostom* replied, that at his return he had been reinstated by the Votes of LXV. Bishops. But they were a greater number, answered *Leontius*, that condemned them in the Synod. By which he must necessarily mean all those who consented to

^h Eyt. Tom. 6. p. 283. de hie tamen orat. vid. quæ habet Phot. Cat. CCLXXXIV. col. 1521.

ⁱ Palad. n. 2. supra.

^k Sac. & Soc. loc. cit. Palad. p. 76.

^e Palad. B. p. 75. ^f Sup. l. 8. v. 111.

^g Sac. l. 6. c. 18. p. 325. ^h Sup. l. 8. c. 20. p. 785.

to that Synodal Decree, though not present at it, there being otherwise no more than XXXVI. or (if we should take *Photinus* his account) XLV. Bishops present in that Synod. Then they betook themselves to the Canons¹ which *Theophilus* had sent them, especially the IVth. Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, holden *Ann. Chr. CCCXLI.* whereby it is provided, that if any Bishop or Presbyter be deposed (*adversus* *n* *diagnis* right or wrong, this they added to the Canon) and shall of himself without the Authority of a Synod return to his Church, or as the Canon it self has it, shall presume to celebrate the Divine Offices, such a one shall be left destitute of all hopes of being restored, and shall have no place of excuse or defence afforded to him; and that all who after that knowingly communicate with him, shall be cast out of the Church. And by the XIIth. Canon of that Council it is provided, that whoever in this case shall solicit the Emperor, when he ought to appeal to a greater Synod, than that by which he was deposed, and refer his case to their Judgment and Determination, shall be incapable of Absolution, nor shall he be admitted to his defence, or have any hopes of being restored to his See. Against these Canons *Chrysostom* excepted as being contrived by the *Arians*, and framed on purpose by men who designed to run down *Athanasius*, and to overthrow the Catholic Faith. And indeed it must be confessed, that though the Major part of Bishops in that Council were Catholics, and the Council it self be received into the Code of the universal Church, yet was there an active Party in that Synod, who were either profess'd *Arians*, or such as favoured that Cause, and who got some Canons so framed, as might best serve their turn, promote their Designs, and warrant their Proceedings against *Athanasius*. But still this must be acknowledged to have been only an answer *ad hominem*, which he might the freelier make use of, the Canons of *Antioch* not being as yet admitted into the Ecclesiastick Code, though they were soon after. The truth is, he was not really within the Charge of the *Antiochian* Canons, having according to them been Canonically examined, acquitted, and re-admitted, and had accordingly before truly told them, that he had been restored, by a far greater Synod, than that whereby he had been deposed and banished.

VII. *LEONTIUS* and the rest found they should do little good by disputing the Case, and therefore went to persuade the Emperor to call ten of the Bishop's of *Chrysostom's* Party, and to prevail with them to give their Suffrage for the Authority of the Canons of *Antioch*, some affirming them to have been made by Catholics, others by *Arians*. But *Elpidius* the aged Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, and *Tranquillinus* went to Court, and begged of the Emperor that without a sufficient Cause given, *Chrysostom* might not be ejected out of his See. For neither before had he been rightly deposed, but forcibly carried away by the Imperial Officer; nor did he come back of his own head, but by his Majesties express Command, brought to him by the Secretary. And for the Canons which they now produce, we have shewn them to have been the Artifice of Hereticks. The adverse Party rais'd a mighty noise, as if they intended to carry the Cause by Clamour and Confusion, till a little silence being made, *Elpidius* mildly address'd himself to the Emperor, Sir, (said he) We will no longer vex and tire your patience, but will put it upon this issue.

Let

Let *Antiochus*, *Acacius*, and the rest of our Brethren, subscribe these Canons which they pretend to be made by Catholics, and let them declare that they are of the same Faith with those that made them, and the Controversie will be at an end. The Emperor apprehending the honesty of the proposal, smil'd upon *Antiochus*, and told him, that nothing could be more fit and reasonable. This struck them dumb, but not knowing how otherwise to come off, they at length though with evident reluctance promised they would subscribe, which as they never meant, so they never performed.

VIII. IT was now nine or ten months^m since *Chrysostom's* return, ^{m Pallad. ib. p. 80.} and the holy time of *Lent* was come, when *Antiochus* went privately to the Emperor, and told him that *Chrysostom* had been utterly baffled, and had lost the day, and therefore intreated him that *Easter* being at hand, he would give order for his expulsion. *Arcadius* was easily impos'd upon, and thought that in matters of this nature he might securely rely on a Bishop's word, and being wearied with importunities, sent *Chrysostom* order to quit his Church. The good Bishop returned this plain answer, I have receiv'd this Church from God my Saviour, and am intrusted with the care of this Peoples Souls, and I cannot desert this Charge. But if you be resolv'd upon it, the Civil Power is yours, throw me out by force, that I may at least plead your Authority for the non-performance of my Office. This somewhat mitigated the rigour that would have been otherwise used, and Officers were sent from Court, who peaceably turn'd him out of the Church, and confined him to his own House, intending thereby to try what success their attempts were like to have against him. If they found the People would not bear it, 'twas but bringing him back from his own House to the Church; if they took it quietly, they might then proceed to further Severities. But this notwithstanding he still frequented the Church, and the Divine Assemblies, though he stirr'd not much abroad at the time. And thus things continued till the *Passion-week*, when on the very day of our Lord's Crucifixion he received fresh Orders to leave the Church, whereto he returned such an answer as he thought most convenient. The Emperor out of reverence to the Solemnity of the sacred time, and fear of putting the City into an uproar, call'd for *Acacius* and *Antiochus*, and ask'd them what was best to be done? Advising them to beware lest they took wrong measures. They replied, Sir, trouble not your self, let the deposing of *Chrysostom* be at our door, we are ready to answer it with the peril of our Heads. Notice hereof immediately got abroad, whereupon forty Bishops, who kept *Lent* with *Chrysostom*, went to the Emperor and the Empress, who were at that time in the *Martyria*, with tears beseeching them to spare the Church of Christ, that it might not be depriv'd of its Bishop, especially at this time of *Easter*, when the *Catechumens*, who had been instructed and prepared in order to it, were to receive their Baptism. But their address was rejected, which so mov'd *Paul* Bishop of *Croatia*, that turning to the Empress, *Eudoxia*, said he, fear God, and have compassion upon your own Children, and do not by shedding blood profane Christ's holy Festival. Which said, the Bishops with weeping eyes, and sad hearts return'd back again.

I X. WHILE

IX. WHILE these things were in agitation, *Chrysostom's* Presbyters with some of the Bishops of his Party^a had assembled the People in *Constantinus's* Baptistry, where they watched, and spent their time, some in reading the holy Scriptures, others in preparing the *Catechumens* against the approaching Solemnity. This *Antiochus* and his Party beheld with an evil eye, and solicited their Patrons at Court, that this Assembly might be dispers'd. But the *Magister Officiorum*, who was the chief Officer of the Palace, refused to meddle, he told them 'twas night, and the Congregation numerous, and that care must be had that nothing should be done rashly. They replied the Churches were empty, and that if the Emperor should go thither, and find no body there, he would plainly perceive that the Peoples love to *Chrysostom* had drawn them thence, and would reproach them with envy and ill will, who had suggested to him, that there were none that willingly adhered to him. To gratify their importunity, having first protested against the ill events of the attempt, he ordered *Lucius*, a *Gentile*, as was reported, Captain of the Band of the *Scutarii*, to go quietly to the Church, and see if he could bring back the People to assemble there. He went, and came back with this account, that no good was to be done in it, such were the numbers, such the zeal and fervency of the People. Not satisfied herewith, they prevailed with him to try once more, and either by fair means reduce the People to the Church, or by force to hinder them from celebrating the Solemnity. And that he might not want fit guides and directors, they lent him some of their Clergy to go along with him, who accompanied him to the place of meeting^b, whereinto they no sooner entered, but all Corners were full of horror and confusion, the Clergy were seized, beaten, wounded, imprisoned, and treated with all manner of indignities, the *Catechumens* dispers'd, the Women who had stripp'd themselves in order to their Baptism, fled away naked, and many of them wounded, and the very Water in the Baptistry dyed with the Blood that was shed there. Thence breaking into the Chancel, they prophanely handled the sacred Mysteries, the very Souldiers spilling the consecrated Wine upon their Cloaths. The Villanies committed were inexpressible, and the Confusion infinite, People running up and down all parts of the City, and filling every place they came to with sighs, and groans, and tears, and tragical stories. And Edicts were every where published one upon the back of another, severely threatening all that refused to renounce Communion with *Chrysostom*. As soon as 'twas day the greatest part of the City fled, and betook themselves to Trees or Woods, or Fields, or any places that might but afford a tolerable shelter, where they might keep the Festival. It happened that the Emperor went out that day to divert himself in a Meadow adjoining to the City, where he espied a Field covered all over with white. These were the *Catechumens* who had been baptiz'd the night before, and had then (as the Custom was in the Primitive Church) their white Garments upon them, and were in number near three thousand; the dangerous posture of Affairs, and the fears of losing their Bishop having, probably, encreas'd the number of baptismal Candidates at that time. The Emperor was strangely surpriz'd at the sight, and ask'd his Guards who they were; who the more to exasperate him

^a Il. p. 84.
Chrys. Epist.
ad *Innoc.* p.
680.

against them, told him, they were a Conventicle of Hereticks. A Party of Souldiers were immediately drawn out, and ordered to go and disperse the Assembly. Which they did, apprehending some few of the Clergy, but more of the People, whom they put under Custody. Several Women of noble Quality were laid hold on, from some of which they took their Vails, from others their Pendants, plucking away part of the Ear for halt; others to secure themselves from an immodest rudeness and violence, changed Cloaths with their waiting Women, and in that disguise made their escapes. Vast numbers were seized, so that the Prisons were turned into Churches, where Hymns were sung, and the holy Eucharist administered, while Churches were turn'd into Prisons, where nothing was seen or heard but Whips and Scourges, Oaths and Execrations to force the People to renounce and disown their Bishop.

X. IN this forlorn and hopeless condition of Affairs at home, *Chrysostom* bethought himself of calling in some assistance from abroad, which, if it had no other success, would at least let the World understand the true state of his case, in order whereunto he had some while since resolved upon a dispatch to *Rome*, to make known his case to Pope *Innocent*, and the *Western* Bishops. But craft and malice are up and at work betimes, and careful by all Arts to support its Interests, while truth and innocency is secure in the goodness of its Cause. *Theophilus* knowing of what importance it would be to him to prepossess the World with first impressions, had sent his Reader^c with Letters to *Rome*, to let them know he had deposed *Chrysostom*. At the reading whereof *Innocent* was not a little startled, and began to suspect *Theophilus* of foul play, both because none had written but he, and because he gave but a blind account, neither informing him why, nor with what assistants he had done it. And *Eusebius* Deacon of *Constantinople*, who resided at that time at *Rome* as Agent for that Church, came to him, and begg'd of him to suspend his belief of things but a little while, and he should see the whole Scene unravelled and laid open to his view. Accordingly three days after arriv'd four Bishops from *Constantinople*, *Panophilus* of *Pisidia*, *Pappus* of *Syria*, *Demetrius* of *Galatia secunda*, and *Eugenius* of *Phrygia*, with two Deacons, *Paulus* and *Cyriacus* to attend them, who brought three Letters, one from *Chrysostom*, another subscribed by the forty Bishops of his Communion, the third from the Clergy of *Constantinople*. In that^d from *Chrysostom* he gives him a short account of the whole matter, and especially of the late Cruelties acted in the *Passion-week*; intreating him to lend his helping hand towards the suppressing so powerful and desperate a Faction, and that he would by his Letters declare those Proceedings unjust and invalid: Engaging for himself, that if his Adversaries had a mind still to go on, and would deliver in Copies of their Acts, and produce his Accusers, he was most ready to joyn Issue with them before any unprejudic'd and unbiass'd Judicature, and would justify his innocency against all those Crimes that had been objected to him. The same Letters *mutatis mutandis* were written also to *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*, and to *Chromatius* of *Aquileia*.

^c *Pallad. c. 2.*
p. 9.

^d *Ext. Tom. 4.*
p. 677. & 4p.
Pallad. loc. cit.

* Pallad. c. 3.
p. 22.

XI. INNOCENT not yet thoroughly apprehending the true state of things, gave equal Letters of Communion both to *Chryso- stom* and *Theophilus*, though withal expressing his dislike of the Synodal Determination, and affirming that a more indifferent and unexceptionable Synod ought to be held both of *Eastern* and *Western* Bishops, wherein neither Friends nor Foes should have any place, as from whom no fair and right judgment of things was ordinarily to be expected. Within a few days after came *Peter* Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and *Martyrius* Deacon of *Constantinople* with other Letters from *Theophilus*, and the Acts of the Synod that had condemned and deposed *Chryso- stom*. Upon the reading whereof, *Innocent* perceived upon what slight and weak Accusations they had proceeded, and that *Chryso- stom* was not present, nor had been charged face to face, and was now much more confirmed in his opinion of *Theophilus's* folly, in passing so rash and unadvised a Sentence against an absent Person, which he acquainted him with in this following Reply. Brother *Theophilus*, we hold Communion both with your self, and our Brother *Chryso- stom*, as we gave you to understand in our former Letters, and do still continue in the same Opinion and Resolution, now again plainly declaring to you (and so we shall as oft as you send) that unless a more just and equal determination be made about these things that have been so childishly and ridiculously managed, we cannot with any reason or justice withdraw our selves from *Chryso- stom's* Communion. If therefore you dare abide by the Judgment you have made, make your appearance before a Synod to be assembled according to the Laws of Christ, and there unfold your Accusations, and prosecute the charge according to the Canons of the Nicene Council (for no other rule does the Church of Rome allow of) and then you will gain unquestionable strength and security to your cause.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

His Acts from the signing of the Warrant, till his being carried into Banishment.

Several attempts upon *Chryso- stom's* Life. The Warrant sign'd for his Banishment. His ready compliance with it. His taking leave of the Bishops, and the Deaconesses in the Baptistry. His contrivance to escape being stay'd by the People. The encouraging considerations which he suggested to himself at that time. A Fire breaking out in *S. Chryso- stom's* Church. The mighty rage and violence of it there, and in the parts adjoining. This spitefully charg'd upon his Party. Several imprison'd and ill treated upon that account. *Arfacius* plac'd in the See of *Constantinople*. *Chryso- stom's* Followers keep separate Assemblies, and pass under the name of *Joannites*. An Edict for holding communion with *Arfacius*, *Theophilus*, &c. The violent proceedings against the *Joannites*. The great sufferings of *Olympias*, one of *Chryso- stom's* Deaconesses. A brief account of her, and her singular Piety and Devotion. *Porphyry* a notable stickler against *Chryso- stom*. An account of his evil temper, and the manner of his advancement to the See of *Antioch*. Several dispatches sent by the *Joannites* to *Rome* to solicit assistance. The Emperor *Honorius's* Letter to *Arcadius* about this affair. *Innocent's* Letter to *Chryso- stom*. Another to the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*.

I. AT *Constantinople* we left *Chryso- stom's* Affairs in a very deplorable posture, his Friends and Followers dispersed, rifed, kill'd, or imprison'd: himself suspended and confin'd, and not safe within his own walls, his life being every day in danger. A man pretending himself distracted was taken with a Dagger about him, upon suspicion of murdering *Chryso- stom*; the people supposing him hired to do the fact, carried him to the Provost of the City, which *Chryso- stom* hearing, presently dispatcht away some of his Bishops, who procured his Release before he was put to the Rack. This not succeeding, one that was Servant to *Elpidius* a Presbyter, one of *Chryso- stom's* mortal Enemies, was hir'd for Fifty pieces of Gold to dispatch him, which he undertook, and having furnisht himself with three Swords, ran in all haste to the Episcopal Palace, where he was stop't by one that knew him, and askt the reason of his haste, to whom the Villain return'd no other answer but a mortal wound. And when an out-cry was made, and the Assassinat pursu'd, he wounded seven one after another, four whereof died out-right, and the other three recovered with great difficulty. Apprehended at length, he was brought to the Palace, where the people clamor'd for Justice both against the man, and those that had set him on, whom to appease for the present, the Provost made a shew of bringing him to a formal Trial, but when the Hubub was over, set him at liberty. By these instances the people saw what danger their good Bishop was expos'd to, to prevent which they kept watch by turns, and guarded his house night and day. And thus stood things till about a week after *Whitsun-*

* Sox. l. 8. c.
21. p. 787.

* Sox. ib. &
Pallad. c. 20;
p. 197.

* Pallad. c.
10. p. 88.

side", when *Acacius*, *Severianus*, and the rest of the Party finding all attempts unsuccessful, resolved to push hard for his Banishment, and to drive it to an issue. Their Address they introduc'd with the most soft and flattering insinuations, that his Majesty being immediately constituted by Heaven, was subject and accountable to none, but had all under him, and might make his Will the Law and Measure of his Actions; that they hoped he would not be more mild than Priests, nor more holy than Bishops; they had often publicly told him, that they would take *Chrysostom's* Deposition upon their own heads, and therefore begg'd of him, that he would not spare one Man to the ruine of them all. Partly wearied, partly perswaded by their importunity, he sign'd the Warrant, which he sent by *Patricius* his Secretary, and 'twas in this form: *Acacius*, *Antiochus*, *Severianus*, *Cyrimus*, and their Party, have taken your condemnation upon themselves: assoon therefore as you have dispos'd, and commended your Affairs to God, depart the Church. *Chrysostom* having now receiv'd a plain positive Order, resolved to comply, and leaving his House, *Come*, said he to the Bishops, and the rest that were with him, let us go to pray, and join Forces with the Guardian Angel of this Church. But as they were going, a Courtier that was his Friend, privately sent him this Message, that *Lucius*, a Man fierce and bold, was ready with his Soldiers at *Constantinus* his Baptistry, to wait for him, who if he either oppos'd or made delays, was to apprehend and carry him away by force, which might endanger the putting the City into a Tumult; that therefore with all Trust and Privacy he should withdraw, lest the People attempting to rescue him, they and the Soldiers should fall together by the ears. In compliance with which prudent and safe advice, he took his leave of the Bishops, and kist as many of them as Tears and Passion would give him leave, and leaving the rest within the Chancel, he told them he must retire a little. Thence he went to the Baptistry, where calling for *Olympius* and the other Deaconesses, he discours'd to them in this manner: *Come hither Daughters, and hearken to what I say. The things that concern me, have, I perceive, an end. I have finish'd my course, and perhaps ye shall see my face no more. This is that which I earnestly beg of you, that none of you would lay aside your accustomed care and diligence towards the Church. If any one that is unwilling, shall be ordain'd to this place, and shall be chosen by common consent, and not ambitiously seek it, submit to him, as if it were my self. For the Church cannot be without a Bishop, so shall you obtain mercy from God: Be mind'd of me in your Prayers. Overcome with grief, they threw themselves at his feet, whom he commanded one of his Presbyters to remove, lest it should raise a disturbance among the People. And with that he went towards the East part of the Church. And to blind the People, who he knew would never consent to part with him, he had given order that his Horse, which he was wont to Ride on, should stand ready for him at the West-door of the Church, that it might draw the Peoples expectation thither, while he in the mean time went out at another door, and with a Mind erect above the fears of danger, entertain'd himself (as he tells us) with such thoughts as these. Will the Empress banish me, let her banish me, the earth is the Lords, and the fulcres thereof. If she command that I be cut in pieces, let me be sav'n asunder, the Prophet *Elay* was serv'd so before me. Will she throw me into the Sea, I remember 'twas the fate of *Jonas*.*

* 1210. CXXX.
p. 257.

Jonas; Or into a fiery Furnace, I shall have the three children for my Fellow-sufferers. If she will cast me to wild Beasts, I think how *Daniel* went the same way to the Lyons. If she command that I should be ston'd, let it be so, I have *Stephen* the Protomartyr on my side. Will she have my head, let her take it, *John* the Baptist lost his. Has she a mind to my Estate, let her have it, Naked came I out of my Mothers Womb, and naked shall I return thither. This was done about the xxth of June Ann. Ccciv.

II. THE People in the mean time grew impatient, a great part whereof were gone into the Church to seek for him, to prevent whose Pursuit and Rescue, the adverse Party commanded the Church-doors to be shut up upon them. They that were without, ran up and down the street in a frantic manner, some making towards the Sea in chase of his Conductors, others not knowing whether these things might tend, fled out of the City to secure themselves. They within the Church were as desirous to be out, and the main Crowd pressing towards the door, hindred all means of opening it; till yielding a little, with much ado, they broke it open. In this great hurry and confusion a fire on a sudden broke out in the Church, it began under the Pulpit, and flaming up, reacht the Roof, and thence spread it self all over that stately Fabric, leaving no part of it unconsum'd, but the Vestry only, where the Communion Plate and Holy Vessels were laid up. Nor stay'd it here, the conquering and triumphant flames rolling themselves through the Air, seiz'd upon the Senate-house, a noble and magnificent piece of Architecture, which stood at a good distance on the South-side of the Church; and which was most wonderful, the Fire seiz'd not the hither part that was next the Church, but the most remote which stood nearest to the Imperial Palace. The flames from both Buildings met together in the midst like the Arch of a Bridge, the People passing safe underneath, and indeed 'twas remarkable that in this whole dreadful Conflagration, neither Man nor Beast was known to lose its life. Together with this Structure perish'd many noble and exquisite pieces of Antiquity, especially the Statues of the Nine Muses, anciently erected to them at *Helicon*, and by *Constantin* brought hither. Only the Images of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, which stood upon wooden Pedestals before the door of a Chappel belonging to the Senate escap'd, though the melted Lead ran down upon them, and the Stones fell thick upon them, and when the Rubbish was clear'd, were afterwards found, contrary to all mens expectation, whole and sound. This my Author according to his humour and principles, reports as a Miracle, and says 'twas lookt upon by all the more discerning persons as a good omen of the future happiness and prosperity of the City, which these Deities would take into their immediate care and protection. The fire began in the evening, and rag'd all night, and some part of the next morning, though the main of the Church was destroyed in three hours space. Various were mens discourses about this dismal Fire: *Chrysostom's* Adversaries, without any scruple, charg'd it upon his Party, as the effect of an insatiable Revenge; they on the other hand, protested against so villainous an Insinuation, and threw it upon the others, who, they said, had a design to have burnt them and the Church together: while a third sort more calmly considering the unaccountable rise, the strange progress and manner of the Conflagration, conceiv'd it sent from Heaven, to punish the Enormities of that time,

* *Servat. lat.*
chrati. 21d.
Sicr. l. 5. c. 13
p. 327.

* *Id. & Pall.*
lat. p. 91.

* *Zosim. l. 3.*
p. 801.

time, and the unjust banishment of so useful and excellent a Pastor, and so intirely beloved by his People. Whatever the cause was, great Troubles and Confusion ensued upon it, infinite numbers of Persons being apprehended and imprison'd, and very severely dealt with. But the matter not being like to be suddenly found out, *Arcadius* by an Edict directed to *Stadius* Provost of the City, commanded all Bishops and Clergymen that were Strangers to be releas'd, and to be shipt away, and sent to their own Countries, and that if after the Publication of this Law they should stay still, the Houses where they remain'd, as also those Houses where any Citizens kept private Conventicles, should be confiscated. The year following *Optatus* succeeded in that office, who resolving to bring the matter to a more strict and public examination, and being himself a *Gentile*, was glad of this opportunity, to reek his spleen upon the *Christians*; and as the weakest are sure to suffer most, he prest with great Cruelty upon *Chrysostom's* Followers, whom he treated with all imaginable fierceness and severity.

III. THE See of *Constantinople* being thus made vacant, their next work was to clap one immediately into the Chair, that they might prevent all hopes of *Chrysostom's* return, and this they did within a week after his departure. The man that was most likely to be pliable to their purpose, and whom they accordingly pitch'd upon, was *Arfacius* ^b, Brother to *Nectarius*, who had been *St. Chrysostom's* Predecessor, and upon that account they hoped would be not unacceptable to the People. His Brother in his life-time had procur'd him the Bishopric of *Tarsus*, which he refus'd, either out of real humility and contempt of the World, or as reserving him for a better place. And when *Nectarius* reproach't him with his obstinate denial, he ratified it with an Oath, That he would never meddle with a Bishopric as long as he liv'd; though now he thought fit to dispense with his Oath. He was very old, being Four-score years of age, in his own nature of a quiet disposition, and an unactive temper, which made him liable to be abused by subtle and designing men; who put him upon pernicious counsels, and justified the most cruel and infamous actions with his authority. A sad sight this was to *Chrysostom's* Friends and Followers, who could not endure to behold, not so much a Corival, as an Usurper in his Throne, whom therefore they separated from, and rejected all communion with him, keeping their Religious Assemblies in several Out-parts of the City; and from their constant adherence to *John* their Bishop, were by an appropriate title stil'd *Joannites*. It vex'd old *Arfacius* to be thus slighted, and to find so considerable a part of the People turn their backs upon him, of which he complain'd to the Emperor, who presently publisht the following Edicts. And first to begin at home, he had in the beginning of the year commanded ^c all the *Palatin*-Officers to abstain from those disorderly and tumultuous Conventicles, (as he calls them) under pain of forfeiting their Places, and confiscation of Estate. But what effect soever this wrought at Court, in the City the *Joannites* still continued their private Meetings, to prevent which he publisht a Law ^d, commanding all Masters to restrain their Servants from going to those Conventicles, every Master, besides the Punishment of the Servant, being for each Neglect to pay three Pounds of Gold: and that if the Bankers, or any other of the City-Companies

nies should be tardy herein, they should for their Members so offending, be fined in a Penalty of Fifty Pounds of Gold. This was dated September the xiith; and that the Countries might fare no better than the City, he directed the following Edict ^e to *Eutychian* the *Prætorian* *Præfekt*, to be by him transmitted to the Governors of Provinces, to suppress these unlawful Conventicles: *Whoever does not communicate with Theophilus, Arfacius, and Porphyrius*, (who was then newly invested in the See of *Antioch*) let him be deposed from his Bishopric; and withal let him forfeit whatever Estate he has either in money or land. Which being particularly restrain'd to Bishops, was soon after follow'd with another of a more general extent: *Whoever shall conceal a Bishop or a Clergy-man, or so much as entertain in his house any one that communicates with Chrysostom, let his house be forfeited, and exposed to Sale.* Nor wanted these Laws a quick and sharp execution, a Tribune being sent with a Party of Soldiers to break up their Meetings, who fell upon them with Clubs and Stones, stripping some, and imprisoning others, which struck such a terror into them, that they durst scarce stir out of their Houses, and many not daring to trust themselves there, betook themselves to a voluntary banishment. And to make their case yet more calamitous, *Optatus* the Governor, under pretence of searching after those that were guilty of the late Fire, exercis'd all manner of severity upon them. Upon this Pretence *Entropius* the Reader was apprehended, and brought to Trial, where to extort a Confession from him, he was cruelly beaten with Thongs and Clubs, the flesh rak't off his sides and cheeks, with tormenting Irons, and burning Torches put to several parts of his Body, and after all he was sent to Prison, where soon after he died. Nor much better usage did *Tigrius* meet with. He was originally a *Barbarian*, and a Slave, but upon his liberty, which for his faithful and diligent service had been bestowed upon him, was in time advanc'd to be one of the Presbyters of the Church of *Constantinople*. An humble and good man, and admirably courteous and charitable to the Poor, to Strangers, whom these merciless Wretches took, stript naked, whipt with Scourges, and tying his Hands and Feet, put him upon the Rack, and distended him, till all his parts were out of joint.

IV. NOR did the weaker Sex go without their share in the common misery: Witness the Sufferings and exemplary Carriages of *Nicacete*, *Pentadia*, *Salvina*, and *Procula* upon this account. But none more memorable than *Olympias*, who being a Person peculiarly dear to *Chrysostom*, who infinitely delighted in the Piety of her Conversation, and wrote no less than seventeen Letters to her in the time of his Banishment, more particular account must be given of her. She was born ^f of illustrious Parents, and being a Person of exquisite beauty, and bringing a vast Fortune along with her, was married to *Nebrius* who had been sometimes Governor, who died within less than two years after, or rather for some pretended mal-administration, was taken off by the Emperor. So accomplisht a Lady, and then too in the Prime of her Age, could not, we may be sure, want sollicitation to a second Marriage; nay, the Emperor *Theodosius* design'd her for a match for his own Kinsman *Elpidius*. The Gentleman follow'd the Suit with an unwearied importunity, but in vain; she plainly told him, If the Emperor had had a mind I should have had an Husband, he would not have

^a c. 76 lib. 16.
Tit. ii. l. 37.

^b Socr. lib. c.
1. c. p. 228. Socr.
lib. c. 3. p. 289.
Pallad. p. 94.

^c c. 76 lib. Tit.
l. 4.

^d ibid. l. 5.

^e ibid. l. 6. &
Pallad. c. 3.
p. 26.

^f Pallad. c. 19.
p. 150, 162.
Socr. l. 8. c. 9.
p. 768. c. 24.
p. 291. Nicoph.
l. 15. c. 24. p.
400.

have taken him away from me. But knowing me unfit for a married life, and incapable of pleasing a Husband, he at once freed him from the Prison of the Body, and me from the Yoke of Marriage, and put upon me the gentle and easie yoke of Celibacy. The Emperor was netled with such a stinging Answer, and commanded the Provost of the City to take her whole Estate into his custody, till she should come to be Thirty years of age. The Provost treated her unkindly enough, not giving her liberty so much as to go to Church, or to converse with any Bishop, *Elpidius* urging him to this severity, in hopes that by this means he might bring her to his Bow. But she was so much the more chearful and thankful to God for all her Sufferings, and sent the Emperor this Message: *You have done, Sir, like a Prince, nay, have carried your Self towards such a poor Wretch as I am, with a care worthy of a Bishop, having commanded that heavy charge to be taken care of, the burden whereof lay upon my Shoulders. Though you will do a much greater and nobler Service, if you please to give Order that it be distributed to the Poor, and to the necessities of the Church. For I have been long time weary of the applause of such distributions, and have been afraid lest while conversant in these affairs below, I should in the mean time neglect the better and more durable riches of the Soul.* *Theodosius* could not but admire her vertue, and the gallantry of her Mind, and after his return from his expedition against *Maximus*, commanded her whole Estate to be restor'd to her. And to prevent all such unwelcome addresses for the future, the procur'd *Nestarius*, then Bishop, to make her Deaconess of the Church of *Constantinople*, where she intirely spent her Time as well as her Estate in Acts of Piety and Charity, seldom departing from the Church day or night. Money or Lands she dispos'd of with a liberal hand, as occasion offer'd; relieved the Poor, made provision for Strangers, attended upon, and ministr'd to the Bishops, and those that were within the Holy Order. Nay *Theophilus* himself, as much as he afterwards hated and persecuted her for her entertaining the *Egyptian* Monks, did once court her at the highest rate, with the most flattering insinuations, while he felt the stream of her beauty flowing towards him. And indeed so great a reputation had her wisdom and vertue given her, that *Nestarius* dispatcht few Ecclesiastick matters without her counsel and advice. But she had a more particular honour and respect for *Chrysostom*, upon whom she personally waited for the most part, superintending the affairs of his Family, even to the care of his Cloaths, and the provision of his Diet, that it might be such as was agreeable to his weak and languishing stomach. Being thus generally known for so zealous an admirer of the Bishop, and for her almost constant residence about the Church, she was charg'd with having a hand in the late Fire, which the Provost taking for granted, askt her why she had done it? She replied, This has not been the course and manner of my life; no, I have expended the great Estate God gave me in repairing the Church. The Provost told her, He knew very well what had been the manner of her life: If so, said she, take then the Accusers place, and let another sit Judge upon us. Finding nothing to prove the Charge, he fell to another method, representing to them what madness it was to refuse communion with their Bishop, when they might so easily take up, and free themselves from all the troubles that were come upon them. And when some yielded to his promises,

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Olympius answer'd, "It is not just, that I who have there been publickly traduc'd and slandered, and judicially convicted of not one of those things whereof I have been accus'd, should yet be forc'd to make my defence for things not laid to my Charge. Grant me therefore this liberty, that I may have Council and Advocates to plead my Cause against the former Charge. For if I should be compell'd, contrary to Law and Right, to communicate with those with whom I ought not, I will never consent to do what no pious and good Christian can warrantably do. The Provost saw no good was to be done upon her, so for that time he dismiss'd her, ordering her to get her Advocates ready. But sending for her not long after, he fined her in a great Sum of Gold, thinking that argument would prevail. But her Mind was got too much above the World, to be sway'd with such considerations, whereupon they proceeded to a Sentence of Banishment, which she readily submitted to, leaving *Constantinople*, and fixing her abode at *Cyzicum*, a City upon the *Hellspont*, whence she was afterwards banish'd to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, and from thence supplid *Chrysostom* with Money and other Necessaries in the time of his Exile. Here she liv'd many years, where after all her sufferings and well-spent Life, she resign'd her pious Soul to God.

V. ABOUT this time, if not a little before, *Chrysostom*'s Enemies gain'd another considerable Stickler to their Party. By the death of *Flavian*, the See of *Antioch* became void this year *Anno*. Cccciv. The Person universally desir'd for Successor, was *Constantius* ^b, Presbyter of that Church, who had been first Secretary, and then Reader and Deacon; a Man of quick and acute parts, but withall thoughtful and considerate; of a most strict and severe life, of a mild, gentle, and quiet temper. There was also at this time Presbyter of the same Church one *Porphry* ^b, who had a long time covered himself with the vail of Hypocritic, but finding now an opportunity fit for his turn, he threw it off. He was in his private Life a Man of most debauch'd Manners, so given to Wantonness, that he was commonly charg'd with Sodomy, and for the most part kept company with Juglers, and Jesters, and Coach-racers, and such levd Society, for which his Name vvas more than once upon Record in the Civil Judicatories. He endeavor'd by all subtle and crafty Methods to insinuate himself into Bishops, and Magistrates; nay, after he had got vvhath he aim'd at, is said to have melted down the Church-Plate, and given it to the Magistrates, to stand his Friends upon all occasions. The See being novv vacant, he sets up for himself, and his first business vvas to undermine *Constantius*. In order vvhetherunto he sent Dispatches to Court, and to all the Bishops that vv ere in povver, and so solicited his Cause, that he procur'd an Edict for *Constantius*'s Banishment to *Oasis*, a desolate part of *Egypt*, vvhich the good Man hearing of, made an Escape, and got to *Cyprus*. Next he imprison'd *Cyriacus* and *Diophantus*, Presbyters, and the rest of the Clergy, whom he knew true to *Constantius*. Then taking the opportunity of the *Olympick* Games, celebrated every fourth year, and staying till in a manner the whole City was gone out to the *Daphne*, to behold those famous Sports, he, with *Acacius*, *Severian*, and *Antiochus*, (whom he had privately convey'd thither, and kept there) and some few of the Clergy whom he had gain'd to his Party, went into the Church, and shut the doors close upon them, where they Ordain'd

T t t

him,

^b Pallad. c. 15, p. 144.

^b Id. p. 141, 145, &c.

him, but in such haste and disorder, that they durst not stay to make an end of Prayers. This done, *Severian* and the rest being well rewarded, fled away by the most private and unfrequented ways. The People returning from the Games, and understanding what had past, were surpriz'd into an astonishment, which held them till the next Morning, when they ran together in a Body to *Porphyry's* house, intending to burn him and his house together, which he suspecting, had betaken himself to *Valentinus* the Commander of the Army, then ready to march against the *Isauri*, whom by Bribes he prevail'd with to stay for his security. With this armed Guard he entred into the Church, where they made havock of what they met with, and trampled the Cross under foot. Not long after he sent to Court, where by his Agents he procur'd a peevish, fierce and ill-natur'd old Man to be made Captain of the Night-guards, that so under the shadow of his Authority, he might the more securely prosecute his malicious designs. The People were forc'd to come to Church for fear, and those who could, privately assembled for the discharge of their joint devotions. *Porphyry* in the mean time plagu'd all that favoured *Chrysofom*, and struck in with *Antiochus* and that Party, who followed the Chafe with all imaginable Cruelty, especially at *Constantinople*, where they found the strongest opposition made against them.

VI. THESE severe Proceedings against the *Joannites* at *Constantinople*, forc'd them to seek shelter and assistance in the *West*. A Letter¹ subscrib'd by about XXV Bishops, was written to *Rome*, to give them an account of what had past, and was sent by *Theoctenus* Presbyter of *Constantinople*. Pope *Innocent* could afford them but little relief at that time, (some great Men of the other party throwing rubs in the way) but did what he could, giving *Theoctenus* communicatory Letters both to *Chrysofom* himself, and to all the other Bishops that communicated with him. Soon after him came one *Paterius*, who also stil'd himself Presbyter of *Constantinople*, a Fellow of a deformed Aspect, a Look that betray'd the Rancour of his Mind, and the Malice of his Errand, which indeed was to asperse and calumniate *Chrysofom*, bringing along with him Letters from *Acacius*, *Paulus*, *Antiochus*, *Severian*, and some others, wherein they charg'd the firing of the Church upon him. But they found little welcome, *Innocent* not vouchsafing to answer them. Not many days after arriv'd *Cyriacus* Bishop of *Sinnda*, who had fled from *Constantinople*, upon the prosecution of the Edicts against *Chrysofom's* Followers; and soon after *Eutysius* Bishop of *Apocia* in *Bithynia*, who brought Letters sign'd by 15 Bishops, and among them by *Ambrosius* the aged Bishop of *Thessalonica*, containing an account both of the former and later Transactions at *Constantinople*. Within a Month came *Palladius* Bishop of *Hellenople*, who had deserted the City, to avoid the Fury of the Edicts; he more particularly acquainted them with the state of things, and shew'd them a Copy of the Edict that had been publish'd last. He was follow'd by *Germanus* a Presbyter, and *Cassian* a Deacon of *Chrysofom's*, who brought Letters in the name of all *Chrysofom's* Clergy, representing the Tyranny that had been practis'd, and the Malice of that potent Faction, by which it had been brought about. And to shew the falshood of the Charge that had been laid upon *Chrysofom*, that he had sold and embezell'd the Church-Plate and Furniture, they produc'd an Inventory of the Plate both

both Gold and Silver, and the costly Ornaments which they had under their Custody, and delivered up before *Stadius* Provost of the City, *Eutychian* the Pretorian Prefect, *John* Lord Treasurer, *Eustathius* Receiver, and the Clerks and Accountants belonging to that Office. The next that came was *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Pisynus*, who had travelled up and down the *Eastern* Parts, to let them know that they at *Rome* held communion with *Chrysofom*, shewing *Innocent's* Letters to that purpose. He brought with him Letters from the Bishops of *Caria*, testifying their communion with *Chrysofom*, and others from the Presbytery of *Antioch*, wherein they declared their agreement with the Church of *Rome* in this matter, and heavily bewail'd the Usurpation of *Porphyrius*, who had invaded that Sec. The last that came to *Rome* at this time, and upon this Errand were *Domitian* a Presbyter, and Steward of the Church of *Constantinople*, and *Vallagas* a Presbyter of *Nisibis* a City in *Mesopotamia*, setting forth the miserable estate of the Monasteries in that Countrey, and bringing with them the Acts and Records of *Optatus* his public Proceedings against the honourable Women at *Constantinople*, which were Deaconesses of that Church, whom he either forc'd to communicate with *Asfacius*, or fined Two hundred Pounds of Gold to be paid into the Exchequer.

VII. AWAKENED with so many several Messages, which all brought sad and uncomfortable tydings, *Innocent* began to stir in the business, and thought no course so effectual as to engage the Emperor *Honorius* in it, who accordingly writ² to *Arcadius* about this matter, wherein deducing the thing from the first occasion of it, the offence given by the Empresses Statue, he recounts the great Mischiefs and Miseries which had ensued in the progress of this unhappy Affair, the mention whereof he unwillingly made, advising and intreating him, that these Irregularities might be amended, and by a sincere Reformation of what was amiss, the Divine Displeasure appeas'd and pacified; that he could no longer keep silence herein, without giving the world too just grounds of suspecting, that he was of the Party, or at least approv'd those Proceedings; that this was a Matter that did not so properly lie within their cognizance, but belong'd to a Council of Bishops to examine and decide, and in order thereunto both Parties had sent their Legats to *Rome*, and to the Bishops of the *West*, and desir'd to stand to their determination; and that till this had been made, nothing ought to have been done in it, much less rashly to have run so high, as to proceed to Confiscation and Banishment, especially when the Persons appeal'd to for Umpiring the Controversie, had afforded *Chrysofom* the Peace of the Church; and concluded, that till judgment was given in the Case, neither side should be excluded their Communion. As for *Innocent* himself he wrote two Letters, the one to *Chrysofom*, the other to his Clergy and People at *Constantinople*. That³ to *Chrysofom* was in this manner:

To our dear Brother JOHN, INNOCENT sendeth greeting.

Although an innocent Person may expect all Prosperity and Success, and ought to seek Mercy and Compassion from God, yet We thought it became Us to write these Letters as Persuatives to Patience, which We have sent by *Cyriacus* the Deacon; lest otherwise the Malice of Enemies should

T t t 2

¹ Ext. Epist. ap. Baron. ad Ann. 404. et Cod. Vat. & Conc. T. ii. col. 1311.

² Ext. ap. Synod. 1.8. c.26. p. 794.

be more powerful to oppress, than a good Conscience to animate and confirm your hope. For you who are the Pastor and Teacher of so great a Charge, are not to be taught, that in all Ages the best of Men are very often tried, whether they will keep up the strength and vigor of their Patience, or tamely sink under the Evils and Hardships that befall them. And Conscience certainly is the firmest Pillar to support our Minds under all the Miseries and Oppressions that are unjustly laid upon us, which unless we subdue by an invincible Patience, we give to others too just suspicion of a bad Cause. That man ought to bear with any thing, that can in the first place repose his trust in God, and in the next securely exercise in the satisfaction of his own Conscience. A good man may be exercised in the holy Scriptures at hand as Fortresses to defend and preserve him. For the Divine Lessons which we expound to the People, abound with Examples to this purpose, and set before us almost all the Saints that ever were as subject to manifold Afflictions, and approv'd as 'twere in a School of Trial before they arriv'd at the Crown and Remembrance of their Patience. Let therefore, dear Brother, the Conscience of your Innocency, which under all Calamities is never destitute of the Consolations that naturally flow from Vertue, comfort and stay your Mind; for so long as our great Lord and Master has his Eye upon us, a pure and unspotted Conscience will land us in the Haven of Tranquility and Peace.

^m Ext. etiam
loc. citat.

In the Letter ^m directed to the Clergy and People of Constantinople, he lets them know with what infinite trouble he had read the sad account of their Sufferings, represented in their Letters by *Germanus* and *Cassianus*; that a little patience would be the best and only Cure; that God would shortly put a period to these Calamities: and that the very bearing of them would in the mean time be useful and advantageous; that he heartily sympathiz'd with them in their Sufferings, and would have administred proper Consolations to them, but that their own Letters had prevented it; that in the proceedings against *Chrysoſtom*, there had been a violation of all Right and Law, of all Justice and Equity, and such as had not been acted in the days of their Forefathers; that for the Canons so much talkt of, they should keep only to those of the Synod of *Nice*, which was the duty of the Catholic Church to observe and own; and if any others were produc'd disagreeing with these, and were found to have been contriv'd and compos'd by Heretics, they should be rejected by all Catholic Bishops, it having been the constant attempt of Heretics to undermine and subvert the great *Nicene* Council: that as a remedy to all these Evils he had long since thought it necessary that a Synod should be conven'd, the only way to allay these boisterous Storms and Tempests, an effect which through God's blessing they might expect, and 'twas now under their consideration, by what means a general Council might be best assembled, that might bring things to this happy issue. They should therefore endure awhile, and fortifie themselves within the bulworks of patience, and hope that by the Divine Assistance all things would be restor'd, and set in joint again. What further help *Innocent* afforded these afflicted Wretches, shall be related in its proper place, in the mean while we return to *Chrysoſtom*.

S E C T.

S E C T VII.

His Acts from his going into banishment till the death of *Arſacius*.

Chrysoſtom deny'd liberty to clear himself of the imputation of burning the Church. Convey'd into Bithynia. The places designed for his exile; first *Sebastea*, then *Cucusus* in *Armenia*. The misery and discomforts of that place. The civility of the Commander appointed to conduct him. His arrival at *Cæsarea*, and recovery from his Fearour. The treachery and rudeness of *Pharetrius* Bishop of that place. *Chrysoſtom* forced to quit that place at a dangerous season. The kindness of the People, and noble Civilities done him by the Lady *Seleucia*. Pursued by the malice of *Pharetrius*. The danger and trouble of his Journey. The infinite kindness shew'd him in his passage. His coming to *Cucusus*. The obligingness of his entertainment there, and the Provisions made for his accommodation. His recovery into a good degree of health. The *Maurs* who; their dangerous neighbourhood. The flocking of his Friends to him. His Employments there. His care for the Propagation of Christianity in *Phoenicia*, and among the *Goths*. His last Tract, *Quod nemo læditur nisi a seipso*. His Letters to those that suffered for his cause. Frequent Distempers return upon him. The fears he daily liv'd in of the *Maurs* inroads.

I. **N**OONER had *Chrysoſtom* retired out of the great Church at Constantinople, and deliver'd up himself to the Officers that were to take him into Custody, but he was forthwith clapp'd aboard a small Vessel, and together with *Cyriacus* and *Eulysius* ^a was carried to a place in *Bithynia*, where they were kept a while, till the business of the fire could be search'd into. *Cyriacus* and *Eulysius* and the other Clergy were shortly after call'd to their Tryal, cleared and discharged; but *Chrysoſtom* was not permitted the favour of a Tryal, though he earnestly begged it, *Although in other things* (said he) *you will not give me liberty so much as to defend my self, yet let me be heard in matters that concern the Church, whether I have been the Author of the fire, as you give out.* But this being deny'd him, he was constrain'd to prepare for his Journey. The place that was first appointed for his exile was *Sebastea* ^b, but this being it seems thought too good a place for him, he was ordered to be carried to *Cucusus*, a Town in the lesser *Armenia*, but situate upon the Confines of *Cilicia*, and therefore sometimes ^c reckoned as belonging to that Countrey. A City which had little besides sharp Air, and a barren Soil to recommend it, hunger and hardship being the ordinary entertainments of that place, and which was worse than all that, 'twas perpetually expos'd to the inroads of merciless Robbers, who never failed to infect it. And perhaps 'tis no uncharitableness to suppose, his Enemies design'd this Town on purpose, because it had been a place ^d whither his Predecessor *Paulus* in the reign of *Constantinus*, after much such usage as he had met with, had

^a *Socrum*. l. 8.
c. 22. p. 788.
^b *Pallad.* c. 110.
p. 93.

^c *Chrys. Epist.*
CXXI. p. 862.
CCXXI.
p. 935.
^d *Vid. Epist.*
CXXV. p. 871.

^e *Eccl. Athan.*
Apol. pro Jug.
p. 547.

had been banished, and where he was strangled and made away by Philip the Governor, a sworn slave to the Arian Faction. This they knew could not but afford him an uncomfortable prospect, and if neither the coldness of the Climate ruined his weak tottering Body, nor the barbarity of Thieves and Robbers dispatch him out of the way, yet the melancholy reflections he must needs make on so fatal a place might break his heart, and sooner at least put an end to his Life. The Commander to whose care and conduct he was committed, was Theodorus[†], who treated him with singular humanity and kindness not only above his expectation, but beyond his desire, for he suffered him to want nothing that might administer to his ease or conveniency, and seemed to make the care of his Person his only business. And indeed he had occasion for all the civility and assistance which his Friends could shew him, for besides[†] his accustomed weakness and the sickness of his Stomach, he had through the inconveniencies of a tedious and troublesome Journey contracted many other Distempers, especially frequent Feavers, which held him for a whole month together, not a little increased by continual travelling, the heats of the day, and want of rest at night, and those necessary accommodations for a man in his condition, which these Countries did not afford, so that he look'd upon his Condition as in effect more miserable than that of slaves that labour in the Mines.

II. AT Nice (whence on the 3d of July he wrote to Olympias*, and on the 4th, which was the day of his departure, to Constantius†) he found himself somewhat better than ordinary, the air of that place agreeing with him: But he soon relapsed, and was worse than ever. And in this uncomfortable case he continued till he came to Casarea in Cappadocia, his Fever still raging upon him. He lodged in the outparts of the City, where he might be free from noise and crowd. And now his Circumstances being so much bettered, his Distemper began to abate; he was no longer tied to mouldy Bread, and stinking Water, had the liberty to keep his Bed, and sometimes the conveniency of a Bath to go into, and especially had the help of the most skilful and eminent Physicians[‡], who constantly attended his Cure, and treated him with so generous a Compassion, that one of them engaged to accompany him the remainder of his Journey. He was indeed beheld with Pity and Commiseration by Persons of all ranks, and visited[¶] every day, not only by the common People, but by the Magistrates, and Persons of the highest Place and Quality, who came to offer their Services, and to pay him all demonstrations of honour and respect. But these kind Offices served only in the end to create him so much the more envy and trouble from some, who ought to have been most active and exemplary in kindness to him. Pharetrius was at this time Bishop of that See, a man of a timorous and sordid disposition, ready to comply with any Party that was uppermost, and that might save his Stake. When Theophilus and his Synod had deposed[×] Chrysostom at Constantinople, without either Summons or Provocation he wrote a Letter to them, testifying his Concurrence with their Proceedings. Great expectations there were of the entertainment he would give to Chrysostom, who upon his very first arrival upon the Borders of Cappadocia was told[‡], that Pharetrius expected him, and which way soever he

went

went was resolved to meet him, and give him a most welcome and kind reception, and that he had prepared and excited the Monasteries to do the like. But Chrysostom knew the man too well to give any credit to the report, and found things no otherwise than he expected at his coming to Casarea. Where Pharetrius was so far from waiting upon him, or shewing him the least respect, that he set all his Engines on work to hasten his departure thence. The disfavour Chrysostom was under at Court, and the displeasure of a powerful Faction, which all they were liable to that shewed him any kindness, and the envy he conceived at the unusual honours that were done him under his very nose, made him resolve to rid the City of his Company. Indeed Chrysostom having recovered some measures of his health, had of himself determined to go onwards with his Journey, when a sudden accident put a stop to it. For news was brought that the Isauri were fallen into these parts with a great Army, and had already burnt a considerable Town, and wasted all places as they came. This created no small alarm at Casarea, every one supposing they would forthwith besiege that place. Whereupon the Tribune with what Forces he could on the sudden get together, went out to meet them, leaving the City under such apprehensions of dangers, that the very aged men were forced to watch and defend the Walls. This for the present stop'd his Journey, and now Pharetrius thought he had a fit opportunity to vent his spleen, and having engaged the Monks to his Party, made use of them as instruments to effect it, which he managed thus. In the midst of this general Confusion a Troop of Monks came early in the morning to Chrysostom's door, threatening to fire the House, and proceed to the utmost extremities, unless he immediately left the Town. The weakness of his Condition, and the almost inevitable danger of the Isauri's Army, might, one would think have pleaded for him with any that had but the least sense of the necessities of humane nature; but rage and passion is deaf to all the importunities either of Reason or Religion. Nothing would satisfy, but he must be gone, and when the Magistrates came to interpose, they threatened to cudgel them, and bravely put them in mind, that this was not the first time they had done so. The Magistrates were startled, and besought Chrysostom rather to throw himself into the arms of the Isaurians, than to expose them to the mercy of these fierce wild Beasts. By this time the Governour of the City had notice of the Riot, who came presently to the place to assist in his rescue, but they regarded neither his Commands nor Intreaties any more than they had done those of the inferior Magistracy, so that not knowing what to do in the case, he sent to Pharetrius, to desire him to take off the Monks, and that by reason of Chrysostom's sickness, and the imminent peril of the War, a few days further respite might be granted him. But neither this way did he prevail, the Monks coming again the next day with more fierceness and violence, and though the Presbyters and the rest of the Clergy had a good mind to help him, and at his first coming had declared their readiness to Communicate with him, and to have nothing to do with his Adversaries, yet durst they not now appear, but like men ashamed hid their heads, when Chrysostom sent to speak with them.

III. NO

* Epist. CXV.
p. 855. X.
p. 769.

* Epist. CXX.
p. 860. XIII.
p. 771.

* Epist. X.
p. 769.
† Epist. CXXI.
p. 931.

* Epist. XII.
p. 770.

* Ep. XIII.
p. 779.

* Pallad. c. 8.
p. 77.

* Ep. XIV.
p. 775.

III. NO importunities prevailing, though danger presented it self with an open face, and the very remains of his Fever were not yet worn off, about noon he went into his Horse-litter, and departed the Town, the People generally flocking after him with cries and lamentations, and cursing him that had been the Author of such tragical Proceedings. And when some cried out, whither is it you carry him, into the very Jaws of ruin? Another replied, go I beseech you, fall among the *Isaurians*, you may leave but us; for into what place soever you shall fall, you may expect to be safe, if once you get but out of our hands. Among the rest of the Company was *Seleucia*, a pious and noble Lady, Wife to *Rufinus*, and a great honourer of *Chryso- stom*, who observing the danger he was in, requested him to stay a while and divert himself at a Countrey-house she had five miles out of Town, sending some of her Servants along with him. *Pharetrius* heard of it, and sent her threatening Messages about it, which the generously slighted, and gave order to her Steward to see that no care and diligence should be wanting, and that if the Monks should come thither, and make any disturbance, he should summon the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, and repel them by force. Soon after she intreated him that for his greater security against the attempts of the Bishop and the Monks, he would remove into a Castle of hers hard by, that was fortified against any assault. But this he declined, chusing to remain where he was, till *Seleucia* wearied out with *Pharetrius*'s threatnings and incessant solicitations, was unwillingly constrained to part with her Guest, which yet she conceal'd from him, making use of this Stratagem. She caused an Alarm to be rais'd at midnight, that the *Isaurian* Forces were at hand, whereupon *Euthius* his Presbyter went into his Chamber, and hastily awaking him, told him in great amazement, he must rise immediately and be gone, for that the Barbarians were just upon them. The good man was we may imagine, at his wits end, retire back into the City he durst not, to go forwards seemed to run into the mouth of destruction. But as the least of the two evils he chose the latter. So in the midst of a very dark, dismal, and tempestuous night he set out, without any considerable Guides or Guards, for upon the first alarm most of the Company had fled to save themselves. To help what might be in this case, he commanded Torches to be lighted, but these *Euthius* would have put out again, saying, they were the ready way to give direction to the Barbarians where to find them and fall upon them. Thus they pass'd along in a dark night, and a most rugged and stony way, till *Chrysostom*'s Mule stumbling, and throwing him and the Litter to the ground, had like there to have put a period to all his sorrows. But being lifted up, and supported by *Euthius*, he grop'd his way, and crept rather than walk'd along the remainder of the night: In the morning they put themselves into the best posture they could, and proceeded in their Journey. And certainly he had sunk under the burden of so many dangers and hardships, had he not been born up by the Conscience of his innocence, and the goodness of his Cause, and that kind reception he generally met with in his passage, Persons of all ages, sexes, and qualities coming out to meet him, and testifying their deep resentment of his case by the most bitter and passionate lamentations. At his entrance upon the Frontiers

^a *Epiſt.* VIII.
p. 766. IX.
p. 768.

of *Cappadocia*, and so in *Tauricilia*, he was met by great Companies of Bishops, Monks, and holy Virgins, who reflecting upon his hard fate, and the Churches infelicity to be depriv'd of so excellent a Prelate, burst into tears, and cryed out to one another, *'were better the Sun should not shine in the Firmament, than that John [Chryso- stom] should be silenced.* And though it could not but affect him, to see his Friends thus infinitely concerned for him, yet was it at the same time a secret alleviation and satisfaction to his mind.

IV. ABOVE two months^b he had now been on his Journey, and had grappled with inexpressible hardships and troubles, when at last he arrived at *Cucufas*, the seat of his exile. Where whatever disadvantages might naturally attend the place, or how dismal soever he might have painted it in his imagination, he found it a better and more delightful Scene^c, than he had any reason to expect, God's Providence disposing things for his best conveniency. The People were exceeding kind and obliging to him, and readily attended all his occasions, so that he found no want of those many Servants which he had formerly had to wait upon him, nay 'twas a thing they contended for, which should be most officious to him; they guarded his Person against all attempts of danger, and every man was proud to be employed in that Service. The barrenness of the Soyl did not hinder, but that he was plentifully furnish'd with all necessary Provisions, and happy they that could entertain him. *Dioscorus*, a Person of Quality, understanding that he was upon his Journey, sent his man on purpose as far as *Cesarea* to meet him, and desire that he would think of no other Lodgings than at his House. And the same invitation he had from several others; but he accepted of that from *Dioscorus*, who left the place where he then dwelt, and came thither on purpose to wait upon him, and that he might provide against the severities of that Climate, he built an House on purpose for him, so contrived and ordered as might best secure him from the inconveniencies of the approaching Winter, and crowded his Civilities so thick upon him, that *Chrysostom* was forc'd sometimes to chide, and almost fall out with him. Nor was *Dioscorus* the only kind Person, several other great men writ to their Stewards and Tenants, commanding them to furnish him with any thing that he stood in need of. The Bishop^d of the place was not the last in his Addressees, he supplied whatever might seem defective, if any thing could be wanting after such large and bountiful Provisions, and indeed treated *Chrysostom* with that incomparable Charity and endearment, that if he would have admitted it, he would have quitted his See, and resigned it up to him. The Climate which he had so much dreaded, agreed well with him, the clearness and purity of the Air, and its temperature at that season adding not a little to his recovery, his health returned apace, and within two days after his arrival he had perfectly worn off all the trouble and weariness of his Journey. The danger of the *Isauri*, whom both he and his Friends were so afraid of, was for that time over: For besides that the Town was well Garrison'd, the *Isauri* were retired upon the approach of Winter, not likely to return at soonest till the next Summer. These *Isauri* were a hardy People that inhabited the Countrey next Mount *Taurus*, between *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*. Infamous they were for robbery.

^a *Epiſt.* CXXV.
p. 871.

^b *Epiſt.* CCXXXIV.
p. 944.

^c *Epiſt.* XI.
p. 760. XII.
p. 772. XIV.
p. 773.
LXXXIV.
p. 830.

^d *Epiſt.* XIV.
p. 774. CXV.
p. 871.
CCXXXVII.
p. 947.

and stealing, all the Villages in the Countrey being (as *Strabo* notes ^c) ληστών ἀποικίαι κερταίκα, nothing else but nests of Thieves and Robbers. And though the Romans under the Conduct of P. *Servilius* (who hence deriv'd the Title of *Isviricus*) pretty well scour'd the Countrey, yet they recovered again, and went on still in the same lewd course and manner of Life, being upon all occasions troublesome to the Government, and destructive to their Neighbours, upon whom they made continual inroads, spoiling and plundering whatever came to hand. It was this good man's ill Fortune, or rather the cruel policy of his Enemies, to be planted near such desperate and inhumane Neighbours, though at his first arrival the Coast was clear, and there was no present fear of any sudden irruption to disturb his entertainment. It added not a little to his contentment, to find some of his dearest Friends at this place. The Lady *Sabiniana*, one of his Deaconesses at *Constantinople*, came to *Cucusus* the very same day that he arrived, and though she was of a great age, and unfit for Travel, especially in those rough and uncultivated Countries, yet she conquered all difficulties with a masculine spirit, and the eager desire she had to see and attend *Chrysostom*, and told him further, that she came with an intention to have gone with him into *Scythia*, whither it was confidently reported he was to be sent, and that she had fix'd her Resolution, to await his motions, and never to desert him. *Constantius* also, one of his most intimate Presbyters, having got his leave, was come thither to assist and serve him; not to mention those many Bishops and Presbyters, who came thither to salute, and converse with him. In short, so well was he pleas'd with the conveniencies of this place, that he was afraid he should not be suffer'd to enjoy them, especially after *Olympius* and some others of his Friends began to make an interest at Court, that he might be remov'd to some other place. He desires her therefore not to press this too far; if so much favour might be obtain'd, that it might be left to him to chuse the place of his exile, and when he had done so, be permitted to continue there, or if the design was to transfer him to *Cyzicum*, or some Port town, or any place about *Nicomedia*, she should thankfully accept the grant; but if she perceived they intended to remove him to a place of the same, or a remoter distance, she should immediately obstruct it. He liv'd here in some tolerable ease and quiet, and was surrounded with the kindness and company of his Friends, and was fearful he might be design'd for some more remote and desolate place, and dreaded the trouble and hardships of a Journey (which he had so lately smarted under, and which had brought him even to death's door) worse than a thousand banishments.

V. SO active a piety, as his Soul was inspir'd with, would not suffer him to be idle, where-ever he was. He preach'd frequently, and to a People that greedily entertain'd his Instructions. Nor did he feed the poor by his Doctrine only, but by his Charity. A grievous dearth and scarcity rag'd at that time in those parts, and the poor found him a common Father, whose necessities he was enabled to relieve by the liberal supplies he received as from others, so especially from his dear Friend *Olympius*. Many that had been taken Captive by the *Isviri*, he pay'd their Ransom, and redeemed from a slavery worse

worse than death it self. Nor did he confine his care and charge to any one place. He had heretofore set on foot a design of driving Paganism out of *Phenicia*, and by his endeavours a considerable Progress had been made in it: But now to his no little grief he understood that it went down the wind, and that the Gentiles had made Insurrection, and fallen foul upon the Persons employ'd in it. This sad news set him again on work ^a, some he sent thither, to others he earnestly wrote about it, that either in their Persons, or by their Letters they would excite and encourage fit Persons to undertake it, and support the Spirits of the Monks, who had met with such ill success in that employment. And that the work might not stand still for want of Money to carry it on, he took order that Charges should be allow'd both for the building of Churches, and defraying the Expenses of those who laboured in so good a work, and at every turn press'd others to be liberal upon this occasion. Nor did he forget his design of converting ^b the Goths to Christianity, having formerly ordain'd *Unilas*, that Countryman, Bishop, and sent him thither, who had attempted the thing with mighty success. After whose death he now understood that *Modunarius* his Deacon was come to *Constantinople* with Letters from the King of the Goths, requesting that another Bishop might be sent amongst them. Afraid he was that the Schismatical Bishops at *Constantinople* would lay hold upon this occasion, and not only take upon them to Consecrate a Person, but such a one as should be wholly unfit for that Affair. He wrote therefore in all haste to *Olympius*, that she would use all her Interest to hinder, or at least delay it for the present, and if possible, send *Modunarius* privately to him, with whom he would easily adjust that matter. What leisure hours he could spare from more publick business he employ'd in writing Books ⁱ, especially that, which was the last Tract he wrote, and which he dedicated to *Olympius*, upon this Subject, that no man is hurt but by himself, intending it with respect both to her and himself, as an uncontrollable Argument to submission and patience, and for that purpose wish'd her to peruse it every day. Nor was it a small Portion of his time that was swallowed up in writing Letters, the greatest part of his Epistles now extant being written from this place, and sometime after his remove. But above all others he thought it necessary for him to write ^k to the Bishops and Clergy, that for his sake were in Prison at *Chalcedon*, whom he commends for their undaunted behaviour under Sufferings, beseeching them still to maintain a greatness and presence of mind suitable to the miseries they endur'd, and in the midst of all to concern themselves for the good of the Church, assuring them that though their care and study herein might want success, it should not want its reward at the hands of God. To the same effect he wrote a more general Epistle ^l to all the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons that were imprison'd upon this account, that their Sufferings had made them renowned and eminent through the whole World, which should not be in vain, that if their Suffering were so great, what would be their Reward? That they should rejoice and be glad, and quit themselves like men, and remember how many their exemplary courage and constancy had armed with patience, how many that were wavering it had confirm'd, and reviv'd their drooping Spirits, the importance of

^a Vid. Epist. XXI. p. 783. LI. LIII. LIV. LV. p. 808 &c. LXIX. p. 822. CXXIII. p. 863. CCXXI. p. 935.

^b Epist. XIV. p. 781.

ⁱ Nicet. Lit. C. 37. p. 417.

^k Ep. CLXXIV. p. 908.

^l Epist. T. 4. p. 685.

^c Pallad. c. 10. p. 96.

it reaching beyond those who had the happiness to behold it; and that they should sustain them by a continual reflection upon that Apostolick Truth, that *the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed in us.*

VI. BUT how pleasant soever an entertainment *Cucufus* might afford this good man at his first arrival, it was not long before it appeared in its own Colours, and things put on another face. The Winter grew upon him^m, and prov'd more piercing and sharp than ordinary, and though he made the best Provision that warm Cloths, good Fires, and a close Room could make against it, yet could not all this secure him from the extremity of the cold, which beat upon him Rheums, Coughs, and the old Infirmities of his Age, Vomiting, Head-ach, a nauseating of Meats, and all these attended with want of Rest, nor getting any sleep for some nights together. These Distempers brought him very low, and made him oft keep his Bed, and live within a constant prospect of death, and look upon his Condition for at least two months as far worse than that of a dying Person. But the Spring coming on, and the return of the Sun clearing and warming the Air with its gentle and benign Beams, his sickness abated, and by degrees he retriev'd his health, but was still forc'd to observe a most strict regularity in his Diet, and to deal only in such sorts, and in such proportions, as his Stomach was best able to digest. But alas the Spring that restored his health, brought along with it another mischief, not much inferior to a mortal sickness. The *Isauri* finding the time of the year fit for a march, made a general inroad^o into that Countrey; all ways and passages were fill'd with these merciless free-booters, and all Fish that came to Net, Men, Women, and Children were either kill'd, or made Slaves, you could scarce go any way, but you might behold miserable spectacles of desolation, Cities sack'd, Houses demolish'd, fields loaded with heaps of slaughtered Carcases, and Rivers more than dyed with Blood. At *Cucufes* they expected to be besieg'd every day, a party of three hundred came suddenly upon them in a very stormy night, and pass'd through the City, and had they not been accidentally diverted, had seiz'd *Chrysostom*, who knew nothing of the danger till the next morning. These continual frights and alarms made both him and many more oft leave the Town, and betake themselves to Rocks and Woods, or any place that might afford a present Shelter. And though he was sometimes carried into the Castle, where he seem'd more secure from danger, yet the tragical Stories that were daily told, and the dreadful expectations of a violent storm or siege, took away the comfort of that security, which constrained them towards the following Winter to remove him to a place of greater safety.

S E C T.

S E C T. VIII.

His Acts from the Death of Arfacius, till his own Death.

The Death of Arfacius, and Succession of Atticus. Atticus who. An Edict commanding all to communicate with him. A fierce Persecution of the Joannites at Constantinople, and elsewhere. Several instances of the Sufferings of particular Persons. A Synod conven'd at Rome upon Chrysostom's account. Honorius's Letters to Arcadius, in his behalf. Legats sent by the Synod to Constantinople. Their ill Voyage thither, and barbarous Usage there. Chrysostom's Letters to them. Chrysostom forc'd to shelter himself in Woods and Mountains. The place of his Abode shew'd there at this day. His removal to Arabissus, and equal dangers and inconveniences in that place. The time of his continuance here. His last Letter to Pope Innocent. His Enemies at Court procure an Order for his removal to Pityus upon the Pontic Sea, and why. The great Cruelties us'd to wards him by the Soldiers in this journey. His coming to Comana-Pontica. Admonish'd of his approaching a dissolution, by the Vision of S. Basiliscus the Martyr. His preparation for death. His last Prayer, Doxology, and Death. The Solemnity of his Funeral. His Age, and the time of his sitting in that See.

I. SIXTEEN Months and some odd Days *Arfacius*^o had now sat in his Usurp'd See of *Constantinople*, when he departed this Life *November* the xith Ann. CCCCV. The See remain'd vacant (in their fence, for they look'd upon *Chrysostom* as depos'd) four Months, all which time strong Competitions were set on foot, and Interests made for several persons, which at length centred in *Atticus*, a Presbyter of that Church. He was born at *Sebastea* in *Armenia*, and in his younger years had been educated among the Monks of the *Macedonian* way, Followers of *Eustathius*, and very numerous in that Countrey, whom he afterwards deserted, and went over to the Catholics. A Man rather subtle than learned, and fitter to lay a crafty Plot, than to dispute for and defend the Faith. His Sermons were warm and sapless, and though he studied hard, and continually read the ancient Orators, yet he never attain'd any degrees of Eloquence. In his Conversation he was smooth and plausible, and knew how to adapt himself to the persons that he had to deal with, and to be either mild or stern, as occasion call'd for it, and in his highest Rant could on a sudden put on the contrary humor. He was a profess'd enemy to *Chrysostom*, and had been one of his prime Accusers in the Synod at the *Oik*, yea, *αὐτὸς κατηγορῶν πρὸς τὸν*, the Man that had contriv'd and laid the whole Plot and Design against him. Which, perhaps, was one of the best qualifications that recommended him to this place: which he was no sooner possess'd of, but he endeavor'd to reduce the *Joannites* to a compliance with him. But finding that not only the Bishops, but the People generally stood at a distance from him, he fled to the usual refuge in such cases, the secular Arm, and knowing if the Bishops were once brought in, the People would follow of course, he first procur'd

^o *Sacr. L. C. 1.*
^o *Nov. 20. 335.*
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the following Edict: *If any Bishop do not communicate with Theophilus, Porphyry, and Atticus, let him be depos'd from his See, and depriv'd of all his Estate.* And to strike a terror into all sorts of persons, and that the Laity might not think themselves exempted, another Edict was publish'd, commanding that Persons of Place, and Dignity, should forfeit their Honours and Offices, Commanders and Soldiers be cashier'd, Tradesmen and common People fined in considerable Sums, and banish'd. To prevent the severity of these Laws, some that were Rich complied to save their Estates, others that were Poor, or that saw not far into the state of things, were by large promises drawn into communion with him. But the far greatest part stood off, and prefer'd the goodness of their Cause before Riches or Honour, Kindred, or Country, and chose rather to flee to the Mountains, or to hide themselves in the remotest Monasteries, or to betake themselves into Foreign Parts; and those that did stay, were forc'd to assemble in the Fields, and to offer up their Devotions under the open Canopy of Heaven.

II. NOR was it thus only at *Constantinople*, but almost in all other places of the *East*, where several Bishops were banish'd into the most barbarous Countries, and kept in common Jails; *Cyriacus* Bishop of *Emesa* was carried Fourscore Miles from his own Countrey, and kept Prisoner in a Castle at *Palmyra* in *Persia*. *Eulysius* Bishop of *Bosra* in *Arabia*, was sent three days journey to *Misphas*, a Castle of the *Arabs*, adjoining to the *Saracens*. *Palladius* to *Syene*, a Town near the *Blemmyes*, or *Ethiopians*. *Demetrius* farther into that part of *Oasis* that lies next to the *Mazices*. *Serapion*, after he had undergone several Accusations without any manner of proof, and by the command of his Judges had been shamefully abus'd and beaten, even to the dashing out his teeth, was commanded into his own Countrey. *Hilary*, a person venerable for his Age and Piety, one who for Eighteen years together had not eaten one bit of Bread, feeding only upon Roots and Herbs; after he had been severely scourg'd by the Clergy, was banish'd into the most disconsolate Parts of *Pontus*. *Antonius* was forc'd to conceal himself among the Rocks in *Palestina*. *Timotheus* Bishop of *Maronea*, and *John* Bishop of *Lydia*, fled into *Macedonia*, *Rodon* a Bishop in *Asia* to *Mitylene*, *Gregory* a *Lydian* Bishop into *Phrygia*: *Brisso*, *Palladius's* Brother, voluntarily quitted his Church, and retiring to a Farm of his own, cultivated it with his own hands. *Elpidius*, the great Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, kept himself, together with *Pappus*, three years together in a Garret, where they gave themselves intirely to Prayer. *Heraclides* Bishop of *Ephesus* was imprison'd at *Nicomedia*, where he continu'd many years, and perhaps died there. *Stephen* a Monk, for no other cause but bringing Letters from *Rome*, was kept Ten Months Prisoner at *Constantinople*, where he was unmercifully handled, and after all refusing communion, had the flesh rak'd off his breast and sides, which my Author assures us he saw with his own eyes; and when with much difficulty cur'd, he was Ten Months after banish'd to *Pelagium*. A Provincial Soldier that belong'd to the *Schole Palatine*, for being but suspected to favour *Chrysostom*, was subjected to various torments, and after the most bloody and barbarous raking off his flesh, was sent Prisoner to *Petræ*. I pass by many others mention'd by my Author, and only add what he relates from the Deacon that attended them, the cruel and spiteful usage that the Bishops met with from the Officers ap-

appointed to convey them to the several places of their Exile, who treated them with that Rigor and Inhumanity, that made them weary of living, and to chuse Death rather than Life. The Money they carried along with them to defray the Charges of their Journey, they took from them, and shar'd it among themselves; they set them upon the most starv'd and lean Jades that could be gotten, and then forc'd them to go two days journey in one day, brought them into their Inns late at night, and hurried them thence early the next morning, so that they had scarce time to eat, and that little they did, their stomach was not able to retain. Their Ears they grated with filthy and obscene discourses, and when they came near any Church, suffered them not to go into it, but drove them either into Inns and Bawdy-houses, or into the Synagogues of *Jews* or *Samaritans*, as they more particularly did at *Tarjus*. The Bishops of the opposite Faction were all the way so far from shewing them the least Humanity, that they hir'd the Guards to hurry them away, and partly by Bribes, partly by Threatnings, spur'd them on to more Ruggedness and Severity; and when the Laity would have entertain'd them, they would not permit it. By this means Men were frighted from all offices of kindness, though there wanted not some, who durst own their Cause in that evil time, especially the Bishops of the second *Cappadocia*, who wept with them and for them, and resented their Case with a generous Sympathy, in which number they who deserv'd most honourable mention, were *Theodore* Bishop of *Tyana*, *Serapion* of *Ostracina*, who had been Bishop XLV, and *Bosporius* of *Colonia*, who had been Bishop XLVIII years.

III. WHILE these things were acted in the *East*, the Bishops were not idle in the *West*. Pope *Innocent* made a Breviate of the several Messages and Dispatches that had come, which he sent to *Honorius*, who thereupon commanded a Synod should be called, and the result of it sent to him. The Bishops of *Italy* met accordingly, and agreed upon an Address to the Emperor, that he would write to his Brother *Arcadius*, that a Council might be conven'd at *Thessalonica*, where both the *Eastern* and *Western* Bishops might conveniently meet, and constitute a Synod that might nicely determine the Case, not so much by the number of persons, as the quality of the Sentence that should be pass'd. The Emperor consented, and desiring the Synod to send by Messengers of their own, wrote the following Letter to *Arcadius*.

This is the third time that I have written to your Clemency, requesting that the Proceedings which by a malicious Combination have been carried on against John Bishop of Constantinople, might be rectified: which it seems is not yet done. Wherefore being greatly solicitous about the peace of the Church, whereby our Empire is preserv'd quiet and peaceable, I have once more written by these Bishops and Presbyters, that you would please to order the Bishops of the East to meet at Thessalonica. In order whereunto our Western Bishops have made choice of persons of unbiased Truth and Integrity, five Bishops, two Presbyters, and one Deacon of the Roman Church, to come upon this Errand, whom I desire you to receive with all Honour and Respect; that if they be satisfied that John was duly and justly depos'd, I also upon their information may withdraw from Communion with him: or if they can convince the Eastern Bishops, that they have been knowingly guilty of evil Practices in this matter, they may prevail with you to desert their

their Communion. What opinion the Western Bishops have concerning John, is evident from all the Epistles that have been sent me, whereof I have annex two, of the same importance with the rest, one from the Bishop of Rome, the other from him of Aquileia. But above all things I beseech you to take care, that Theophilus of Alexandria, who is reported to be the chief Author of all these mischiefs, may whether he will or no be forc'd to appear, that so the Council meeting with no Obstruction, may establish such a Peace, as may become the tranquility of our Reign.

11. 64. p. 30.

This Letter ^t, together with others from Innocent, Chromatius of Aquileia, Venerius of Milan, and the rest, were delivered to Amilius Bishop of Beneventum, Cythegius, and Gaudentius Bishops, and to Valentinian and Boniface Presbyters, with whom went Cyriacus, Demetrius, Palladius, and Eulysius, all Eastern Bishops. They received likewise a Memorial from the Synod, which was to this effect; That Chrysostom should not be admitted to sit in Council, till he was restor'd to Communion, and the possession of his See, that so all pretence of Calumny being remov'd, he might of his own accord come in, and take his place. Thus furnish'd with authority and instructions, they set forwards at the Public Charge in their Journey to Constantinople, but the Malice of their Enemies was too quick for them; for as they pass'd by Athens, they were detain'd by the Tribune that commanded in those Parts, who sent a Centurion with them, but would not suffer them to go to Jerusalem, where they intended to deliver their Letter to Anysus Bishop of the place. He divided their Company, and put them aboard two small Vessels, and after a very tempestuous Passage, where-in they ate nothing for three days, on the third day about Noon they came before Constantinople, at a place near Victor's Countrey-house. Here they were stop'd by the Officers of the Custom-house, who forc'd them back, and sent them Prisoners to Athyra, a Castle on the Coast of Thrace, where they were kept asunder, the Italians in an Apartment by themselves, and Cyriacus and his Company separated from one another, and that with so much strictness, that they were not permitted to have a Servant to attend them. Next, their Letters were demanded, which they refus'd to part with, saying, How can we that are Embassadors, deliver the Emperors, and the Bishops Letters, to any other but the Emperor? Patricius the Secretary, and several others, were sent upon this Errand, but to no purpose, till at length came Valerian, a sturdy Cappadocian, a Military Commander, who rudely pressing upon them, broke the Thumb of Marius, one of the Bishops then present, in the Scuffle, and took away the Letters by force from them. The next day came Messengers from Court, or at least from Atticus, who brought them three thousand pieces of Money, persuading them to communicate with Atticus, and not to mention the proceedings about Chrysostom. But they rejected the Motion, and finding by their barbarous treatment, that they were like to do little good, desir'd, that since they could do nothing in order to Peace, they might at least be suffer'd safely to return home. While they continued here, Chrysostom wrote no less than three several Letters ^t to them, with all due thankfulness, acknowledging their pious Care, and generous Charity, in undertaking so tedious and dangerous a Voyage upon this account, a kindness for which not he only, but all the Eastern Bishops were oblig'd to them. And to

^t Epist. Clvii, Clviii, Clx. p. 858, &c. vid. Ep. Clx.

the very same purpose, and the same manner of Epistles ^u, he wrote to the Bishops that came along with them, that is, to Cyriacus and his Collegues. At length, when no Arts could prevail upon them, and they still persisted in their desires to be gone, Valerian was sent to them, who clapt them aboard a rotten Ship, with twenty Soldiers drawn out of several Regiments, and as the report went, agreed with the Master of the Ship to cast the Bishops away in the Voyage. Having sail'd a great way, they were upon the very brink of ruine, when they arriv'd at Lampisacus, where they chang'd their Ship, and on the twentieth day after their setting out, reacht Hydrunt, a City in Calabria, whence they got to Rome, and four Months after their first setting out, ended their fruitless and unfortunate Embassy, not being able so much as to give an account, where, or in what condition Chrysostom was. As for Cyriacus Bishop of Emesa, Demetrius, Palladius, and Eulysius, the Companions both of their Voyage and their Sufferings, and whom they left behind them in Prison at Athyra, they were soon after sent into Banishment, Cyriacus to Palmyra in Persia, and the rest to other places, as we have before related.

IV. THE dangers to which Chrysostom was continually expos'd at Cucusus, (where he had now sojourn'd a full year) made him sufficiently weary of that place. The following Winter he spent in shifting up and down from place to place, as they could administer to his shelter and safety, the Woods and the Rocks, next to God's Providence, being his best security. And here I cannot but mention the Relation of a Modern Traveller ^w, who describing his Journey through those Parts, tells us, They came to Charliquea a famous Town in Armenia, about two Miles from which, in the midst of a Plain, arises a vast Rock, upon the North-side whereof you ascend about nine or ten steps into a Chamber, with a Bed, a Table, and a Cupboard in it, all hewen out of the Rock. Upon the West-side, you ascend other five or six steps that lead to a little Gallery about five or six foot long, and three broad, cut also out of the Rock, though of extraordinary hardness. The Tradition of the Christians of that place affirms, that S. Chrysostom made this Rock his retiring place, where they shew you the print of a Man's Body. Upon which account the Caravans of Christian Merchants pay their Devotions at this Rock, the Bishop of the place, attended by some Priests, who have every one a Taper in his hand, going and saying Prayers. But I return: The holy Man having shifted for himself as well as he could in the Parts about Cucusus, he was remov'd to Arabissus ^x, a City also of the Lesser Armenia, as a place of greater safety against the Isaurian Inroads. But though he chang'd the Stage, the Scene continued much what the same. The barbarous People still forrag'd the Countrey, and came up hither, who forc'd him to quit the Town, and retire for Sanctuary into the Castle, which yet prov'd more sad and dismal than a Prison. Without were fightings, within were fears; without nothing but Danger threatned them at the Gates, and the dreadful Prospect of a wasted, burnt, and desolated Country was round about them; within Famine began to rage, caus'd by the straitness of the place, and the multitudes of People that had fled thither. And yet his own case still much worse: for besides his share in the common Calamity, he labour'd under a long and dangerous sickness, which the late hard Winter, and his being forc'd to seek pro-

^u Ep. Clxv, Clxvi, Clxvii, p. 902, &c. vid. Ep. Clxviii. p. 891.

^w J. B. Tavernier, Traudit. Part. I. c. 2. p. 6.

^x Epist. lxxvii, p. 821. Cxxxii. p. 877. Palladius. l. 10. p. 95.

tection from Woods and Caverns, had brought upon him; and all this aggravated with the want of his Friends, whom the infected Roads, and the dangers of the Passage would not suffer to come at him. In these Parts he continued all the Summer, and the greatest part, I guess, if not the whole, of the following Winter, taking all opportunities of preaching about the neighbouring Country, and reducing the rude and untaught People both to Civility and Religion. Towards the conclusion of his stay here, he wrote a Letter to Pope Innocent, which being very elegant, (could it be rendered agreeable to its native Language) and one of the last that ever he wrote, we shall here insert.

To INNOCENT Bishop of Rome, JOHN in our LORD greeting.

His Body of ours is indeed confin'd to one place, but the Mind mounted upon the wings of Love ranges throughout the World, so that though kept asunder at so vast a distance, yet are we near your Piety, and converse with you every day; while with the eyes of the Soul we behold the braveness of your Spirit, your sincere Affection, your invincible Constancy, and the abundant and never-failing Consolation you administer to us. For the higher the Waves are carried up, the more the Rocks and Quick-sands that lurk underneath, the more blustering and tempestuous the Storms are, so much the greater is your Care and Vigilance; which neither the greatness of the way, nor length of time, nor perplexity of affairs, have made any whit more remiss or slack: but you continue to imitate the most excellent Pilots, who are the most watchful, when they see the Waves mounted aloft, the Sea begin to rage and swell, the Water to flow amain into the Ship, and the Day burst into a Midnight-darkness. For which we return you many thanks, and desire nothing more, than what to us would be the greatest pleasure and contentment, frequently to send whole Packets of Letters to you. But since the solitariness of this place denies us that happiness, (for not only those that come from you, but not so much as those that dwell in these Parts can come at us, both because we are shut up in a most blind and remote corner of the World, and because Thieves and Robbers every where way-lay and infest the passages) we beg, that our long continued silence may rather move your Pity, than provoke you to charge us with Neglect. For be assur'd 'tis no Contempt has made us so, and therefore laying bold of an opportunity we have long waited for, the Journey of the Reverend and Beloved Presbyter, John, and Paul the Deacon, we have writ to you, and think we cannot thank you enough for that kindness and compassion you have shew'd us, beyond the tenderest bowels of a Father. For what in you lies, you have taken care, that all things be duly reform'd and rectified, all scandals and disorders remov'd, the Churches settled in Peace, and a pleasant serenity, that all things run in a proper Channel, and neither the Laws be subjected to contempt or force, nor the Constitutions of the ancient Fathers violated. But there are those that have hindered these designs from taking any effect, and not content with what they have done heretofore, by their late attempts they have out-done the Villany of their former Practices. I shall not venture to set them down, the particular account whereof would exceed the limits not of an Epistle only, but an History. But although they have so entangled and confounded all things, that they seem incurably disordered, and incapable of a Reformation,

tion, yet I beseech you still endeavour to reclaim them, and not give the affair over in despair, considering of what mighty importance it would be to bring it to an happy issue, and indeed in some measure the whole world is interested and concerned in this matter. The Churches are wasted and brought low, the People dispersed, the Clergy subdued and trampled on, the Bishops banished, and the Ecclesiastick Canons trodden down. Once therefore and again, yea and again I beseech you to use your utmost care and diligence, and the greater the storm is, let your study and endeavour be so much the more. For I have yet some hope, that things may be brought to some good success. But if not, the merciful God will however prepare a Crown for the reward of your labours, and the suffering Parties will receive no small comfort from the abundance of your charity. I am now in the third year of my Banishment, expos'd to Famine, Pestilence, War, continual Sieges, to an incredible solitude and desolation, to death every day, and to the points of the Maurian Swords. In the midst of all which Evils, 'tis no little support and comfort, that we have an interest in your constant and immutable affection, and freedom of addressing to you, and that we are refresh'd so much by your ready and sincere Charity. This is our Fortress, this our Security, this our calm and quiet Haven, this the treasury of a thousand good things, this is our rejoicing, and the spring of infinite pleasure and delight. And if after all, we should be driven into a more desolate corner, then that wherein we now are, 'tis this would make us depart with a mighty consolation under all our Sufferings.

This Letter he deliver'd to the Presbyter and Deacon, whom he mentions in it, whom by a short Epistle he recommended to Proba, a noble Lady at Rome, to take care of them, as by another afterwards (if it be meant of the same dispatch) he return'd thanks to Juliana and the rest of her company, for the kindness and civility of their entertainment.

V. IN the close of his Letter to the Bishop of Rome, he intimated a suspicion of a design to remove him to a worse place. And herein he prov'd too true a Prophet. His Enemies beheld with an evil eye the great respect he met with in all places, it vext them to see so many flocking after him, so that Antioch seem'd to be translated into Armenia, and his excellent Doctrine and Christian Philosophy to be brought back to Antioch. They, above all things, wish'd him out of the world, and because his frequent distempers, and the uncomfortableness of his abode did not make haste enough, they resolv'd to try whether another place would not do it. To this end Severian of Gabala, Porphyry of Antioch, and others of that Party, by their Friends at Court procur'd an Order from the Emperor, commanding under Penalty, that without delay he should be remov'd to Pityus, the more barren and desolate place of the whole Region of Tzana, and situate upon the very shore of the Pontic Sea. The Pretorian Soldiers appointed for his Guard, us'd him by the way with more than ordinary ruggedness and severity, saying, They had Orders so to do, plainly declaring, That if they could weary him out of his Life in the Journey, they expected preferment for their pains. One indeed had more regard to common humanity, than his own interest, and privately did him all the kind offices he could. But what Cruelty was wanting in him, there was another made up, a Man of so ill a Nature, that when Addresses were made to him by the way to be kind to the holy Bishop, he took them as so many

^a Ep. Clixiii.
p. 904.
^b Ep. Clixix.
p. 905.

^b Pallad. c. 11.
p. 95. vid. sup.
l. 8. c. 28. p.
798. Socr. l. 5.
c. 21. p. 329.
Theod. l. 5. c.
34 p. 240.
Necoph. l. 13.
c. 37. p. 428.

Injuries offer'd to himself, his main business being to hasten him to an untimely End. When it rain'd with the greatest violence, he would go on, though himself was wet to the very skin; 'twas a pleasure to him to travel in the extreme heat of the day, because he knew how much it would afflict the good Man. When they came to any Town where there was the conveniency of a Bath for his refreshment, he would not suffer him to stay a minute. In this troublesome way of journeying, (more cruel to him than death, and by which his body was tann'd, like an Apple redded in the Sun, as my Author expresses it) they had now spent a considerable time, and were come to *Comana Pontica*, (not the *Comana* in *Armenia*, as *Sozomen* by Mistake makes it) a City of *Cappadocia* at the foot of the *Antitaurus*, where they would not suffer him to lodge, but carried him to a place five or six Miles off, the *Martyrium* or Oratory of *S. Basiliscus*, who had been sometime Bishop of *Comana*, and in the Persecution under *Maximian*, suffer'd Martyrdom at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*. We are told that in the Night the Martyr appear'd to him, and said, *Be of good comfort, Brother, for to-morrow we shall be together*; and that he had foretold his arrival to the Presbyter that attended that place, and had bid him provide a place for our Brother *John*, for he is coming. In confidence of, and compliance with the warning he had receiv'd, *Chrysostom* the next day requested of his Guard, that he might stay there till eleven of the clock, which they churlishly denied, and hurried him out. But they had not gone four Miles, when finding him extremely ill, they brought him back to the Oratory. When he was come in, he call'd for white Cloaths, which he put on fasting, having stript himself from head to foot, and bestow'd those he put off upon them that attended him. Then he receiv'd the holy Eucharist, and before them all made his last Prayer, and having concluded with his usual Doxology, *Glory be to God for all things that happen*, and seal'd up all with his last *Amen*, he stretch'd out himself, and gently resign'd up his Soul to Christ. It hapned that there was at this time thereabouts a mighty confluence of Monks, holy Virgins, and other pious persons from *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pontus*, and *Armenia*, as if they had been purposely summon'd thither, all which were great Mourners at his Funeral. The Corps being prepar'd for its Interment, the day was kept Festival, and like another victorious Champaign, he was brought to his Grave, and buried in the same Tomb with *S. Basiliscus*. He died on the day of the *Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, (which himself had so cheerfully born for many years) *Septemb. xiv. Ann. Chr. CCCCVII.* in the LIII^d year, and eighth Month of his age, the third Year, and third Month of his Exile, and after he had been Bishop of *Constantinople* nine years, six months, and sixteen days.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

The Character of his Person, Temper, and Endowments.

The description of his outward shape. His natural temper Choleric; how increas'd. His mighty Zeal for God, and passionate concernment for the Truth and Honour of Religion. His unwearyed diligence and fidelity in his Episcopal Charge. His impartial, resolute, and undaunted carriage towards all. His contempt of the World. His Charity, and earnest pressing others to it. The Charge of his not keeping Hospitality considered, and answered. His humility. Accus'd of pride, and why. The reasons of his dining alone. His natural abilities. Great learning. His Talent in preaching, and peculiar excellency in expounding Scripture. His expositions accounted the rule of Orthodoxy. His little ostentation of Secular Learning. The many excellent Scholars bred under him. His incomparable style, and mastery in eloquence. The Character given of it by the Ancients. Spurious pieces fathered upon him. The opus imperfectum, the issue of a Latine Pen. The case of his Liturgy.

I. HE was in his outward shape (if we may credit the description the Greek *Menologies* give of him) low of stature, his Head big, but bald (whence *Palladius* says of him, that he had *ῥῆλον παλιν*, a bald-pate like *Elisba*) his forehead large, but full of wrinkles, his eyes sunk deep inwards, but withal quick and amiable, his Cheeks lank and hollow, his Beard short and thin. 'Twas the look of a man truly mortified to the World, one that by the admirable strictness of his life, had subdued the Flesh to the Spirit, and had brought the appetites of Sense in subjection to the Laws of Reason. He was naturally inclin'd to Choler, which as it was greatly increas'd by an over-rigorous abstinence, so it infus'd a more than ordinary briskness and activity into his temper, and made him fearlessly attempt, and resolutely go on with any undertaking, wherein his Duty or the interest of Religion was concern'd. His Zeal for God always transported him beyond all considerations of conveniency or danger, he was himself true to the rules of piety, and he endeavoured to make others so. The truth and honour of the Christian Religion he strenuously defended against the attempts of Gentiles on the one hand, and Hereticks on the other. He wrote against them, and where Arguments would not do, implor'd the help of the civil Authority to assist in it. He was startled to find that in that broad daylight of Christianity, *Phenicia*, a neighbouring Country, was still overspread with the darkness of Paganism and Idolatry: For the Conversion whereof he form'd a society of zealous Persons, whom he prevail'd with to undertake it, and procur'd Imperial Edicts to back them, and by his own, and the Charity of others furnish'd out a Stock to carry it on, and when the work not only stood still, but went backwards, he ceas'd not even in the time of his exile to reinforce it, and make provision for the Charges of it.

He frequently silenc'd the Blasphemies, and suppress'd the insolences of the *Arians, Anomceans, Marcionites*, and other home-enemies to the Faith, and us'd all kindly and probable methods to reduce them from the errors of their ways.

II. T H E Affairs of his Episcopal Cure he follow'd with all imaginable sollicitude and fidelity, he constantly attended publick Prayers, preach'd frequently, and some parts of the year, especially in *Lent*, every day. And when at any time detain'd by sickness^a, was wont to account this forc'd silence, and absence from his People, worse than the Disease it self. And no sooner was he restor'd to any measures of strength, but he return'd to the Pulpit with a kind of Triumph and rejoicing, declaring he look'd upon this opportunity of conversing with his beloved Auditory as the sweetest accent of his health, and was as much affected and delighted with it, as men are wont to be, that after a tedious absence, and a long Journey are come home safe. The irregularities of his Clergy, grown more loose through the incircumspection of a mild and easie Predecessor, he corrected sharply, and though it created him no little envy and opposition, he went thorow with it, suspending and discharging those, whom perswasion and admonition would not reclaim. His Reproofs were severe and impartial, he neither fear'd or spar'd the greatest, nor despis'd and overlook'd the meanest. His generous mind was too big to be aw'd from the discharge of his duty, in this no Interest could oblige him, from this no terrors or threatnings could affright him, where-ever he espied a real and material fault, he set fly at it, and if private admonition would do no good, they were sure to hear of it in publick, and that many times with tart reflections, the chief occasions that engag'd the Emperess, and the great Ministers at Court in so fierce and violent a Persecution of him. Sometimes he would set himself to jear^c men out of Vice, and ironically salute them by contrary names, the Drunkard he would call a *Water-drinker*, the Covetous, *Poor*; and the Thief *gentle and merciful*. Vertue, where-ever it was, was sure to have its just Commendation and Encouragement from him, he ever valued a sober Youth before an aged but intemperate Person, and an old Man desirous of instruction, before a conceited and illiterate Youth, a poor Ideot before an unlearned Worldling, and a virtuous Layman before an idle and lazie Monk. The World he despis'd, and reject'd all its allurements and charms, the temptation to riches had no hold upon him, he declin'd all Preferments, and when that great Dignity was cast upon him, touch'd^f not one penny of the large Revenues of that Church, nor took any more of it to his own use, than what barely served for a very spare and thrifty Diet. And though he stood as fair as any man to be the darling both of Court, City, and Countrey, and a little courtlines and compliance in his temper might have rendred him perhaps one of the greatest Favourites of his age, yet would he not take one step out of his way to gain the highest honours or interests, no not to secure his Bishoprick, nor to save his Life.

III. His Charity kept pace with, if not rather exceeded his other Vertues. His own Estate, which was very considerable, he parted with in his younger days to the uses of the Poor, and the exigencies of the Church at *Antioch*, and when advanc'd to the See of *Constantinople*,

Constantinople, he took a strict account of those great Revenues, and the Expences of his Family, and whatever could be spar'd from Charges absolutely necessary, he set apart for pious and charitable Uses, founding and endowing a large Hospital, which he furnish'd with all necessary Officers and Attendants, and provided with all proper Accommodations. The Rich he was continually exciting^g to Mercy and Liberality, and to lay aside part of their superfluous Incomes, to cover the naked backs, and to refresh the hungry bowels of the Poor, putting them in mind what a mighty influence this would have upon their future Accounts, and be relented by our great Lord as a kindness to himself, which he oft inculcated by repeating that Sentence, *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it unto me*. By which means he softned the hard hearts of many, and melted down their Purfes into the Laps of those that needed them. Indeed he was so powerful an Advocate for the Poor, and pleaded their Cause with so much success, that he was commonly call'd, *Isaia* *ὁ τῶν ἐλεησάντων*, *John the Almoner*. I know he stands charg'd for not keeping Hospitality, but this was a way^h of living plainly repugnant to his temper, and, as he thought, undecent both for his place and person, he could not gorge and drink, and droll, and laugh, as they must ordinarily do that keep an open Table; he conceiv'd nothing more unreasonable, than for a person devoted to the Ministeries of Religion, to lay aside the immediate duties of his Office, and employ himself in overlooking the Cooks Bills of Fare, and examining how things went in the Kitchen, which was for a *Doctor* to commence *Cook*, and therefore when blam'd for it, answer'd, *It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God, and serve Tables, who are to give our selves continually to Prayer, and to the Ministry of the Word*. Such kind of Expences he thought were much siliier plac'd upon the Poor, and that 'twas a kind of Sacrilege to withdraw it from that use, and throw it away upon *Trencher Guests*, and Luxurious Companions. Besides, *Constantinople* was infinitely populous, and a place given to Feasts and Entertainments, (a thing frequently laid to their charge by Pagan Writersⁱ) and he could not entertain some, without giving way to all, a thing which he could not reflect upon without amazement and horror. But for a fuller Apology herein, I refer the Reader to *Palladius*. But though he dislike'd this kind of Hospitality, yet was he very ready to entertain Strangers, such especially as were devoted to the severer Exercises of Religion. To this he earnestly press'd others, minding them who had said, *I was a stranger, and ye took me in*; and that by this kind of Hospitality, some had entertain'd Angels unawares. His Humility was exemplary in the midst of his incomparable accomplishments, and the Honours and Dignities he enjoy'd; he was a perfect Enemy to all unnecessary Pomp and Vanity, insomuch that many who were wont to come to Church, or to go to the Bath or the *Forum* with a vast and pompous Retinue, by his example and persuation were brought to go attended with no more than one or two Servants. He lov'd not the very shadow of Flattery and Applause. When the People many times entertain'd his eloquent Sermons with shouts and acclamations, with stamping, and other expressions of delight and satisfaction, (according to the humor of that and all foregoing Ages) he would

^g Gra. Arec. vit. Cyrill. 2. p. 188. Euseb. Graec.

^h Vid. Pallad. c. 12. p. 102, 103.

ⁱ Liban. de templ. p. 22. de vit. sua. p. 80. E. ap. in Adis p. 36. aliiquis.

^a 171. Plot. col. c. lxxviii. col. 385. Vid. Chrys. Homil. i. de disc. luc. N. T. Tom. 5. p. 1.

^c Pallad. c. 19. p. 187.

^f Il. c. 17. p. 166.

^h Hom. II. ad
Antioch. p. 27.
c. p. 65. iii. p.
99. de Incom-
p. b. Dei. nat.
Hom. 4. p. 225.
Hom. xvii. in
Matth. p. 222.
Crisost. Sepu-
c. Palladius. c. 19.
p. 182. c. 12.
p. 102. Socr.
l. 5. c. 4. p.
303.

would stop and check ^k them, that this was to turn the Church into a Theatre, that he utterly dislike'd such Commendations, that the best praise they could give him, was to do as he taught them, and not to applaud his Sermons, but to practise them. 'Tis true he was commonly challeng'd for being proud ^l, for besides the natural gravity and austerity of his temper, he always us'd to dine alone, which was look'd upon as no mean instance of his pride and haughtiness, when as in truth he did it upon these accounts. *First*, because by reason of his customary head-ach, he drank no wine, which, in those Parts especially, rendred him less fit for Table converse and Company. *Secondly*, his stomach was extremely weak, and so infirm and out of order, that the very smell and sight of some meats was offensive to him, and oftentimes he could not bear the Dishes provided for him, but was forc'd to stay till others could be made ready. Which proceeded not from the vicious niceness of his palate, but the incurable infirmity of his stomach. *Thirdly*, when engag'd hard at his studies, or wrapt up in Divine Contemplation, or taken up with Ecclesiastic Affairs, he would many times lapse the usual times of dining, and eat nothing till the evening: which were the true causes, why he chose to eat alone. The truth is, his whole Life was in effect a continued Fast, he having from his younger years so accustomed himself to the utmost severities of Abstinence and Mortification, that he had irreparably wasted his stomach, and rendred it almost irreconcilable to any ordinary food, and so far weakened nature, that no Arts of Physic were able to retrieve his health, having thereby laid the foundation of those frequent infirmities and distempers, that haunted him to his dying day.

IV. NATURE had enrich'd him with very exquisite Abilities and Endowments, a clear Apprehension, prompt Wit, acute Reasoning, pregnant Invention, and all these attended with a nimble and ready utterance, and an apt way of expressing his Conceptions. Notions flow'd quick into his imagination, and found words ready to cloath and dress them up in their proper shapes; as will be very evident to any that shall peruse his *Extempore*-Orations, where there could be no place for Premeditation. His Juvenile Education under the best Masters of that Age, had laid in a sufficient stock of Learning and Philosophy, though he had not occasion to make much use of it. For after he had a very little time serv'd the *Forum*, he went early over to the study of Theology, to which he applied himself under the conduct of *Miletius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Ensebius* and *Diodorus*, who govern'd the Monasteries in those Parts, and were both Bishops afterwards. He set himself with all possible seriousness and industry to read and understand the holy Scriptures, which he afterwards so largely and accurately explained, and above all peculiarly studied *S. Paul's* Epistles, which he seldom laid out of his hand: and indeed there seems to have been a more peculiar conformity of *genius* and temper between that great Apostle, and this excellent Prelate. Having thus ranack'd the Sacred Treasures, and carried away a noble Furniture of Divine Learning, he gave up himself almost intirely to preaching and instructing others. A Province he manag'd, with that clearness and perspicuity, that force and evidence, that freedom and smartness, and yet with that temper and sweetness, that in the whole Train of ancient Fathers none

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went beyond him, and few came near him. The Scriptures he expounded very naturally, and in the obvious and literal sense; a happy Talent almost peculiar to him, the main humor of those Ages being to wire-draw Scripture into Allegories, and to make witty Allusions, and pick out mystical and far-fetch'd Expositions, which were never intended, and when found out, serv'd to little or no use or purpose. In all his Expository Homilies he takes the plain sense that naturally offers it self, which he opens, and illustrates with some short and pithy Remarks and then (which is his Application) concludes with a *ῥῆσις*, some general Exhortation, not always adapted to his preceding discourse, but prosecuted upon some moral argument of great advantage to his Auditory. And indeed so happy a Talent had he in expounding Scripture, that an ancient Writer ^m assures us, That his judgment herein was accounted the common standard of the Church, inasmuch that although all the rest of the Fathers unanimously concurr'd in the Exposition of any one place, yet if his sense differ'd from it, his Exposition was immediately chosen, and prefer'd before, yea, against all the rest. And this he tells us had been, and still was the custom and practice of the Church in his time. He reproves Vice with great impartiality, and with severe Censures, and yet conveys his Reproofs with that sweetness and tenderness, those soft and elegant insinuations, that they made their way without any difficulty into the Minds of his Hearers, and the most obstinate Offenders could not but love and kiss the hand that chastis'd them, his discourses at once administering both profit and delight. Though Master of a great deal of secular Learning, he makes no ostentation of it; but though it be not ordinarily discernable, yet it gave his discourses a better relish, like generous Wine mixt with water, (as *Erasmus* wittily represents it) where though the taste and colour of the water cannot be distinguish'd, yet it makes the Wine drink more pleasant and delightful. It adds not a little to the reputation of his Learning, that he bred such a Race of excellent Men, who were his Scholars, Men famous both for the contemplative and practical Philosophy of Christianity: such were *Palladius* Bishop of *Ill-naple*, *Isidore* the *Pelosiote*, *Nilus*, *Marke*, and *Theodoret* Bishop of *Cyrrus*, and many more, who accounted it their honour, as it was their interest, to have been brought up under such a Tutor.

V. THE vein of Oratory, which he learnt in the School of *Libanius*, he brought with him into the Church; where he employ'd it to the use of the present, and the admiration of all future Ages. His style is clear, chaste, easy, and elegant; his conceptions flow in the most apt, familiar, and intelligible expressions, though whenever his Argument requir'd it, or his Leisure permitted it, he could cloath his Mind with a more accurate Eloquence, witness his elaborate compositions while he was at *Antioch*, where he enjoy'd ease, and more calm and retired thoughts, than he did afterwards. If to him it was, that the Epistle ⁿ of *Libanius* was written, how highly did the great Man admire but one of his Orations, and that too one of his very first Attempts, reading it before some Master-Orators who entertain'd it with Shouts, and Leaping, and Acclamations, and all other demonstrations of Astonishment and Admiration. And *Isidore* of *Pelusiun* infers from it, that according to *Plutarch's* Rule, who makes Facility and Perspicuity the Standards of true *Attic* Eloquence, *Chrysostom* must needs carry

^m *Augustin.*
lib. 1. c. 10.
lib. 2. c. 4.
Sicil. Tom. 8.
p. 318.

ⁿ *Ap. 161.*
Vol. 1. 2. F.
42. p. 115.

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the Crown from all the rest, who in the purity of *Attic* words, and in the clearness and perspicuity of his expressions excels all others. *Suidas* says, That no Man in any Age was Master of such a copiousness and plenty of words, which ran from him with a fluency beyond the *Cataracts of Nile*. And one of his Successors in the See of *Constantinople* infinitely commends the sweetness of his Eloquence, the profoundness of his Notions, the height, clearness, and inexpressible lusciousness of his Discourses, the power and perswasiveness of his Rhetoric, the strange *impetus* and nervous efficacy that attends his Reasonings, in comparison whereof the most celebrated Orators of *Greece* were but Children to him: His admirable explanation of Scripture, moral Discourses and Exhortations, Explications of the Rites of the venerable Sacraments, Panegyricks in celebration of the memory of holy Fathers and Martyrs: to give a particular account of each of which, he tells us, were as vain an Attempt as to try to crowd the *Atlantic* Ocean into a Cup, or to measure the *Nile* by a Pint-pot, or to unlade and exhaust *Euphrates*. 'Twas this admirable Faculty endear'd him to those, and has since rendred him venerable to all succeeding times, and first fix'd the Title of *Chrysoſtom*, or the *golden-mouth'd* Father upon him; though it does not appear, that that Title was given to him till an Age or two after his death. His Books and Discourses, whether penn'd by him, or taken from his mouth by Notaries, are as numerous as they are excellent. *Nicephorus* tells us, he had read above a thousand of them, having been train'd up in them from his Childhood, and that what Learning he had, he ow'd it intirely to them. Among them *Suidas* gives the first place for Learning, Sublimeness and Elegancy to his six Books *de Sacerdotio*, next these to his Exposition of the *Psalms*, and his Commentaries upon the four Evangelists. The rest, he tells us, are *fans* number, and that to recount them is not the work of a man, but of an Omniscient Being. Indeed there are still extant more of his Writings, than any two of the *Greek* Fathers put together. And yet time has robbed us of many others, for he intirely explain'd the holy Scriptures, many of which Commentaries are wanting at this day. And among other of his Writings that have miscarried, no doubt are many of his Epistles, the greatest part of those that remain (they are in all to the number of about CCLV) being written in the time of his Exile, during the three last years of his Life. One famous Epistle of his there is, but as yet shamefully suppress'd we may be sure out of no good design. I mean his Epistle to *Celsarius the Monk* (cited by some of the Ancients) against the Heretic of *Apollinaris*, wherein is a most express and irrefragable testimony against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. A very old Version of this Epistle (for the *Greek*, 'tis much doubted whether it be any where extant) was first produced in these latter Ages by *Peter Martyr*, and by him laid up in the Library of Archbishop *Cramer*, upon whose Apprehension and Martyrdom it was seiz'd upon together with the rest of his Study, and dispatch'd out of the way. And thus the thing slept, till within these few years, when *Monsieur Bigotius*, a learned Gentleman of *Paris*, met with the old Copy (being the same whence *Peter Martyr* had taken his) in a Library belonging to a Convent at *Florence*; transcrib'd, and printed it together with a Preface, intending to publish it at the end of *Palladius* his Life of *Chrysoſtom*.

But

But the Zealots of that Church were aware of it, and dreading the consequence of so home an Authority against one of their most beloved and important Articles, arrested both the Preface and Epistle, and clapt them under hatches, just when ready to come abroad. So natural is it for every one that doth evil, to hate the light, and not to come to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. Against so dishonest and fraudulent a piece of Artifice a learned *French* Protestant has exhibited a just Complaint to the world, in a late Expostulatory Preface to a piece of *Anastolius Sinaita*. But enough of that. The fame of so illustrious a person has brought upon him the common Fate, to have many spurious Pieces, considerably more than any of the Fathers of the *Greek* Church, fathered upon him, among which I especially reckon the *Opus imperfectum* upon *S. Matthew*: an ancient Piece I grant, and done by a learned hand, but plainly infected with a tang of *Arianism*, and some other Heresies; so far from being *Chrysoſtom's*, that 'tis probably thought to have been done by some Writer of the *Latin* Church. Nor have any footsteps of the *Greek* ever yet been heard of, so strangely was *Possevin* out, when he affirms, that it has been often published in *Greek* and *Latin*. The case of his *Liturgy* I conceive to be much the same with that of *S. Basil*, 'twas compos'd by him for the use of the Church of *Constantinople*, and contract'd into somewhat a narrower compass than that of *S. Basil*, but has undergone the same lot, to be enlarg'd and interpolated according to the humor of the Ages and Persons, whose hands it has pass'd through, and thence have proceeded the various Readings, and very different Copies of it still extant. However it is highly honour'd by the *Eastern* Christians, and is the *Liturgy* ordinarily us'd by the *Greek* Church at this day.

¶ *lit. Lond.*
1582. 4^o.

¶ *Appar. Sac.*
in *Jo. Chryſ.*
p. 855.

S E C T. X.

Passages relating to Chrysoſtom, that hapned after his Death.

Pope Innocent's Letter to Arcadius, and suspension of him from Communion. Honorius's severe Letter to Arcadius. Arcadius his Repentance, Humiliation, and Absolution. Vengeance overtaking S. Chrysoſtom's Adversaries. The miserable end of the Empress Eudoxia. The death of Arcadius in the flower of his Age. The pains, torments, and deaths of many others of his Persecutors. The death of Theophilus of Alexandria, when and how. Chrysoſtom's Name first restor'd to the Dyptichs by Alexander Bishop of Antioch. The like done afterwards by Atticus at Constantinople. Atticus's Letter to Cyril of Alexandria about that matter. Cyril's sharp Answer to Atticus. Cyril's Prejudices against Chrysoſtom how taken off. He is reconciled to his memory. St. Chrysoſtom's Remains when and by whom removed from Comana to Constantinople. The great Pomp and Solemnity of that Translation. S. Chrysoſtom's Writings enumerated.

I. THE News of *S. Chrysoſtom's* Death was carried to *Rome*, to the unspeakable grief of *Pope Innocent*, and all good Men that heard of it. And now *Innocent* gave over all hopes of doing any good by fair means, and resolv'd to proceed to

Y y y 2

Cen-

* Ext. ap.
Gly. Ann.
p. 15. p. 259.
Edit. Par.
Nieph. l. 13.
c. 34. p. 419.
et in jure
Grec. Rom.
T. 11. p. 557.

Censures, and to separate both the Emperor and his Lady from all Christian Communion, which he did by a Letter ^a to *Arcadius*, (recorded by the middle, and later Writers of the Church) wherein he tells him, "That the Voice of his Brother *John's* Blood cried to God against him, as once that of righteous *Abel* did against his murdered Brother *Cain*, and should be certainly required; that he had not only done this, but in a time of Peace had rais'd a Persecution against the Church and Ministers of God, and had, without any legal Process, depos'd the great Doctor of the World, and in him had persecuted Christ himself. Which he complain'd of not for his sake, who was happy, but in compassion to them who were engag'd in it, and those who suffered in so great loss, not only the Church of *Constantinople*, but all the Churches in the world being hereby depriv'd of so divine and eloquent a Person, and that by the insinuations of a Woman, who should shortly receive a deserved vengeance, a second *Dalilah*, who had ruin'd his strength, and made this weighty addition to all his other guilts. For all which causes he separated him and her from all communion of the holy and undefiled Mysteries, and all Bishops and Clergymen that should presume to administer the Sacrament to them; that he abrogated *Asfacius's* Authority, though dead and gone, whose name he forbade to be entred into the holy *Diptychs*, together with all the Bishops that had communicated with him. And for *Theophilus*, besides his Deposition, he added his Excommunication, and utter Alienation from the Christian Religion.

* Ext. in li-
bra in jure
Grec. Rom. ib.

Honorius the Emperor wrote ^a likewise to *Arcadius*, to let him know, he wondred what wicked and diabolical power had prevail'd with him to resign up himself to a Woman, and to act such things, which no Religious Christian Emperor had ever done before him. Then he puts him in mind of what had been done, concluding, That he should not study by words, but actions, and the real Reformation of what was amiss to give satisfaction to God and men, being assur'd that the prayers of the Priests were the best direction and security to the Empire. *Arcadius* awakened with these home-admonitions, his Conscience brought him to Repentance, which he testified in a Letter ^a in answer to that of Pope *Innocent* (handed to us by the same Authority, for indeed the more ancient Writers make no mention of them) wherein he pleads, That he was not conscious to what had been done, but the guilt must lie at the door of those wretched Bishops, who under pretence of Ecclesiastical Canons had done it, and taken the blame upon their own heads, whose unjust suggestions he confesses he had assented to. That for *Acacius*, *Severian*, *Theophilus*, and the rest, they should be brought to account; and for the Emperess, he had already sufficiently chastis'd her, the grief whereof had brought her into a dangerous sickness, which she now lay under: he desir'd him therefore not to proceed further in the Sentence, God himself never punishing twice for one fault. It's added ^a to make the Story complete, that upon the Receipt of this Letter, *Innocent* accepted *Arcadius's* ingenuous Confession, and sent him a Sentence of Absolution.

* Ext. in li-
bra in jure
Grec. Rom. ib.

II. BUT whether *Arcadius's* Repentance were sincere or not, it was not long before the Divine Justice overtook those who had been the chief Authors and Actors in this fatal Tragedy. And first the Emperess *Eudoxia*, who, like the Master-wheel, had put all the springs in motion,

on, within three months ^a after *Chrysostom's* death, fell in Labour, but the Child being dead in the womb, putrid there, and put her to infinite torment, which soon after ended her miserable Life. There are that add ^a, that she was eaten up of Worms, and that the Urn whereinto she was put, was seen to stir. I know *Socrates* ^b, and out of him *Marcellinus* ^c, places her death *Ann. CCCCIV.* three years before this; but besides the Authority of the forementioned Letters, which speak her alive when they were written, *Zozaras*, *Cedrenus*, and the Greek Writers, generally tell us, she died not till near three Months after *Chrysostom's* decease. Nor is it contemptible what *Baronius* observes to this purpose, that had she died so long before *Chrysostom*, *Palladius* would not have fail'd to have mention'd it, where he speaks of the remarkable Punishments inflicted upon *Chrysostom's* Persecutors. But whatever becomes of the time of *Eudoxia's* death (the manner whereof, if as above related, seems to carry some more immediate signatures of a Divine Vengeance along with it) 'tis certain, that not many Months after *Chrysostom's* decease, died *Arcadius* himself, cut off in the prime and strength of his Age, being then but XXXI years old. *Asfacius*, the immediate Intruder, was taken away within fourteen Months. *Cyrinus*, Bishop of *Chalcedon*, upon no greater an Accident than *Maruthus's* his treading on his Foot, fell mortally sick, his Foot gangren'd, and was fore'd to be cut off, and after that, the other, which not stopping the spreading Malignity of the Distemper, he died under the most acute Misery and Torment. *Antiochus* and *Severian* came to ill and untimely Ends. Others ^d were seiz'd with lingering Feavers, or intolerable Calentures, or pains in their Bowels. Some died of the Dropick, or the Gout arrested and tortur'd those very Fingers, that had subscribed his Condemnation. Some were taken with tumors or inflammations in the Bowels, and a stinking putrefaction breaking out of their Bodies, bread Worms and Vermin; others with a difficulty of breathing, and a distension of all their parts, while others haunted at Night with dreadful imaginations, ran out and howled, fancying themselves Dogs; or ran out with drawn Swords in their hands, as if going to encounter an Enemy. One of them falling from his Horse, broke his right Leg, and died immediately. Another having lost his Speech, kept his Bed in a languishing condition eight Months together, not able all the time to lift his hand to his Mouth. Another had his Tongue swell'd within his Mouth through the violence of a Feaver, which not being able to discharge the office of Nature, he call'd for a Table-Book, and writ a Confession with his own hand. So remarkable many times to public and exemplary are the Scenes of Divine Justice, that every one that runs may read it, So that a man shall say, Verily there is a God that judges in the earth.

III. Nor did *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* survive *Chrysostom* above five years, dying of a kind of Lethargic distemper, or, as others say, of the Stone, *Ann. CCCCXII.* And if what *Damasceen* then ^e out of a Book of *Isidore* the Deacon reports, be true, though he lay at the point of death, yet could he not expire, till he had caus'd *Chrysostom's* Picture to be brought, and had done reverence to it. After his decease, *Chrysostom's* Cause reviv'd, and gain'd ground apace. It had indeed been set on foot soon after his death: For *Porphyry*, Bishop of *Antioch*, one of his

* Zozar. An-
n. l. x. c. 11.
p. 32.

* Nieph. ib. c.
35. p. 427.
b l. 6. c. 19.
p. 328.
c Baron. p. 13.

* Pallad. c. 17.
p. 157.

* De Imag.
Orat. III. p.
784.

⁶ Innocent. Ep. Xiv. Conc. T. 2. col. 1255. Xvi. (ad Alex. Antioch.) col. 1268.

⁸ Niphil. 14. c. 25. p. 490.

¹ P. d. Attic. Ep. ad Cyril. ap. Niphil. ib. c. 25. p. 492.

¹ P. d. Innoc. Ep. Xix. (ad Alex.) ib. col. 1270.

⁸ Ext. Epist. ap. Niphil. ib. p. 493.

¹ Ext. ib. c. 27. p. 494.

his mortal Adversaries, dying the year after, *Alexander* succeeded in that See, an eloquent Man, and of a severe Life, having been educated in the Monastic way. Upon his Consecration he sent for Letters of Communion to *Rome*, (as the custom then was to send to all the great Churches upon a new Bishops Ordination) which Pope *Innocent* promised to grant, provided he would restore *Chryssom's* Name to the *Diptychs* (these were Ecclesiastic Tables, consisting usually of two Folds, on the one side the Names of the Living, on the other side those of the Dead were written, out of which they were read, and solemnly commemorated at their Public Prayers, to shew the great respect they had for them, and the communion they held with them.) *Alexander* readily complied with the Proposal, and inserted his Name into the Church-Tables; and not only so, but wrote to other Bishops, and especially to *Atticus* of *Constantinople*, and to the Emperor himself, to do the like. But he dying a few years after, the People compell'd *Theodotus*, who succeeded, to do as his Predecessor had done before him. Of this violence *Acacius*, Bishop of *Beroea*, who had been a prime stickler against *Chryssom*, (though he had lately born *Innocent's* hand with compliance in this matter) complain'd to *Atticus*, and desir'd he would pass by what was done only through force and necessity. The Presbyter that carried the Letter, talkt openly at *Constantinople* concerning the importance of his Message, whereat the People began to grow in a Rage, and *Atticus* fearing an Uproar might ensue, went to Court to advise with the Emperor about it. The Emperor told him, He saw no great inconvenience, if for peace and quietness sake a dead Man's name was put into the Catalogue; so he did it accordingly. An account whereof he sent in a Letter to *Cyril*, who had lately succeeded his Uncle *Theophilus* in the See of *Alexandria*, wherein he laid before him a relation of what had pass'd in this matter, and the reason that had induc'd him to it, having inserted his Name not as one that died a Bishop, but as one that sometimes had been so, and whose Name challeng'd a commemoration in order to Peace and Unity, assuring him, he had done nothing herein contrary to the Ecclesiastic Canons, and desiring him for Uniformity to take order that it should be so done through all the Churches in *Egypt*. He wrote likewise at the same time to *Peter*, and *Adesius*, Deacons of *Alexandria*, who had been lately resident at *Constantinople*, and knew what had pass'd, and were able to give a satisfactory account of it, whose prudent management of things he lik'd so well beyond those who had been sent in their room, that he requested to hasten their return thither. But *Cyril*, by means of his education under *Theophilus*, had drunk in too deep a prejudice against *Chryssom*, to be easily reconcil'd to this affair, and besides thought the credit of his Uncle highly concern'd in it. He wrote therefore a large and sharp Answer to *Atticus*, "wherein he remonstrated the great imprudence and inconvenience of what had been done; that whatever might be pretended, he was certainly inform'd, that he had inserted *Chryssom's* Name not in the Lay, but Episcopal part of the *Diptychs*; and "had violated the honor and authority of the *Nicene* Council, according to which the other had been depos'd, and was fallen from his Episcopal place and station, and could not be restor'd without a mighty injury to all Bishops in the world, who must needs reckon themselves

"affronted

"affronted by it, and it became a wife and good man to prevent such inconveniences; that he had gain'd little or nothing by it, the greatest and best part of the Church were his already, and herein he only oblig'd to his prejudice a perverse inconsiderable Party, who would never take the just measures of themselves: now whom was it most reasonable to gratify in this matter, the best and greatest, or the worst and smallest number? If therefore he would preserve peace, and do right, he must undo what he had done, and strike the Name out of the Episcopal Roll; and however this might displease a few, yet being perverse and obstinate, they were better lost than kept, to level the Episcopal with the Laical Dignity, being the ready way not to establish Union, but to introduce Confusion into the Church: that though some of the *Eastern* Bishops might have been impos'd on by *Alexander's* confident persuasion, yet that was a fault that needed reformation, and he should rather imitate *Theodotus*, who was troubled at the force that had been used to him in this case, and begg'd advice which way he might be freed from it. It seem'd strange to him, that when *Alexander* with all his Eloquence could prevail with but a few, that one obscure Messenger should be able to blow up a whole Multitude at once, and that in a Cause so long laid asleep. That he said all this, not to triumph over a dead Man, or that he took pleasure in the evils that beset another, but his compassion was to be over-ruled for the good of the Church, whose Canons he held in the first place of esteem and value; and since these two Cases could not stand together, the Ecclesiastic Constitutions should take place, and he who was no Bishop, should be thrown out of the Episcopal *Diptychs*. This was the way to unite the Church, to settle Concord and Unanimity, and for all others to preserve a pure and unspotted communion with him; that therefore he should not value a single Man, and adhere to such a person, before so many yet alive, and especially before his submission to the Rules and Constitutions of the Church.

IV. WHAT *Atticus* thought of this Letter, does not appear. 'Tis plain what a mighty prejudice *Cyril* had conceiv'd against the Memory of this good Man; nay, by some he is said to have proceeded so far, as to burn and destroy *Chryssom's* Writings. But these Heats held not long. *Cyril* though a man of like passions with others, was yet of an honest mind. Several dealt with him about this Controversie, but none more effectually than *Isidore* the *Pelasiot*, who plied him sometimes with powerful Arguments, sometimes with Reproofs and Admonitions, till he gave up the Cause. We are told moreover, that he had a Dream or Vision, wherein *Chryssom* attended with a celestial Guard, and glorious Retinue, seem'd to drive him out of the Church, while the Blessed Virgin importun'd *Chryssom* that he might continue there. But this, no doubt, was the addition of After-ages, when Superstition began to govern all. However *Cyril* repented of his rash and imprudent zeal against *Chryssom*, and was heartily reconcil'd to his memory. To which end he summon'd a Provincial Synod, by whose authority *Chryssom's* name was unanimously restor'd to the *Diptychs*, whose example herein was follow'd by the Prelates of all the greater Churches, and his Name after this Cloud brake out with a far brighter Lustre.

V. BUT although matters seem'd now wholly compos'd and quieted,

^m Niphil. ib. c. 28. p. 499.

⁂ Socr. l. 7. c. 45. p. 388.
Timothe. l. 5. c. 25. p. 242.
Nestor. l. 14. c. 43. p. 530.
Colum. Pictar. Orat. de translat. S. Chryso-
stom. ap. Ricon. et Ann. 438.
T. v. c. 11. Timothe. l. 16. Eccl. l. 2. p. 568.

eted, yet the *Joannites* still kept up their separate Assemblies, till *Proclus* being advanc'd to the See of *Constantinople*, put a final period to the Schism. It was now the entrance of the year " Ccccxviii, and the XXXvth from *Chrysoſtom's* being depos'd, when upon his Anniverſary Commemoration, *Proclus* made a Panegyric to his Memory, wherewith his Auditors were ſo inflam'd, that they beſought the Biſhop, that he would forthwith intercede with the Emperor, that the good Man's Remains might at length be brought home with a pomp ſuitable to the merits of ſo great a perſon. *Theodoſius the younger* was then Emperor, a Prince of incomparable ſweetneſs and piety, who was *Chryſoſtom's* God-ſon, and with that Argument, among others, *Proclus* urg'd him. The Petition was ſoon granted, and perſons of Quality were ſent to *Comana* in *Cappadocia*, who took up the Coffin, which they carried to the mouth of the *Propontis*, where the Emperor's Gally was ready to receive it, attended with ſuch vaſt numbers of Boats and Veſſels, that the Sea ſeem'd once more to be cover'd with them. No ſooner were the Corps brought aboard, but a terrible ſtorm aroſe, that diſpers'd the Fleet, and drove the Gally juſt over-againſt the Widows Vineyard, which had been the firſt occaſion of *Chryſoſtom's* falling under the diſfavor of the Empreſs *Eudoxia*. Here ſays the ſtory it ſtopt, and the Tempeſt ceaſt, and the Fleet again getting together, purſued their Voyage, till they arriv'd at the City. The Body they firſt landed at *S. Thomas* his Church, then remov'd it to that of *S. Irene*, whence attended with an infinite throng, and all poſſible demonſtrations of Pomp and Honour, it was in the Emperor's own Chariot carried to the place of its Repoſe, the Church of the *Apoſtles*. Here the good Emperor, accompanied by his Virgin Siſters, Perſons of admirable ſtriſtneſs and devotion came to the Corps, and covering the Coffin with his Imperial Cloak, put his Eyes and Forehead to it, and heavily bewail'd the wrong that his Parents had done the Holy Man. The Divine Offices being compleated, they proceeded to his Interment at the Foot of the Communion-Table, the Biſhops then preſent helping him into the Grave with their own hands. This Ceremony was perform'd Jan. Xxvii. Ann. Ccccxviii, and has been ever ſince kept ſacred to his Memory. Thus after all the envy and malice of Men againſt him, God brought forth his righteousneſs as the light, and his judgment as noon-day; and ſhew'd that however oppreſs'd for a while, the memory of the juſt ſhall be bleſſed, and his name be had in ever-laſting remembrance.

HIS

HIS WRITINGS.

TOM. I.

Ad populum Antiochenum de ſtatuis
Homil. XXI.
De ſimilitate, ſive ira, Homilia.
In eos, qui novitania observant.
De Chriſti baptiſmo.
De diabolo tentatore.
De Incomprehenſibili dei natura adv.
Anomaos. Homil. VI.
De beato Philogonio.
De Conſubſtantiali.
De petitione filiorum Zebedei.
Adverſus Judeos Lib. VI.
De SS. Juventino & Maximo.
De S. Pelagia Virgine.
In S. Ignatium Episcopum Antioch.
Oratio.
De S. Romano Martyre. Orat. II.
De nativitate Machabeorum. Orat. II.
De S. Meletio Antiocheno.
De S. Luciano martyre.
De S. Juliano martyre.
De SS. Berenice & Proſdoce.
De S. Euthymio Antiocheno.
De penitentia Homil. VI.
De S. Babyla martyre.
Contra Gentiles, ſeu de vita Babyle.
Lib. I.
Catecheſis ad Illuminandos.
De Fato & providentia. Orat. VI.
De Precatione, Homil. II.
In SS. Petrum Apoſtolum, & Eli-
am prophetam.
Encomium martyrum Ægyptiorum.
De S. Phoca martyre.
De S. Thecla virgine & protomartyre.
De S. Barlaam martyre.
De SS. Martyribus totius Orbis.
De beato Abraham.
De Anathemate.
De Penitentia & continentia.

TOM II.

In Geneſim Homil. LXVII.
In varia Geneſeos loca Sermones
IX.
De Anna matre Samuelis Serm. V.
De Davide & Saule Homil. III.
Contra ignaviam.
Sermo in Joſeph de continentia.
Lat.
Homilia in regreſſu Johannis de
Aſia.
Hom. Quam Saturninus & Aureli-
anus acti eſſent in exilium, & Gai-
nas egreſſus eſt de civitate.
De recipiendo Severiano.
Homilia poſt reditum a priori ex-
ilio.
De Canticis Davidicis.
Ad Neophytos Homilia.

TOM. III.

Colleſtio expoſitionum in ſexaginta
Pſalmos Davidicos.
In Eſaiam prophetam Enarratio.
In locum Pſalmi XLIV. Aſtitit Re-
gina, &c.
In locum Pſalmi XLVIII. Ne timu-
eris cum dives, &c.
In eundem locum, & de eleemoſyna.
In loc. Pſalmi CXLV. Lauda Ani-
ma mea, &c.
In loc. Eſaiæ, vidi Dominum ſe-
dentem. Homil. V.
In Seraphim:
De verbis Eſaiæ, Ego Dominus
feci lumen.
In loc. Hieremiæ, Non eſt in ho-
mine via.
De prophetarum & V. Teſt. obſcu-
ritate Homil. II.
In Pſalmum XIII. Homilia.
In Pſalmum L. Homil. II.
In Pſalm. LI.

In enumeran-
dis D. Chry-
ſoſtomi ſcrip-
tis ordinem E-
ditionis Pari-
ſiens. Morelli-
ana ſequenti
ſumas.

L z z

In

In Psalmum XCV.
In Psalmum C.

TOM. IV.

De Sacerdotio Libri VI.
De compunctione cordis ad Deme-
trium.
Ad Stelechium de eodem argumento.
De providentia Dei, ad Stagirium
monachum, Lib. III.
Quod regulares fame viris coha-
bitare non debent.
In eos qui sorores adoptivas habent.
De Virginitate.
Adv. vita Monastica vituperatores
Libri III.
Comparatio Regis & monachi.
Ad viduam juniorem Libri II.
In Eutropium Eunuchum Sermo.
Quod nemo leditur nisi a seipso. Li-
ber.
Liturgia: Sed interpolata.
De penitentia.
Ad Theodorum lapsum Paraneses
II.
Ad Innocentium Epistole II.
Ad Episcopos in carcere inclusos, Epi-
stola.
Ad Olympiadem Epistole XVII.
Ad diversos Epistole CCXXXV.
Sermo cum esset presbyter designatus.
Antequam iret in exilium Sermo.
Sermo post reditum ab exilio.

TOM. V.

In parabolam decem millium debi-
toris.
De Lazaro Sermones VI.
In paralyticum 38 Annorum.
In illud, Pater si possibile est.
In illud, Intrate per angustam,
&c. Homil. II.
In inscriptionem Aſſorum.
De ferendis reprehensionibus, & in
Aſſa.
In varia loca in Epist. ad Rom. Ho-
mil. V.
In varia loca in Epist. 1. ad Co-
rinth. Homil. V.

In illud, 2 Cor. 4. habentes eundem
spiritum. Hom. III.

In illud, 2 Cor. 11. utinam sustine-
retis.

In illud, Philip. 1. five occasione,
five veritate.

Laus Maximi, & quales ducende
uxores.

In illud, 1 Theſ. 4. de dormientibus
nolo vos.

In illud, 1 Tim. 5. vidua eligatur
non minus.

De proditiōe Judæ, & paschate.

In Christi natalem.

In cimiterii appellationem & cru-
cem.

De cruce & confessione Latronis.

De resurrectione mortuorum.

De resurrectione Christi.

De Ascensione Christi.

De S. pentecoste Homil. II.

De penitentia & Eucharistia.

De Laudibus S. Pauli.

De mensuetudine.

In illud Aſſ. 9. Paulus spirans.

In inscriptionem Altaris Aſſ. 17.

In illud 1 Cor. 1. Paulus vocatur.

Utile esse lectionem scripturæ.

De precibus Christi in miraculis.

In eos qui pascha jejunt.

In Eliam & viduam.

De futura vite deliciis.

Non esse desperandum.

Peccata fratrum non evulganda.

Non esse ad gratiam concionandum.

De sanctis martyribus, Hom. II.

Dæmones non gubernare mundum.

In illud, Gal. 2. in faciem ei restiti.

Demonstratio, quod Christus sit deus.

Ad eos, qui scandalizati sunt.

In paralyticum per rectum demissum.

Cur in Pentecoste legantur Aſſa.

De mutatione nominum in scrip-
tura.

De S. Basso martyre.

De S. Droside martyre.

De penitentia & castitia Achaab.

TOM. VI.

Unum & eundem esse legislatorem
utriusque Test.

In

In illud, Gen. 1. vidit deus.

In illud Gen. 1. Faciamus hominem.

In illud Gen. 24. 10. pone manum
tuam.

De serpente aneo.

De iusto & beato Job Sermones IV.

In illud, Psal. 38. veruntamen fru-
stra.

In Psalm. 83. Et turtur nidum.

In Eliam prophetam.

De Joseph & Castitate.

De Susanna.

De tribus pueris.

De sigillis librorum, Esai. 46. 3.

De fide & lege naturæ.

De sancta & individua Trinitate.

De sancto & adorando spiritu.

De sancta pentecoste.

In illud, Joan. 1. in principio erat
verbum.

De occurſu & Simeone.

In sancta Theophania Domini.

De nuptiis Ioan. 2. & contra Ju-
deos.

De Christo Pastore & Ove, Joan.
10.

In decollationem Baptistæ, & de He-
rodiade. Homil. II.

In venerabilem crucem, & de trans-
gressionem Adami.

In dimissionem Chananeæ.

In præcurſorem Domini Joannem.

In SS. Apostolos Petrum & Pau-
lum.

In SS. XII. Apostolos.

In S. Thomam Apostolum.

In S. Stephanum Protomart.

In illud, 2 Cor. 12. sufficit tibi gra-
tia.

In Annuntiationem S. Deiparæ.

In sancta Theophania, & S. Joan-
nem.

In parabolam de silio prodigo.

In illud Matth. 13. collegerunt Ju-
dæi concilium.

In Decem Virgines, Matth. 25.

In Meretricem & Phariseum. Luc. 7.

In sancta & magna parasceue.

In Samaritanam Joan. 4.

De Ceco a nativitate Joan. 9.

In triduanam Christi resurrectionem.

In Christi Ascensionem Sermones.

IV.

Bonum Christi discipulum benignum
esse.

De Psedo-prophetis & falsis Docto-
ribus.

De Circe, Oratio.

In Salvatoris nostri nativitate.

In illud Luc. 2. Exiit Edictum.

In Oraculum Zachariæ redditum
Luc. 1.

In conceptionem Joannis.

In illud, Matth. 6. Attendite, ne
cleemosynam.

De fugienda simulata specie.

De muliere fluxum sanguinis passa.

De patrefamilias & operariis, Matth.
20.

In Parabolam de sicu arefacta, Matth.
21.

De Phariseo & convivio Luc. 11.

De Lazaro & divite, Luc. 16.

De publicano & phariseo, Luc. 18.

De Ceco & Zachæo, Luc. 18.

Religiosum facietis uti non debere:

De S. Joanne Theologo.

De adoratione S. Crucis.

De confessione S. Crucis.

De negatione Petri, Matth. 26.

De jejuniis & cleemosyna.

In sacrum pascha.

In secundum Domini adventum.

Florilegia XXX. ex homiliis Chry-
sostomi decerpta per Theodorum
Magistrum.

TOM. VII.

Commentariorum in Mattheum Ho-
milie XCI.

TOM VIII.

Operis imperfecti in Mattheum
Hom. LIV. Lat.

Commentariorum in Evangelium Jo-
annis Homil. LXXXVII.

TOM. IX.

In Aſſa Apostolorum Homilia LI.

In Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos Ho-
mil. XXXI.

Z z z 2

TOM.

TOM. X.

In Pauli Epistolam I. ad Corinth. Homil. XLIV.
In II. ad Corinth. Homil. XXX.
In Epistolam ad Galatas commentarius perpetuus.
In Epistolam ad Ephesios Homil. XXIV.

TOM. XI.

In Epistolam ad Philipenses Homil. XV.
In Epist. ad Colossenses Hom. XII.
In I. ad Thessalonicenses Hom. XI.
In II. ad Thess. Homil. V.
In I. ad Timotheum Homilia XVIII.
In II. ad Timotheum Homil. X.
In Epistolam ad Titum Homil. VI.
In Epistolam ad Philemonem Homil. III.
In Epistolam ad Hebraeos Homil. XXXIV.
De operibus D. Chrysostomi dubiis, vel falsò ascriptis paucula Lector monendus est.

I.

Sixtus Senensis, Ant. Possevinus, alique vulgares Critici Scriptorum D. Chrysostomi dubiorum & supposititiorum catalogum satis amplum dederunt, quem per otium Lector consulere potest: in quo præter Opus imperfectum in Matth. &c. habentur Expositio in Evangelium D. Marci, Homilia 59. ad Pop. Antioch. aliq; partim ex variis Chrysostomi Sermonibus confarcinata, partim aliunde accepta, quæ a Chrysostomi operibus jam penitus abjudicantur.

II.

Fronto Ducaus opera suppositia (quæ tamen ab auctoribus Chrysostomo coevis, vel ab eis saltem ætate non lon-

ge remotis scripta esse existimat) præter paucos Sermones in Psalmos ad calcem Tomi III. omnia in Tomum VI. coniecit, prout a nobis supra recensentur.

III.

Editioni suæ omnium optime, & castigatissime indicem operum Chrysostomianorum præmisit nobilis & eruditissimus vir D. Henricus Savilius, tum eorum quæ pro veris ac germanis, tum quæ pro ambiguis & falsis habuit. Ambigua & supposititia, inde seligam, & in Lectoris gratiam, servato cuiusvis Tomi ordine, hic subijciam.

Dubia fidei scripta.

TOM. I.

Expositio in Psalm. LI.
Exposit. in Psalm. XCII.

TOM. V.

In illud, vidit Deus omnia.
Demonstratio, quod imaginem ad similitudinem dei factam &c.
Quomodo Adam acceperit animam &c.
In B. Abraham.
In Joseph, & de temperantia.
De Serpente Moysi.
In prophetam Eliam.
Protheoria in Psalmos.
In illud, Dominus regnavit &c.
In sigilla Librorum, &c.
In tres pueros.
In Susannam.
In Orationem Dominicam.
Orat. Catechetica in illud, simile est regnum, &c.
In illud, Exiit decretum a Cæsare, &c.
In Prodigum filium, &c.
In Dracem & Lazarum.
In Cæcum, quem Christus sanavit.
In Mulieres, quæ unguenta attulerunt, &c.

Ia

In illud, in principio erat verbum.
In illud, Quomodo novit literas, &c.
In Cæcum a nativitate.
In Chananeam, & in Pharaon, &c.
In secundum adventum Domini, &c.
In illud, non quod volo, hoc facio, &c.
In illud, sufficit tibi gratia mea, &c.
In illud, Sponte peccantibus nobis post acceptam cognitionem veritatis, &c.
Sermo in principium indictionis.
In principium indictionis novi anni.
In pretiosam Crucem.
In exaltationem pretiosæ crucis.
In S. Martyrem Phocam, &c.
In conceptionem S. Johannis præcursoris.
Encomium in S. Protomartyrem Theclam.
In S. Apollolum Thomam.
In S. Martyrem Romanum.
In Christi nativitatem.
In nativitatem Christi, & quod unicuique, Clamati, &c.
In S. Stephanum protomartyrem.
In occursum salvatoris & Deiparæ, &c.
In mediam Hebdomadam jejuniorum.
In adorationem pretiosæ crucis.
In media hebdomade jejuniorum.
In Festum Palmarum.
In S. Virginem Deiparam.
In S. Deiparam.
In prodicionem salvatoris, &c.
In pretiosam & vivificam crucem, &c.
In die S. & magnæ pasceves.
In Latronem, & prodicionem salvatoris.
In salutiferam sepulturam, & triadanam, &c.
Oratio Catechetica in S. Pascha.
In Pascha Orationes VII.
In B. Job Orat. IV.
In Ascensionem Domini Orat. II.
In Pentecostem Orat. III.
In memoriam Martyrum, & quod Pastor, &c.

In principes Apostolorum Petrum & Paulum, &c.
In sanctos duodecim Apostoles.
In synaxim Archangelorum.

TOM. VI.

Veteris & N. Testamenti eundem esse legislatorem, &c.
De fide, & in legem naturæ, & de spiritu S.
Quod oporteat Christi discipulum clementem esse.
Oratio exhortatoria ad penitentiam, &c.
De penitentia & Eleemosyna.
De penitentia.
De Eleemosyna.
De jejuniis Orationes VII.
De patientia, & mortis non amare deflendis.
De patientia.
De S. & Consubstantiali Trinitate.
Quod non oporteat monachum fastidiis, &c.
De salute anime.
Ad Catechumenos.
Orat. in Circum.
Deploratio eorum qui Christi virgines corrumpunt.
Contra Hæreticos.
Liturgia.
Precationes duæ.

TOM. VII.

In illud Abrahæ, pone manum tuam sub femur meum, &c.
In Dominicam novam, & in Apostolum Thomam.
In sanctum Stephanum Orat. III.
In S. Pentecostem.

Scripta Supposititia.

TOM. I.

Expositio in Psalm. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107.
Expositio in Psalmi CXVIII. statim primam.

Ia

— In secundam.
— In tertiam.

TOM. VII.

Hom. in expulsiōnem Adam, & de malis mulieribus.
In sacrificia Cain, &c.
In Abraham & Isaac.
In serpentem aneum, &c.
In illud, in tribulatione dilatasti mihi, &c.
In illud, frustra conturbatur omnis homo vivens, &c.
In illud, vovete & reddite Domino deo nostro.
In Turtorem.
In illud, sustulerunt flumina vocem, &c.
In illud, venite & exultemus.
In illud, Eripe me Domine ab homine malo.
In Rachel & in infantes.
In Herodem & in infantes.
In Jordanem fluvium.
In illud, si filius dei es, projice, &c.
In illud, Cavete, ne eleemosynam vestram, &c.
In illud, Egredi Pharisei conciliū ceperunt.
In decollationem Johannis, & in Herodiadem.
In saltationem Herodiadis, &c.
In Metamorphosin Domini nostri Orat. III.
In illud, Quaecūq; ligaveritis in terra, &c.
In Ficum arefactam.
In parabolam decem virginum.
In illud, pater, si possibile est.
In abnegationem Petri, &c.
In Meretricem & Phariseum Orat. II.
In mulierem peccatricem, &c.
In meretricem & Phariseum.
In Visionem Zacharie, &c.
In Filium viduæ.
In Centurionem.
In illud, Exiit seminans seminare.
In Parab. Homo quidam descendit, & incidit in Larrones. Orat. II.

In Phariseum.
In illud, ignem veni mittere in terram, &c.
In illud Lucæ de Didrachma.
In Parabolam de Filio prodigo.
In Parabolam Oeconomii injusti, &c.
In publicanum & Phariseum Orat. II.
In Zacheum publicanum.
In Samaritanum.
In Samaritanam, & interpretatio Messie.
In Paralyticum, & in illud, nolite judicare secundum aspectum.
In illud, Dæmonium habes, &c.
In illud, cum ascenderit Dominus in Templum.
In Martham, Mariam, & Lazarum; & Eliam prophetam.
In Lazarum redivivum Orat. III.
In illud, Cogebant Judæi conciliū, &c.
Sermo in Nativitatem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.
In Christi Nativitatem.
In Nativitatem Domini nostri.
In S. Johannem Theologum.
In S. Johannem Theologum, Apostolum & Evangelistam.
In S. Theophania Orat. II.
In adorationem pretiosi ligni.
In Annunciationem Deiparæ, & adv. Arium.
In Annunciationem.
In Annunciationem SS. Deiparæ.
In Festum Palmarum.
In proditiōnem Judæ, &c.
In crucem, & de transgressiōne primorum parentum.
In S. passionem Domini.
In Resurrectionem Domini.
In Resurrectionem Domini Orat. III.
In Mesopentecosten.
In Nativitatem S. Joannis præcursoris.
In Præcursorem Orat. II.
De jejuniis.
In principium sacrorum jejuniorum.
De jejuniis Orat. II.
In principium jejuniorum.
De jejuniis.

De

De jejuniis, & in David.

De penitentia.

Contra Judæos, gentiles, & hereticos.

De fide.

De spe.

De Charitate Orat. II.

Quod Charitas secundum deum sit opus divinum.

De patientia & Consummatione sæculi.

De Oratione.

De eleemosyna.

De pseudo-prophetis, &c.

Epistola ad Monachos.

Comparatio Regiæ potentie, &c.

Quod mores assimulator fugere oporteat.

De siccitate.

In secundum adventum Domini nostri.

Quod oporteat eum, qui habeat gratiam quamcūq; Communicare ei, &c.

Admonitiones Spirituales.

De singulis hujus Tractatibus D. Chrysostomo ascriptis qui censuram exactiorem desiderat, is adeat notas Savillii, Boissii, Halesii, & Doumaei in Edit. Eton.

IV.

Franc. Combefis Ann. 1686. sub nomine Chrysostomi sex sequentes Homilias gr. & lat. edit.

De inani gloria, & edncandis a parentibus liberis.

In S. Christi nativitatem.

In S. Lumina.

In recens baptizatos, & de Paschate.

In S. Bassi Episcopi & Martyris memoriam, &c.

Post terræ motum.

Homilia de morali politia, in Præcursoris decollationem, atq; mulierem peccatricem, edita est ab eod. Combef. 1645.

J. B. Cotelerius, socius Sorbonicus, Ann. 1661. S. Jo. Chrysostomi Homilias quatuor in Psalmos Gr. & Lat. edidit, quas genuinas esse agnoscit.

Item in Daniele prophetam interpretat. quæ vel non esse Chrysostomi, vel fusioris saltem commentarii Ecloga & Episoma ab eodem Cotelerio meritis judicatur.

The End of S. Chrysostom's Life.

FINIS.

A N
APPENDIX:
Containing a BRIEF
ACCOUNT
Of some other Eminent
FATHERS
That flourish'd in this
Fourth Century.



L O N D O N,
Printed by A. GODDID and J. PLAYFORD, 1682.



THE LIFE OF ARNOBIOUS.

His Country, Education, and opening a School for Rhetoric. His bigotry for Paganism. Converted to Christianity, when, and how. Forc'd to write Adversus Gentes, to give satisfaction of the truth of his Conversion. His great joy for his being rescued from Gentilism. His Learning. Abatements to be made for his want of skill in Christian Theology. His style, method, and way of Writing. The Commentaries upon the Psalms under his name, whose. The time of his Death enquired into.



THAT *Arnobius* was by birth an *African*, there can be no cause to doubt, especially when, as they said of *S. Peter*, his speech agreeth thereto. He was educated in all the *Gentile* Learning of that Age, wherein he became so great a Master, that in the Reign of *Diocletian* he open'd a School of *Rhetoric* * at *Sicca*, an Inland Town in *Afric*, and a *Roman* Colony. Here as he wanted no Scholars, so he taught with great Fame and Reputation. He was a fierce *Bigot* for Paganism, which he maintain'd with all the advantages of his Wit and Parts. And thus he continued 'till the *Diocletian* Persecution, which brake out *Ann. Chr. CCCIII.* when the great severity which he saw us'd towards the innocent Christians, and their incomparable

* Hieron. de Script. c. 79. & Chron. ad Ann. Chr. CCCXXVII.

nable patience, meekness, and constancy under their heaviest Sufferings, awaken'd his mind to a more serious and impartial enquiry into things. And as Heaven is never wanting to the honest designs of Men, especially where they are like to be more than ordinarily useful to the Church, he was often warn'd by divine Admonitions in his Dreams to turn Christian. This he now resolv'd upon, and accordingly presented himself to the Bishop of the place in order to it. But the Flock is naturally afraid of the Wolf. The Christians at *Jerusalem* were not at first more shy of *S. Paul*, than the Bishop of *Sicca* and the Christians were of *Arnobius*, not imagining that so hot a Zeal for Paganism should cool all on a sudden, but rather suspected 'twas but a trick to trapan and circumvent them, especially in those times, and therefore refus'd to admit him, 'till he had given some signal Evidence of the reality of his Conversion. Hereupon he set himself to vindicate the cause of Christianity against the *Gentiles*, which he did in seven Books, wherein he vigorously asserted the truth and excellency of the Christian Religion, and so wittily expos'd the follies of Pagan Worship, so shamefully baffled all their specious and popular Insinuations, that a Man might wonder with what confidence they could ever lift up their Heads again. He gives us also some hint of the date of his Conversion, when he tells us, ^b 'twas then about three hundred years more or less since Christianity first set out into the World. By this uncontrollable Demonstration he remov'd all possibility of jealousy and suspicion, and was joyfully entertain'd, and receiv'd to Baptism. And now how thankfully did he own the goodness of Heaven every time he reflected upon his former state. "Miserable Blindness and Ignorance (*said he*) wherein I was shut up! With what Veneration did I lately prostrate my self before Statues, but just before taken out of the Furnace? Gods hammer'd out upon the Anvil, or the Bones of Elephants: If I chanc'd to espy painted Garlands hanging upon an old consecrated Tree, or a polish'd Stone daub'd over with Oyl, immediately as if a divine Power had been present in it, I began to address my self to it, to court its favour, and to beg Blessings of it, the senseless Stock in the mean time knowing nothing of what was said or done to it. And thus I shamefully dishonour'd what I persuaded my self were Gods, while I believed them to be Wood, or Stones, or Bones, or such-like Materials. But being now by the Institution of so great a Master brought into the ways of Truth, I understand all these things what they are, I have Notions becoming the nature of things, nor do I offer any contempt to the name of God, but give what respect is due to every thing or person according to the different degrees or ranks of Being. In his Contests with the *Gentiles* he shews himself a much abler Champion at the offensive, than the defensive Weapon. His Learning lay most that way, and he has accordingly miserably maul'd the Pagan Cause. It does not appear, that at the time of his writing he had read any considerable part of the Bible, more than the obvious passages of the Evangelical Story, or that he had accurately consider'd the Doctrines and Principles of Christianity. He was not then so much as a *Catechumen*, instructed in the first Rudiments of the Faith, and therefore 'tis not to be charg'd as a fault upon his Memory, if some few passages occur in his Writings not so strictly conformable to Catholic Doctrine; 'tis rather to be wonder'd,

^b Adv. gent.
l. 1. p. 5.

^c Lib. cit. p. 11.

wonder'd, that he ran not into more and greater Errors. He was furnish'd with a mighty stock of Secular Learning, and had quick natural Parts to set it off. His Style, tho censur'd by *S. Jerom* ^d of old to be loose and unequal, is yet sufficiently elegant; it retains indeed sometimes a tang of the *African* Dialect, but keeps a middle way between the roughness of *Tertullian*, and the smoothness and sweetness of *Cyprian*: Nor is his Work so confus'd and immethodical, as that Father seems to insinuate, as is evident to any that will be at the pains attentively to read it, and observe how his Design is laid, his Argument prosecuted, and how the several parts of it do naturally enough one depend upon another. He wrote with an impartial freedom, and as most Writers of that Country, with an unusual ardor and fervency of Spirit, with brisk Periods, a nervous smartness and strength of Reasoning, and with great pleasantness of Wit, wherein the Argument he manag'd gave him scope enough. Besides these Books, certain *Commentaries* upon the *Psalms* went a long time under his name, and *Erasmus* ^e takes a great deal of pains in asserting them to be his, and in reconciling the difference and inequality of the Style. But had that Learned Man a little more narrowly consider'd things, or liv'd to see the Books against the *Gentiles* publish'd (which he concluded to be lost) he would have spar'd that labour. It being long since agreed on all hands, that those *Commentaries* are the Work of a *Junior Arnobius*, who dedicated them to *Leontius* Bishop of *Arles*, and *Rusticus* of *Narbon*, both contemporary with *S. Augustine* in his latter times: Not to say that there are passages in them that concern the *Photinian*, and the *Pelagian* Controversies, started long since *Arnobius's* time: What became of *Arnobius* after his conversion, and whether he took upon him the Ecclesiastic Orders, or when he died, we have no account. If *S. Jerom* intended right order of time, when he plac'd him in the front of his continuation of the *Eusebian Chronicle*, he was alive *Ann. Chr. CCCXXVII.* two years after the Council of *Nice*: But whether then, or how much longer, is to me unknown.

^d Epist. ad Paul.
lin. p. 104.

^e Pref. in *Arnob. Com. in Psal. inter Epist. l. 28. Epist. 9.*

His WRITINGS.

Genuine.

Adversus Gentes, Lib. VII.

Supposititious.

Commentarii breves in Psalmos C. L.

THE LIFE OF LACTANTIUS.

His Birth-place. His Education under Arnobius. The first essay of his Parts and Learning. Diocletian's study to advance Nicomedia. Lactantius sent for thither to profess Rhetoric. The Books he wrote at his first coming thither. The design of his Book De opificio Dei. The original and progress of the Persecution rais'd by Diocletian against the Christians, and by whom contriv'd and carried on. Two learned Men at Nicomedia undertake to write against Christianity. The account Lactantius gives of the former. The latter, Hierocles. The main design of his Book. These two undertaken by Lactantius. His Defence of the Christian Religion in his seven Books of Institutions. The particular design and sum of each of these Books. These Books, when written: Not originally dedicated to Constantine the Great. Lactantius prefer'd to be Tutor to Crispus, Constantine's eldest Son. His Book De mortibus persecutorum, when written. The excellency of that Tract. His Death, and Poverty. His great Parts and Learning. His odd or ambiguous expressions upon what accounts excusable. His excellent Style. His Writings.

I. **LACTANTIUS** **COELIUS** **LACTANTIUS** was in all probability born at *Firmium*, a Town in the Country of *Picenum* in Italy, situate near the *Adriatic* Sea, and thence borrow'd the name of *Firmianus*. His Parents seem to have been *Gentiles*, and to have train'd him up in that Religion; but how or upon what occasion he was brought over to Christianity, no intimations are left upon Record. His Education

was liberal, and it met with a pregnant and capacious Mind. In his younger years he was sent over into ¹ *Afric*, and put under the tutorage of *Arnobius*, the famous Professor of *Rhetoric* at *Sicca*, where he so plied his Studies, that in a short time he overtook and outwent his Master; and tho as yet but a very Youth, gave an early *Specimen* of his mature Parts and Learning in a *Treatise*, which he called *Symposium*, compos'd perhaps in imitation of that of *Plato*, or the other of *Xenophon*, or the *Deipnosophists*, written by *Athenæus*. By this time his fame was spread all abroad, and he was called up to a more eminent Station, and plac'd in the Eye of the World.

II. THE

II. THE Emperour *Diocletian* had fix'd his Court at *Nicomedia*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, which he beautified and adorn'd with Temples, Palaces, Circusses, Magazines, Courts of Justice, and all manner of stately and magnificent Buildings, resolving to make it equal to *Rome* it self; and if he espied the least fault in any Structure, when finish'd, he immediately caus'd it to be pull'd down again, and set up anew, to the utter ruine and undoing of the Country, the Rich in their Purfes, and the Poor in their Persons. And what was yet worse, where-ever he espied a convenient piece of Ground, or a more elegant Building fit for his turn, he was not content barely to take it away, but the Owner must be arraign'd, and executed for Treason, that so it might escheat to the Crown, under a pretence of Justice. By this means he render'd that City very splendid and magnificent. And because Learning has been ever accounted the chief Glory of any place, his next care was to furnish it with the most eminent Professors. Among whom, *Lactantius* is pitch'd on, and sent ² for out of *Afric* to profess *Rhetoric* at *Nicomedia*. At his arrival there, he betook himself to his Professors place; but *Latin* Eloquence found little entertainment: For *Greek* being the common Language of that place, he had few Scholars, so that in a short time he was forc'd to shut up his School, and betook himself to writing Books. His first essay was an *Hodoporicon* in *Herbic* Verse, wherein he describ'd his Voyage from *Afric* to *Nicomedia*; and next, a Book which he call'd *Grammaticus*. After this, he set upon his Book *De Opificio Dei*, ³ wherein, from the admirable creation and composition of Men, he elegantly argues a Divine Providence, and that both from the frame of his Body, and the nature of his Soul. This he dedicated to *Demetrian*, (as he did also two Books of Epistles) who had been his Scholar, whom he tells in the close, ⁴ that he intended hereafter to discourse these matters more at large, especially what concern'd the state of another Life, and partly from the Principles of his own Religion, partly from their disagreement among themselves, would shew that the Philosophers were quite out of the way, who, notwithstanding all their plausible pretences, were the greatest Enemies to Truth: And that for his own part, he desired to live for no other end, than to compose what might be useful to Humane Life; and he should then think he had liv'd long enough, and to purposes good enough, when what he writ might serve to recover any from Error, and to set them in the right way to Heaven. And indeed it was not long before he was engag'd in the Defence of Christianity against the attempts of the *Gentile* Philosophers, tho God knows upon too sad an occasion, I mean the fierce Persecution rais'd by *Diocletian*. The first springs and motions whereof being particularly discover'd by no other Author but *Lactantius*, who was then upon the place, and his Accounts too being but very lately retriev'd and recover'd to the World, it can be no unacceptable entertainment to the Reader to be briefly acquainted with them.

III. **DIOCLETIAN** was a Man infinitely superstitious, extremely fearful and jealous of future Events, and upon that account miserably devoted to Southsaying and Divination, for which reason there never wanted enough of that divining Tribe to attend the Court. It happen'd, that while they were busie one day at their divinatory Sacrifices, certain Christian Priests crept in among the crowd, who

² *Lact. de mort. persecut. c. 7. p. 15.*

³ *Hieron. ubi sup.*

⁴ *Vir. Instit. l. 2. c. 10. p. 199.*

⁵ *De Opific. Dei. c. 20. p. 892.*

¹ *Hieron. de script. c. 60.*

⁶ *Lact. de mort. persecut. c. 10. p. 20. & seq.*

secretly

secretly making the sign of the Cross upon their Foreheads, the *Dæmons* immediately vanish'd, and all was left in disturbance and confusion. The *Aruspices* trembled, not being able to discern any of the wonted signs in the Entrails of the Sacrifices, and, as if they had mistaken or fail'd in some *Punctillo's*, began anew, and frequently repeated them, but to as little purpose as before. Whereupon *Tages*, Master of the Ceremonies, either seeing the persons, or suspecting them, cried out, that the reason why the Sacrifices did not give their wonted significations, was, because prophane persons had mix'd themselves with the holy Solemnities. The Emperour enrag'd hereat, commanded all present to do Sacrifice, and all that were in the Palace, under pain of Stripes and Violence; and by a Warrant to the Commanders, order'd all the Soldiers in the Army to do the like, or immediately be discharg'd. Not long after came *Galerius Maximianus*, whom *Diocletian* some years since had created *Cæsar*, a zealous Pagan, who set himself to blow up the Emperour into a violent persecution of the Christians. But none plied him harder than his Mother, a Woman superstitious beyond measure, and who had a most inveterate spite against Christianity. These three held private Cabals all the Winter, and while 'twas believ'd abroad, that they were in deep Consults about State-affairs, they were only hammering out a Persecution against the Christians. *Diocletian* was old, and lov'd his ease, and therefore did not readily listen to violent Councils; he urg'd how dangerous a thing it was to disquiet the Empire, and to hurry the World into confusion and blood; that such severities would be ineffectual, the Christians desiring nothing more than Death and Martyrdom; and that it would be enough, if the Court and the Army were purg'd from the Men of that Religion. Finding this would not do, he betook himself to his old King-craft, which was in all great and generous acts to resolve upon them without taking any advice, that so the honour of them might reflect upon himself alone; but where the thing was like to prove mischievous and distastful, he was wont to take several Officers into Council, that so the blame might fall upon them. This he practis'd in this case; he declares he will hear the opinion of his Friends and Confidants, whereupon some Judges and Military Commanders are taken in, who all comply with the council of the Empress and *Maximian*. The Emperour not yet satisfied, sends to consult the Oracle of *Apollo Miletus*, who, we may be sure, return'd an answer home to the purpose. And now all excuses being remov'd, he yields, but still persuades the more moderate course, that it might be done without Blood, while *Maximian* insists, that they may be burnt alive. The time prefix'd to begin this tragic Scene, was the seventh of the *Calends of March*, when the *Terminalia* were usually celebrated among the *Romans*, and this chosen as an auspicious *Omen*, that they should put a term and period to that Religion. The day being come, 'twas the xxiii^d of February, *Ann. Chr. CCCIII.* early in the Morning the Emperour with his Guards and Officers goes to the Church of the Christians, and having broken open the Doors, sought for the Image of the God they worship'd; but finding none, took the Bibles, and other things at hand, and threw them into the Fire, filling all places with force and violence. It held some Debate, whether they should set the Church on fire, but the Emperour over-ruled that, as what might

might be of fatal consequence to the City; whereupon Officers were set on work, who pull'd it down to the ground. The next day an Edict was publish'd to strip the Christians of all Honours, Offices, Privileges, and that no quality or condition should exempt them from the Rack and Torture, and that they should have no power at Law in any case to vindicate and right themselves, and to that end Altars were set up in the Courts of Judicature, and every one was to offer Sacrifice, before he could have liberty to plead his Cause. And now *Maximian* to strike home, secretly causes the Imperial Palace to be set on fire, (but so, that it might be easily quench'd) and then charges it upon the Christians, who, he tells the Emperour, had done it out of envy, and had conspir'd with the Eunuchs to murder the Emperour, and that they had been in great danger of being both burnt alive. This put *Diocletian* into a passion beyond all the restraints of Reason, or giving himself a respite for cool and impartial Considerations. Orders are issued out to proceed against Christians without mercy, and he himself sits and sees them executed in part; the rest was done by his Judges and Officers, and all the emulation was, who should be most bloody and cruel. No regard is had to Sex, Age, or Order, and not content with single Executions, whole House-holds are burnt at once, and Drovers tied together with Ropes are thrown into the Sea: Prisons are crowded, and new instruments of Torture are invented, and Letters written to the *Western* Emperours to pursue the same methods in those Parts. By which means the Persecution became universal, and unless where *Constantinus* govern'd, was carried on with almost equal cruelty in all Parts. The particulars whereof it is not my business here to relate.

IV. I MAKE no apology for this Digression, the account being uncommon, and not altogether foreign to my purpose, will plead for it self. But the Sword and the Axe were not the only Engines made use of in the Persecution, the Pen was taken up to introduce and justify the other, and Christianity at once expos'd to the scorn and cruelty of its Adversaries. *Lactantius*¹ tells us of two at this time at *Nicomedia*, tho he conceals their names, who took upon them by Writing to insult over, and refute the persecuted and despis'd Religion, the one a Philosopher, the other a Judge. By the Philosopher *Baronius*² will needs understand *Porphyry*, the famous and known Enemy of Christians. But the Character *Lactantius* gives him, no way suits, either with *Porphyries*, Age, or Temper. *Porphyry* was a Man of a most strict, severe, and mortified Life; *Lactantius's* Philosopher servile, covetous, voluptuous, and every way debauch'd and vicious. And tho we could suppose *Porphyry* to have been a Man of this humour, yet his great Age (being at this time near seventy Years old) would have render'd him incapable of those loose Extravagancies which *Lactantius* charges upon his Philosopher: Not to mention that *Porphyry* wrote no less than thirty Books against the Christians, this no more than three. By the other, the Judge, we are doubtless to understand *Hierocles*, (and so indeed elsewhere³ he expressly tells us) who from a *Vicarius* had been made President, and had been one of the prime counsellors and promoters of the Persecution. A Man of greater Parts, and better Manners, but an irreconcilable Enemy to the Christian name, against which he wrote with great salt and sharpness. Two

¹ *Instit. l. 5. c. 2. p. 463.*

² *Ad Ann. 302. N. L. LVII.*

³ *De mort. persec. c. 16. p. 30.*

Books he publish'd, which he styl'd *Φιλαληθείς*, and to mollify the *Odium* of the thing, intit'led them not *against*, but *to the Christians*. The main design of them was to expose the Holy Scriptures (which he seem'd to have read with some care for that very end) as a bundle of Inconsistencies and Self-contradictions, picking up all passages which he could make look that way, besides those infinitely false and scurrilous reflections which he liberally threw upon our Saviour and his Apostles. In short, so ready and dexterous was he at quoting the Holy Writings, that my Author was almost tempted to think he had once been a Christian. And did other circumstances concur, his spite and zeal would be no small arguments to strengthen the conjecture, Apostates being ever the most bitter and virulent opposers of that Religion which they have deserted.

o Inft. l. 5. c. 4.
p. 470.

V. THESE two undertakers read^o their Discourses in the presence of *Lactantius*, who was not a little troubled to see the best Religion in the World thus openly and insolently affronted; and being as'twere thus boldly challeng'd, and arm'd with the advantages of so good a Cause, he resolv'd to put Pen to Paper, not so much to encounter these trifling Antagonists, (whose strength, he tells us, he could have routed in a few words) as to undertake the general defence of Christianity against all aggressors of that kind, and at once to disable all their attempts against it. Accordingly as his Master *Arnobius* did just about the same time in seven Books stoutly defend the Christian Cause against the Pagans, so he compos'd seven Books of *Divine Institutions*; in the first whereof he treats concerning the *false Religion*, and having assign'd several Causes of his undertaking, he proceeds to assert and prove a Providence, and next that there is but one God that made and governs the World, which he evinces both by Arguments and Authorities, the testimonies of Prophets, Poets, Philosophers, *Sibyls*, and Oracles, and rationally refutes the Religion of the *Gentile-World*, especially that which obtain'd in the *Roman Empire*, shewing that the Deities which they worship'd were altogether unworthy of the title and place of Gods. In the second Book he discourses concerning the *Origine of Error*, demonstrates at large the vanity of the Pagan Religion, and enquires how the *Romans* came to fall under so many absurd Errors and Mistakes, and indeed how Mankind came to lapse under so prodigious a degeneracy in matters of Divine Worship, which he charges chiefly upon the great corruption and apostasy of *Noah's* Posterity, and the subtle snares and stratagems of the Devil. The third is concerning *false Wisdom*, wherein the vanity of Philosophy and Philosophers, and their false pretences to true Wisdom, are admirably represented. As in the fourth he treats of the *true Wisdom*, and having first complain'd of the prevalency of *Pagan* Impiety, and enquir'd why their great Masters of Philosophy never found true Wisdom, because they sought it not in its right place, there being an inseparable union between true Wisdom and Religion, no where to be met with but among Christians; he next displays the true Knowledge of Christ, both as to his Person, Name, Birth, Nature, and that both divine and humane, Miracles, Sufferings, and Crucifixion; enquiring likewise how our owning both Father and Son to be God, can consist with the Unity of the Deity; lastly, what are the usual causes of Heresy, which he shews to be Pride, Covetousness,

igno-

ignorance of Scripture, and an over-sord valuation of false Teachers and Prophets. The fifth Book treats of *Justice*, wherein he gives an account why he set upon this whole Work, then shews that Justice and Righteousness how much soever boasted of by Philosophers, was possess'd only by Christians, that it was an unreasonable Cruelty in the Pagans to persecute these just and righteous Persons, however God for wise and good ends thought fit to suffer it. In the sixth he discourses concerning *true Worship*, both inward, as it respects the temper and disposition of the Mind, and outward, as it relates to the carriage of the Life; and rectifies the mistakes of the Philosophers and great Men among the Heathens about the several Vertues of a good Life. The seventh and last part is *De vita beata*, or the happiness of the Life to come; wherein he shews, that the true *Summum bonum*, or reward of Virtue, consists in a state of future Immortality, that the Souls of Men are thus immortal, notwithstanding what some of the Philosophers have said to the contrary, and what it is that capacitates a Man for this Eternal State: Then he discourses concerning the end of the World, and the Signs that shall precede it, concerning the Day of Judgment, and the Reign of a thousand Years, and the consequent state that shall ensue upon it. And having thus dispatch'd his main Argument, he shuts up the whole with a pathetic Exhortation to call off our Minds from things present and sensible, and heartily to entertain and comply with this excellent Religion, as the only way to attain to this happy and immortal Life. This is the sum of his several Dissertations, which being finish'd, he is generally said to have dedicated them to *Constantine* the Great, and both towards the beginning and the conclusion of the Book, there are particular and formal Addresses and Dedications to him. But the case is somewhat more than suspicious. In the first Address he is said to have begun this Work under *Constantine*, whereas *Lactantius* himself assures us, he set upon it not long after the beginning of the *Diocletian* Persecution, the cruelty and universality whereof he more than once and again complains of, but the Persecution of *Licinius* (under which they suppose he wrote it) was only topical, confin'd to some places in the *East*, and never reach'd the *Western* Parts: He farther tells us, he engag'd in it, when he taught Oratory at *Nicomedia*, and when *Hierocles*, who was then one of the Judges there, wrote against Christianity; now *Hierocles* was soon after remov'd to the Government of *Egypt* to carry on the Persecution there. So that it's plain, these Addresses must be of a later Date, and inserted by some other hand, and accordingly (which puts the case past all dispute) are wanting not only in some of the first Editions, but in most, if not all, of the best and most ancient Copies of these Institutions. This Work he afterwards abridg'd into an *Epitome* for the more ease and advantage of common Readers, some part whereof, viz. of the three last Books, is still extant, tho perhaps as much as was in *S. Jerom's* time, when it was *ἀνέπαλτος*, as he tells us, defective in the first part of it.

VI. NEAR ten years the Persecution had now continued, with all imaginable fierceness and violence, when *Constantine* the Great, some years since advanc'd to the Empire, having embrac'd the Christian Faith, began to put a stop to it. He had by his Lady *Minervina*, suppos'd generally to be his Concubine, but one Son called *Crispus*, a

B 2

Prince

Prince of hopeful Virtues, and whom he then entirely lov'd, and took all possible care of his Education. *Constantine* had himself liv'd some years in the Court of *Diocletian*, at the same time that *Lactantius* was at *Nicomedia*, with whom no doubt he had some acquaintance, and having taken notice of the Learning and Honesty of the Man, sent for him into *France* to be Tutor to the young Prince, and to instruct him particularly in the Learning and Eloquence of the *Latin* Tongue. The Prince at that time lay at *Triers*, as some conjecture, or as others, at *Bezancon* the chief City of *Burgundy*, where my Author will have him to reside with his Grandmother *Helena*, and that from his being there that City deriv'd the name of *Crispulis* or *Crispopolis*, it being styl'd *Civitas Crispolinorum* in a very ancient *Notitia*, suppos'd to be coeval to the Reign of *Honorius*. But whether so or no, I intend not to interpose. And now *Lactantius* enjoy'd ease and a happy leisure, and the better to raise his own and other Mens gratitude to God for his infinite Deliverances and Blessings to the Church, he began to reflect upon the darkness and tempestuousness of the late miserable Times, and how fatal such courses had always prov'd to the Authors of them. To which end he drew up a Discourse *De persecutione*, or *De mortibus persecutorum*, wherein from the very beginnings of Christianity he briefly traces that signal and remarkable Vengeance from Heaven that had pursued the most eminent Persecutors of the Church, which he draws down to the times of *Diocletian*, and there enlarges himself as to the rise, cruelty, and extent of that Persecution, and those dreadful Punishments which God inflicted upon that Emperour, and all his Collegues and Partners, *Maximianus Hercules*, *Galerius Maximianus*, *Severus*, *Maximinus Daza*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius*, and how after all attempts God crown'd the Piety of the great *Constantine* with Victory and Success, the Church with Ease and Plenty, and the World with Peace. This Book (as he did also that *De Ira Dei*) he dedicated to his dear friend *Donatus*, who had been an eminent Confessor at *Nicomedia* under three several Governours, *Flaccinus*, *Hierocles*, and his Successor *Priscillian*, where he had been nine times put to several sorts of Torture, Whips, Hooks to rake off the flesh, Pincers, Fire, and what not; in all which he came off a Conquerour, and stirr'd not one inch from the testimony of the Faith and a good Conscience. A short Tract this is, but an invaluable Treasure, not mention'd by any but only once by *S. Jerom*, and never after heard of, 'till somewhat more than two years since it was happily recover'd, and publish'd by the Learned *Baluzius*, for which Posterity will stand indebted to his memory. We find not what became of *Lactantius* after this, or how long he liv'd. *Baronius* conceives he died *Ann. CCCXVI.* but without any other authority than conjecture. He was indeed in *extrema senectute*, (as *S. Jerom* informs us) very aged, when he taught *Crispius* in *France*, but yet might survive some considerable time. And what was a miserable aggravation of old Age, was so poor, that he wanted even necessary conveniences for the support of Life. Which as it shews his great contempt of the World, (for how easily might he have made a fortune, had he made that his business) so might perhaps be occasioned by the unfortunate Death of the Prince his Pupil, (if at least we can suppose he outliv'd him) after whose decease 'tis like little notice was taken of him.

No

v. p. Fr. Cl. f. 1.
p. 4. differt. de
convers. Conf.
M. c. 4. p. 151.

q. VII. ejusd.
ib. c. 16. p. 30.

• Ann. 316. N.
1711.

• Descript. ubi
supr.

• Euseb. Chron.
at Ann. chr.
c. cccviii.

No account is given either of the time, place, or manner of his Death, unless we will rely upon the authority of *Fl. Dexter's* *Chronicon*, which tells us, that he died very poor at *Nice*, whither the Commentator upon that *Chronicon* supposes he had been call'd by *Constantine* to be present at the great Council there.

VII. HE was a Man of a serious temper, and a severe Life, zealous for the honour of his Religion, and unwearied in vindicating it against all opposers. He set himself strenuously against *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and upon occasion against those within that did corrupt the Faith, and design'd to write at large against all Sects and Heresies. His Parts were prompt and quick, his Judgment sagacious; whatever Argument he takes in hand, he manages with that strength and clearness, that he always with ease carries the day. His Learning in foreign and external Studies (wherein he was chiefly conversant) was exquisite, perhaps not equal'd by any of the *Latins* of that Age he liv'd in, which render'd him capable so successfully to beat the *Gentiles* at their own Weapons, and made *S. Jerom* say of him, that with much greater dexterity he destroy'd their Cause, than he confirm'd and built up his own. If there be some obscure, or uncatholic *Dogmata* in his Writings, what Garden is there wherein there are no Weeds? especially when cultivated by one newly crept out of the Woods and Thickets, and bred up in the Forest and the Wilderness. Besides, many things are clear to us, which to them were in the dark, not yet sufficiently beaten out; many Questions intricate and disputable, as wherein the Church had then made no precise and dogmatical determination. Some Errors are the fault of the Age, rather than the Person, and many things are to be pardon'd to humane Weakness, and want of sufficient Light. His *Chilastic* notions were common to him with several of the greatest note for Learning and Piety in the Church, as we have shewn elsewhere. As for his other unwary Expressions, and unorthodox Assertions, I shall not insist upon particulars, most of them have been considered and discuss'd to satisfaction by another hand. His Style is admirable, Eloquence was his Masterpiece; by the concurrent judgment of all, from *S. Jerom* to this day, he has been accounted the most eloquent Man of his Age, or of any since, the character of the *Christian Cicero* being no less commonly, than deservedly bestow'd upon him; nay, some have adventur'd to affirm, that in some cases he has out-done the great *Roman* Orator. However, this I think may be safely said, that for the sublimeness of his Matter, the frequent pithiness of his Sentences, the sweetness and pleasantness of his Periods, the clearness and evenness of his Style, (whose greatest fault it may be is, that 'tis too smooth and fine) he has since the *Ciceronian* Age had few equal, and perhaps none superiour to him.

His WRITINGS.

Genuine.

I. De falsa Religione.	V. De Justitia.
II. De Origine Erroris.	VI. De vero Cultu.
III. De falsa Sapientia.	VII. De vita Beata.
IV. De vera Sapientia.	

Institutionum Lib. VII.

Genuine:

* Dext. Chron.
p. 379.

* Vid. l. de ira
Dei. c. 2. p. 767.

* Epist. ad P. M.
lib. p. 104.

* Life of
S. Fulg. M.
N. X. XII.
p. 156.

* A. S. Remarks upon the
State of the
Church, &c.
p. 372. &c.

Genuine.
Institutionum Epitome.
De ira Dei.
De officio Dei.
De mortibus persecutorum.
Fragmentum parvum de extremo Ju-
dicio.
 Not extant.
Symposium.
Grammaticus.

Odymogeny.
Ad Asclepiadem, Libri duo.
Ad Probum Epistoliarum, Libri IV.
Ad Severum Epist. Libri II.
Ad Demetrianum Epist. Libri II.
 Supposititious.
Carmen de Phaniee.
Carmen de Pascha.
Carmen de passione Domini.

THE LIFE OF PAUL BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

His Ancestors, whence. His sustaining the Inferiour Ecclesiastic Orders under Metrophanes and Alexander. His succeeding in that See, when. His subscribing in the Synod of Tyre, question'd. The Arians conspire, and prefer Articles against him. His first Banishment under Constantine. His return. Eusebius of Nicomedia his ambitious intrusion into his See. Paul's flight to Rome, and courteous reception by Pope Julius. Eusebius his Death. Macedonius thrust up into that See. A great hubub and sedition at Constantinople about that matter. Constantinus his speedy return, suspension of Macedonius, and banishment of Paulus. His releasment in order to the Synod at Sardica, but not permitted by his People to go thither. His last banishment, and private conveyance to Cuculus in Armenia. Messengers sent after to dispatch him. Close imprison'd, starv'd and strangled. Remarkable punishment of Philip the Governour, the manager of his murder. The honourable translation of his Remains under Theodosius the Great.

I. ANTIQUITY has recorded nothing certain, either concerning the Kindred or Country of this worthy Prelate, more than that his Ancestors came from *Theſſalonica*, a famous City of *Macedonia*. After a preparatory Education, he was enter'd among the Clergy of *Constantinople*, and if credit may be given to the Acts^b in *Photius*, he was Reader under *Metrophanes* Bishop of that Church, who a little before his Death foretold his advancement to that See. They say further,

further, that after the *Nicene* Council, when *Alexander* was sent with the Decrees of that Synod into the neighbouring Parts, he took *Paul*, then Reader and Register of that Church, along with him, with whom he travell'd over *Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalia, Achaia, Greece*, and the adjacent Islands and Countries, quieting and composing those unhappy Controversies, with the Determinations which that great Council had made in matters of Faith. But when they tell us, that *Paul* was at that time but 12 years of Age, 'tis what will very hardly gain belief. Under *Alexander*, who succeeded *Metrophanes*, he was advanc'd to the order, first of Deacon, then of Presbyter, and by him thoroughly season'd and settled in the Catholic Faith.

II. *ALEXANDER* broken with extreme Age,^c (being XCVIII. years old) and worn out with three and twenty years cares of his Episcopical Office, was now drawing his last breath. And being ask'd by his Clergy, whom he would recommend to be his Successor, answer'd, There were two especially whom they might have their Eyes upon; *Paul*, young, but prudent beyond his years, a good Preacher, and a Man of an excellent and exemplary Conversation; and *Macedonius*, an aged Deacon, of a grave Deportment, and fit to transact Secular Affairs. After the good Bishop's death, Factions ran high, the *Arians* sticking hard for *Macedonius*, but the Catholic Party carried it, and *Paul* was ordain'd in the old Church of *S. Irene*, whereof, while Presbyter, he had had the particular care and charge. The time of his promotion to this See, is clogg'd with considerable difficulties. And indeed the Ecclesiastical Historians have wofully perplex'd and confounded his Affairs, which the Learned *Valesius* has taken great pains to disentangle, whose adjustment of times we shall for the main steer by, tho as to the time of *Paul's* Succession, we can by no means agree with him. He places^d the Death of *Alexander*, whom *Paul* succeeded, *Ann. Chr. CCCXXXI.* when as 'tis plain by the uncontradicted testimony of all ancient Writers, that *Alexander* was alive at the death of *Arius*, which happen'd not 'till *Ann. CCCXXXVI.* but being extraordinary aged, we may suppose died soon after, and that *Paul* succeeded that year. If *Athanasius* lays^e he was Bishop, and *Macedonius* a Presbyter under him, at the time of his being at *Constantinople*, there's no necessity to understand it of *Athanasius* his first being there soon after the Council of *Tyre*, *Ann. CCCXXXV.* He might be there afterwards, perhaps in his return from his German Exile, or at some other time before *Macedonius* usurp'd the Chair. As for *Paul's* being present in the Synod of *Tyre*, and there subscribing the deposition and condemnation of *Athanasius* (with which he is expressly charg'd by the Eastern Bishops in their Synodal Epistle^f from *Sardica*) if true, he acted there as *Alexander's* Delegate and Representative. But I confess I am apt to suspect the story, and that a person, who was all along so brisk a stickler, and so deep a sufferer for the Catholic Cause, could not easily be guilty of so foul a Crime, especially when not the least hint of any such thing is to be found in *Athanasius*, (who had reason enough to know who were his Friends, and who his Enemies in that Council) no, nor in any History of that time. And for the *Arian* Faction, what Artifices they made use of to support their Cause, or to defame their Adversaries, cannot be unknown to any that have but look'd into the accounts of this Age. This being clear'd, we proceed.

III. SCARCE

^a *Socr. l. 2. c. 6.*
^b *83. Soc.*
^c *l. 3. c. 3.*
^d *p. 500.*

^e *Olif. Eusef.*
^f *l. 2. c. 3. p. 184.*

^g *Epist. ad Soc.*
^h *l. 1. p. 630.*

ⁱ *Ap. Hil. in*
^j *fragm. col. 440.*

^k *Socr. l. 3. c. 9.*
^l *p. 509.*

^m *Ad. Metroph.*
ⁿ *& Alex. ap.*
^o *Phot. cod.*
^p *CCLVI. Col.*
^q *1413-1412.*

III. SCARCE was Paul warm in his Seat, when his Adversaries began to heave him out. The *Arians* had been pretty well kept under during *Alexander's* Life, whose Age and Authority they revered, and the late fatal Vengeance that had overtaken *Arius* had cast no little damp upon them. But the Scene being now chang'd, and a younger Man stept into the Chair, and especially being vex'd at the disappointment of their designs for *Macedonius*, they resume their courage, and prefer Articles against him: Sometimes he is charg'd with having unduly procur'd that See to himself, without the consent of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theodore* Bishop of *Heraclea*, to whom, as the next Bishops of note and eminency, it was pretended his Ordination did belong. But this not being strong enough, they down-right accuse him of Immorality, of having led a debauch'd and licentious course of Life. These, and some other Calumnies, are spread abroad, and being dress'd up and aggravated by the Chieftains of their Party, are buzz'd into *Constantine's* ears, who either wearied with their importunities, or over-credulously giving heed to their false suggestions, yields, as just before he had done in the case of *Athanasius*, and so by his order (for to him *Athanasius* expressly ascribes his first Exile) he is banish'd into *Pontus*, which we may conceive was done about the latter end of *Ann. CCCXXXVI.* or the beginning of the following year. Here he continued 'till the Death of that great Prince, whose three Sons and Successors, at their very first entrance upon their Government, publish'd Letters and Edicts for the recalling the banish'd Bishops, and among them our present Bishop return'd, and repossess'd himself of his See of *Constantinople*.

IV. BUT he was not suffer'd to enjoy any long ease or quiet: For *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, a Man of a proud and aspiring temper, had cast an eye upon the See of *Constantinople*. He had heretofore procur'd himself to be translated from *Berytus* to *Nicomedia*, as a place of greater honour and importance, it having for many years been the seat and residence of the Emperours. But seeing the Imperial Court fix'd at *Constantinople*, and finding *Constantinus* (to whose share the Eastern part of the Empire was fallen) a Prince inclinable enough to be sway'd by his Councils, he revives the Accusations against *Paul*, with which he found it no hard matter to possess the mind of that credulous Prince, who no sooner came to the Government, but had declar'd himself in favour of the *Arians*. Hereupon a Synod of their own Party is conven'd, by whom *Paul* is condemn'd and depos'd. Whether he was formally banish'd, is not said: Probable it is, that finding *Constantinople* not safe for his stay there, he conceiv'd it his prudence and interest to retire, and so voluntarily travell'd into the Western Parts; the first place we find him at is *Thessalonica*, which, if not his own, was the birth-place of his Ancestors, thence pretending to go to *Corinth* (perhaps to avoid some attempts of his Enemies) he took Ship, and sail'd into *Italy*, and went to *Rome*,¹ whither about the same time came *Athanasius*, *Arsenius* Bishop of *Gaza*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and *Lucius* of *Hadrianople*. They were courteously entertain'd by Pope *Julius*, who being satisfied in the goodness of their Cause, and the injustice of their Sufferings, did what in him lay to restore them to their several Sees, gave them Letters of Communion to that end, and wrote in their behalf to the Bishops of the East. After this, it

seems,

seems, he went to the Court of the Emperour *Constantius*, (for there we find^m him and *Athanasius*) who wrote sharply in their behalf to his Brother *Constantius*, threat'ning, that unless he speedily restor'd them to their Churches, he would himself come and do it; whether he would or no, which, if at any time, was done now, tho *Socrates* misplaces it some years after, about the time of the *Sardican* Council.

V. BUT leave we him for a while, and return to *Constantinople*, where the same Synod that depos'd him, promoted *Eusebius* to that See, who being thus advantageously seated, manag'd the Affairs of the *Arian* Party to their great satisfaction. He continued in this eminent Station 'till the Council of *Antioch*, call'd under pretence of dedicating the great Church there, soon after which, he departed this Life about the year CCCXLII. *Eusebius* thus dead, and the place become vacant, the People call homeⁿ their Bishop, who return'd and took his place. But the *Arians* did not think fit to slip this opportunity, and therefore resolv'd now speedily to set up for *Macedonius*, whom in *S. Paul's* Church they ordain'd Bishop of *Constantinople*. The people, who had a mighty kindness for their old Bishop, were enrag'd at what was done, and both Parties being exasperated, the thing broke out into open Tumult and Sedition, which was follow'd with Violence, Blood, and Slaughter. *Constantinus* at this time lay at *Antioch*, being engag'd in a War with *Persia*, where hearing of what had happen'd, he order'd *Hermogenes* Master of the Horse, then going for *Thrace*, to pass through *Constantinople*, and to eject *Paul* out of the possession of his Church. The Commander coming into the City, and attempting to execute his Orders, found hotter service on't than he expected: For the people rose up in Arms to defend their Bishop, and when *Hermogenes* sent a Party of Soldiers to force Obedience, it did but blow them up into a greater rage; so that forgetting all measures of Duty and Allegiance, they ran to *Hermogenes* his House, set it on fire, and dragging him out by the heels, and drawing him through the Streets, put him to death. The news of this barbarous and unjustifiable action was soon carried to the Emperour, who was so horribly offended at it, that tho then taken up with the affairs of his *Persian* War, tho it was the depth of Winter, and the weather extremely foul and tempestuous, yet by Post-horses laid for that purpose, he came with incredible speed to *Constantinople*, where having examin'd the matter, he banish'd *Paul*; and tho at the intercession of the Senate he put none to death, yet he punish'd the City, by taking away one moiety of that daily allowance of Corn (the whole was fourcore thousand Bushels) which his Father *Constantine* had bestow'd upon it. Nor did *Macedonius* himself escape without a brand of the Emperour's Displeasure, who was offended at him, both because he had presum'd to be made Bishop without his leave, and because he had been part-cause of the late Tumults and Murders that had happen'd, and therefore suspended the execution of his place, and confin'd him only to officiate in the Church wherein he had receiv'd his Ordination.

VI. PAUL loaded with Iron-Chains^p was sent to *Singara*, a Garrison in *Mesopotamia*, standing near the River *Tigris* upon the borders of *Persia*: A dangerous and disconsolate place, where he was perpetually liable to be invaded by barbarous Enemies from without,

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and

^m Socr. l. 2. c. 22. p. 106.

ⁿ Socr. ib. c. 12. p. 89. c. 13. p. 90.

^o Vid. Liban. Orat. III. Basil. di. p. 127. 128.

^p Athan. loc. supra citat.

^e Socr. ubi sup. p. 499.

^b Athan. ib. p. 31.

ⁱ Socr. l. 2. c. 7. p. 84.

^k Id. ib. c. 16. p. 93. c. 17. p. 95.

^l Ibid. c. 15. p. 91.

and from within could expect no other Treatment but what is usual to Prisoners from mercilefs and mercenary Souldiers. But here he staid not long, for the place lying too open to the Enemy, he was removed to *Emisa* a City of *Syria*, seated upon the River *Orontes*, where he remained, for any thing we find to the contrary, several years, till a little before the time of the *Sardican* Council, when *Constantius* to comply with the importunity of his Brother, had consented to the summoning of a Synod, and released *Paul* in order to it, as a Person immediately concern'd in it. Coming to *Constantinople*, he intended to have gone on to *Sardica*, to be there at the opening of the Council, but his People not thinking it safe to expose him to the malice and treachery of his Enemies, would not let him go. And indeed that he was not present at that Synod, what e're *Socrates* and *Sozomen* say to the contrary, is further evident from the Letters both of the *Eastern* and *Western* Bishops, who not only give no intimation of his being there, but plainly imply the contrary. However his Cause was judged as well as the rest; and as the *Orientalists* condemn'd and despis'd him as a ring-leader of mischief, a Person guilty of horrid Crimes, so the *Western* Prelates, who were the true *Sardican* Council, by their Synodal Sentence acquitted and discharged him of those accusations, and restor'd him to his See.

VII. AND now one would have thought he should have ended his days in peace, and rested quietly in the harbour after so many storms and shipwracks: But no humane happiness is to last long. The Emperour *Constans*, the great Patron and Prop of the Catholic Cause, was basely Murdred, February the xvth, Ann. CCCL. After whose death the Catholic interest lost ground apace, and the *Arians* now carry all before them. And first they begin with *Paul*, whom the next year they traduce a fresh to the Emperour, and easily persuade him to espouse the quarrel. So command is sent to *Philip*, the *Pratorian Prefect* of the *East*, one true to their interest, and of greatest power and authority next the Emperour, to eject *Paul*, and give *Macedonius* possession of his See. *Philip* had seen too much of the sad effects of putting things upon force and violence by the dear experience of *Hermogenes*, and therefore resolv'd more closely and cunningly to go to work. He sends for the Bishop to come to him to *Zeuxippus* his Bath, under pretence of business that did greatly import and concern the public, and therefore commanded his speedy attendance. *Paul* obeys, and being come into the house, the Governour shews him the Emperours Warrant, whereat the good Bishop was nothing daunted, though he thought it hard measure to be condemn'd without any cause shewn, or being admitted to answer for himself. *Philip* dar'd not to trust the multitude, who suspecting some ill design against their Bishop, had flockt to the gates, and therefore ordered a back dore of the Bath to be opened, by which *Paul* was convey'd into the Pallace, and thence immediately put a Ship-board, and sent into Banishment. The place appointed was *Cuenusus*, a distant and miserable Town in *Cappadocia*, but afterwards lay'd to the second *Armenia*, where there was nothing but Rocks and Wildness, Cold and Hunger to entertain him. But this it seems they thought too good for him, and that while they afforded him breath,

they could never account themselves secure enough. Therefore to make sure the work, they dispatch messengers after him, who coming to the place, shut him up in a close and dark dungeon, without permitting any one to come near him, or the least bit of food to be given him. After six days they came into the room, expecting to have found him starv'd to death, but observing him yet to draw his breath, they strangled him with his own Cloaths, and then to colour the murder, gave it out that he died of a disease, though the whole Vicerage knew the contrary, and *Philagrius* who was *Vicarius* or Governour of that Province, and Servant enough to the *Arian* faction, told it with some wonder and amazement to several, and among the rest to *Sarapion* an *Egyptian* Bishop, from whose mouth *Athanasius* reports it. But see how remarkably the Divine Justice overtook *Philip*, the prime agent, that plotted, contriv'd, and executed this whole scheme of villany. Scarce had twelve months gone over his head, when he was disgracefully turn'd out of all his honours and offices, and made a scorn and reproach to all his enemies. Which made so deep an impression upon his mind, that as if he inherited *Cains* curse he went up and down like a Vagabond and a Wanderer, ran from place to place, but was still pursued by his guilty conscience, and expected that every one that found him, should slay him, till no longer able to hold up his head, he ended his miserable Life, far both from his Friends and Country.

VIII. BUT how barbarously soever God suffered our Bishop to be sent out of the World; how obscurely soever his body was thrown into the Earth, yet God not long after rais'd up his name with honour. For the Emperour *Theodosius* in the great Council at *Constantinople*, Ann. CCCLXXXI. understanding the hard state of this good man, gave order before the assembly was dispers'd for the translating his Remains to the Imperial City. *Nestarius* accompanied with as many Bishops as were left, went out as far as beyond *Chalcedon* to meet the Corps, which with singing Psalms, and other solemn Rites, they brought through the streets of the City into the Church of *S. Irene*, whereof he himself had sometimes had the Cure. The night was spent in Hymns and Psalms, and next morning, the whole City with all the Prelates and Clergy, and the Emperour assembled, and with all honourable solemnity laid him in his Tomb. This Church was afterwards enlarg'd and beautified, and from him took the name of *S. Paul*, which ignorance and the multitude mistaking, begot the tradition in after-times, that *S. Paul* the Apostle was Buried there. And *Baronius* tells us, "that some Ages after, the Head of this Martyr was taken up, and sent by the *Greeks* for an inestimable Present to the Queen of *France*, as the Head of that great Apostle. But she not knowing what to say to it, sent to *Rome* to consult the Apostolic Chair, and by the answer of Pope *Clement* the IV. was shew'd the mistake, and convinc'd that the Head of the Apostle was only preserv'd at *Rome*, the place of his Martyrdom and Interment. But whatever became of our Martyrs Bones, they were the only remains he left behind him, having consign'd nothing that we know of to writing to preserve his memory; his peculiar talent lay in Preaching, and by that he infinitely endear'd himself to the people. And indeed his frequent banishments, and constant sufferings gave him little leisure, and

* 7 heod. l. 2.
c. 5. p. 72.

* Socr. l. 2. c. 16.
p. 52. conf. cum
c. 26. p. 117.
Theod. ubi sup.
Athanas. loc. cit.
Eupol. pro. jug.
p. 17.

* 7 heod. Pauli ap.
Phot. Cod.
CCCLXXXI. col.
1425. Socr. l. 5.
c. 9. p. 255.

* Niceph. l. 1. c.
c. 14. p. 246.

* Not ad. Mar.
tyr. Rom. Jura.
p. 11.


perhaps less stomach to write Books, whose mind was continually disquieted with his own personal sufferings, but much more with the evils and troubles that befell the Church of God.

THE LIFE OF
JULIUS
BISHOP OF
ROME.

His Birth-place and Kindred. His advancement to the See of Rome when. His zeal for the Catholic Cause; his kindness to, and concernment for Athanasius and others. His citing the Eusebian faction to a public hearing. Athanasius acquitted by him in a Synod at Rome. Julius's Letter to the Synod at Antioch. Gregory of Alexandria his Agents rejected at Rome. The Libel of Satisfaction, presented by Valens and Ursacius to Julius. Julius depos'd by the Eastern Bishops at Sardica. The Canons for Appeals to Rome pass'd in the Synod at Sardica, shew'd to be not standing rules, but only personal and provisional, and suited to that time. Julius's Letter to congratulate the return of Athanasius, his public Buildings at Rome. The time of his death. Supposititious Epistles intitled to him. His writings.



* comment. in
Vlt. Can. pasch.
6. 15. p. 273.

I.  *ULIUS* was by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of *Rusticus* a Citizen of *Rome*: upon the death of Pope *Marcus*, who fat not above nine months, he was advanc'd to the Apostolic Chair (as the ancient Catalogue of the Bishops of that See, put out first by *Cassinian*, and then by *Bucherius*, * informs us) on the sixth of *February*, *Ann. Chr. CCCXXXVII*. He was a stiff and strenuous asserter of the *Nicene* Faith, and a vigorous opposer of the *Arian* Faction, and to that end gave *Athanasius* (whose Cause was then lookt on as the common Cause of Religion) all the protection and assistance, which the eminency of his station rendered him capable to afford. No sooner by the death of *Constantine* was that great man releas'd from his Banishment at *Triers*, and resettled in his See at *Alexandria*, but the *Arians* began a new to combine and make head against him. And the better

better to ruine his interest and reputation abroad, they wrote * to the new Emperours, the Three Sons of *Constantine*, whom they endeavour'd to possels with all the prejudices and villainous insinuations; which either heretofore they had, or of late they could invent. But especially they wrote to Pope *Julius*, whom they hop'd to make of their party, at least to assent to and ratifie the Act that had past against *Athanasius* in the Synod at *Tyre*. This was no sooner understood at *Alexandria*, but *Athanasius* conven'd a Synod of his own Bishops, who wrote a *Circular Epistle* in his behalf, wherein by a plain account of things they vindicate him at large from those gross and scandalous aspersions which had been cast upon him. This Letter he sent by his Presbyters to *Rome*, where they so confounded *Macarius*, *Martyrius*, and *Hefychius*, the Legats of *Eusebius* and the *Eastern Bishops*, that they were forc'd to request *Julius*, that a general Synod being had, the cause on both sides might be fully and impartially heard, and they have leave to maintain and make good their charge. Notice hereof *Julius* presently sent * to *Athanasius*, leaving it to his choice, to appoint time and place for the meeting of the Council.

II. WHILE matters were thus depending, *Eusebius* and his party resolve upon a Synod at *Antioch*, wherein among other things they depose *Athanasius*, and ordain one *Gregory* a *Cappadocian*, in his room, who prepares with great force and violence to make his way unto that See. Upon the first rumour of this, *Athanasius* prudently retires,* and according to the invitation *Julius* had sent him, goes to *Rome*, where he was welcome to Pope *Julius*, who in the interim had sent *Elpidius* and *Philoxenus* with Letters into the *East*, to cite the *Eusebians* to appear, telling them withall, that unless they surceas'd their innovations, some other course should be taken. The Council sitting at *Antioch*, and having no mind after all to come to a fair and equal Trial, delay'd the business beyond the appointed time, and then dismiss'd *Julius* his Legats with sharp Letters^b to him, letting him know, that tho he had the greater See, they were not otherwise inferior to him, that they took it ill, that he had communicated with *Athanasius*, an accus'd and condemn'd Person, whose cause to espouse, was to affront their Synod, and in effect to null their sentence, which they looked upon to be highly unjust, and contrary to the rule of the Church; that in short, if he would reject those whorti they had depos'd, and receive them whom they had substituted in their places, they were ready to hold Peace and Communion with him; if not, they renounc'd him and his Communion. Upon the receipt of this Letter, Pope *Julius* call'd a Synod at *Rome*, where the Epistle being read, *Athanasius's* Cause was heard, and he acquitted, and restor'd to Communion, and *Julius* desir'd in the name of the Synod to write back to the *Eastern* Bishops, which he accordingly did, complaining of the bitterness and tartness of their Letters, and that contrary to the Canons of the Church they had not invited him to their Synod, whereas Ecclesiastic Rule and Custom had made the Bishops of *Rome* to be concern'd in all important determinations; that they had slyly and secretly corrupted the Faith; that for the Acts done heretofore at the Synod of *Tyre* (about which they rais'd so much noise and clamour) they had been obtain'd by surprize and fraud;

and for the memorials of what were done in the Province of *Maractis*, they had been drawn up only by one party; and as for the Murder of *Arfenius*, it had been openly prov'd to be a pure cheat and fiction. But the Letter it self is extant at large in *Athanasius*,^d whither the capable reader may have recourse for his satisfaction.

III. GREGORY the Cappadoecian, had by this time storm'd the See of *Alexandria*, and taken possession, and if possible to put a good colour upon a bad cause, had sent away *Carpones* a Presbyter to *Rome*, to manage and make the best of his cause, but *Julius* refus'd to see him, much more to give him Audience. Several years *Athanasius* continued in these *Western* parts, though no fair means were omitted for his restitution. Ann. CCCXLVII. a Convention of Bishops was held at *Milan*, whither Pope *Julius* sent his Legats, where the confession and requests of the *Eastern* Prelates were rejected, and *Ursacius* and *Valens* two *Arian* Bishops, and the common tools and instruments of that faction, were upon their public recantation, admitted to Communion. The like penitential Libel^e they soon after presented to Pope *Julius*, wherein they acknowledge the ill things they had falsely said against *Athanasius*, and that though *Julius* had often warn'd them to make good the charge, yet they had not done it, that they now solemnly profess'd 'twas all scene and fiction, and of no force, in evidence whereof they were most ready to embrace *Athanasius*'s Communion, especially since *Julius* had given them assurance that their former misdemeanours should be pardoned; protesting, that they would henceforth have nothing to do with the *Eastern* Bishops in these matters, that they did most solemnly anathematize *Arius* as an Heretic, and all his followers, who denied the Divinity and Eternity of the Son of God, that they did now renew and would always stick to the Libel they had lately given in to the Synod at *Milan*, which by this writing under their own hands they did ratify, and that they did once more, and for ever condemn the *Arian* Heresie, and all its authors and partakers. This Declaration they subscrib'd, but according to the guise of the men, who were wont to change with every wind, afterwards retracted it, and went again over to the *Arians*.

IV. SOON after the Assembly at *Milan*, by the great instance and importunity which Pope *Julius* us'd with the Emperour *Constantius*, and he with his Brother *Constantius*, a more general Synod was holden at *Sardica*, where the *Eastern* Bishops refus'd to joyn with them of the *West*, unless *Athanasius* and his fellow-sufferers were first expell'd their company: Which not being yielded to, the Synod was kept in separate meetings; the *Orientalists* in their Assembly confirm'd what had been heretofore done against *Athanasius* and his partners, depose

^e Phil. Epist. Orient. ap. Hist. var. in fragm. col. 445

confirm'd, and a Letter written to *Julius*, to let him know what was done, and to desire him to disperse the Synodal Decrees about those parts. Among the Canons pass'd in this Council, the III. IV. and V. are in favour of Pope *Julius*, granting him power to receive appeals out of other Provinces, where, if Bishops were aggriev'd at home, or unjustly depos'd, or that their Cause could not conveniently be determin'd, that they might have recourse to *Julius* of *Rome*, who should have power to appoint Commissioners to hear and decide those Causes: Which yet did not invest the *Roman* Bishops with any standing supereminent Prerogative over the rest of the Church, but only made provisionary Decrees to comply with the present exigences and necessities of the Church. As is evident to any one that considers the state of the Church at that time, when the *Arians* having fill'd all corners, and possess'd themselves of all eminent Bishopricks, bore hard upon the Catholic Bishops in all places, who were thrust out and banish'd, nor could they have any right done them at home, as was plain in the Cause of *Athanasius*, *Asteleas*, &c. who were then in Council, and were the only occasion of the calling of it: Which made it necessary to have some certain person to recur to upon such occasions; and who could be so proper for that purpose as the Bishop of *Rome*, which as it was the most eminent and illustrious See, so were its Bishops in those days most renown'd, for their integrity and firm adherence to the Catholic Cause. And indeed the Canons seem to entail this privilege rather upon the person of Pope *Julius*, than upon the See of *Rome*, as not designing it for a standing, and unalterable Law, but which was to expire with the occasion of it. In short, as the *Sardica* Council was never accounted any other than a particular Synod, so neither were the Decrees of it held in any great reverence and estimation, as appear'd in the beginning of the following *Seculum* in the known Cause of Appeals in the *African* Church, whereof more in another place. The Council at *Sardica* being dissolv'd, *Athanasius* not long after was recall'd by Letters from *Constantius*, and accordingly went to *Rome* to take his leave of his dear Friend *Julius*, who heartily joyc'd in his good success, and wrote^h by him to the Clergy and People of *Alexandria*, to Congratulate the return of their excellent Bishop, whom he highly commends as for other things, so for his constant and courageous suffering for the cause of Christ.

V. THUS far we have view'd him in his more public actings, nor was he less careful and industrious in his private station. Besides the welfare of his charge, he studied to add to the external beauty and magnificence of his See. Two new Churches he erected at *Rome*, one near the *Forum Romanum*, the other in the *Via Flaminia* within the *Transiberine* Region; he Built three *Cemeteries* or Burying-places, one in the *Flaminian* way, another in the *Aurelian*, and the third in the *Via Portuensis*. He ordain'd that no Clergy-man should try his Cause any where but in the Ecclesiastical Court, and that Notaries should make Acts and Registers of all that was done, the care whereof was to lie upon the Protonotary, who was to superintend those Records. He died the XII. of *April*, Ann. CCCLII. after he had sitted in the Chair Fifteen years, one month, and eleven days, according to the Ancient Catalogue mention'd before, but to make up

^h E. d. E. i. d. ap. Ath. April. II.


the time exact from February the VI. to the XII. of April almost a month more must be allow'd) and was Buried in the Cœmtery of *Calepodius* in the *Aurelian* way. He left nothing in writing behind him besides a few Epistles, and some of them too, as now extant, spurious. And indeed they began this trade with his name betimes. Not long after his death an Epistle was produc'd as if written by him to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* concerning the incarnation of our Lord, favouring some of the heretical principles of those times, which therefore so puzzl'd *Gennadius*,¹ that he knew not what to make of it, affirming, that though it might be useful at first, yet that then it was pernicious and heretical. But *Leontius*² the learned advocate of *Constantinople* has long since sufficiently discover'd the imposture, and prov'd it to have been the Epistle not of Pope *Julius*, but *Apollinaris*, whose dogmata it did plainly assert. He tells us likewise of another insert'd under his name into the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, but written truly by *Timotheus*, one of the main sticklers for the Doctrine of *Apollinaris*.

His WRITINGS.

Genuine.	Spurious.
<i>Epistola ad Orientales. gr. l.ap. Athan. & Concil. T. II.</i>	<i>Epistola ad Orientales increpatoria.</i>
<i>Epistola ad Alexandrinos. gr. l. locis citat.</i>	<i>Epistola II. contra Orientales.</i>
<i>Fragmenta Epistolarum apud Gratianum, &c.</i>	<i>De incarnatione Domini, Epistola. N. E.</i>

THE LIFE OF
EUSEBIUS
BISHOP OF
EMISA.

The place of his Nativity. His early Education in the knowledge of the Scriptures. His instruction in Divine and Humane Learning under what Masters. His declining the offer of a Bishoprick. The improvement of his Studies at Alexandria. His peremptory refusal of the See of Alexandria, then vacated by the Council of Antioch; and why. Ordained Bishop of Emisa, but excepted against by the People, upon what account. His retirement, and return back to that charge. His death. The great esteem had of him. The charge of Arianism and Sabellianism, by different Parties fastened upon him. His Parts and Learning. Homilies falsely fathered on him. An enquiry whether any of his Writings be now extant.

I.  **EUSEBIUS** was born¹ of an ancient and noble Family at *Edessa*, a chief City in *Mesopotamia*, where Christianity had been early planted by *Thaddæus* one of the Seventy, and cultivated by the after endeavours of *St. Jude* the Apostle; and had taken such deep root, that it flourished in all succeeding times, and no City in all the Eastern Parts became so famous for its zealous and resolute Profession of the Christian Faith. He was like a second *Timothy*, from his Childhood acquainted with the holy Scriptures, according to the pious custom of that place; where one of the first things they did, was to instill the Rudiments of the Faith into their Children, that so their Reason and Religion might grow up together. Next he was committed to the ablest Masters of Humane Learning in that City, by whom he was instructed in all the Eloquence, Wisdom and Philosophy of the Greeks, wherein he became one of the greatest Masters of that age. But still he thought he wanted the accomplishment of that more divine Philosophy, which Christianity had taught the World. For which end he put himself under the Discipline of two of the most Learned Scholars of those times; *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*; under whom he studied Theology, and the Exposition

¹ Socr. l. 2. c. 19.
² p. 85. Soc. l. 3.
a. 6. p. 503.

THE

tion of the sacred Scriptures: and from them, 'tis like he borrowed some notions, that made him afterwards suspect'd of an inclination towards *Arianism*.

II. THUS furnish'd, he came and settled himself at *Antioch*, the most eminent City of the *East*, at the time when *Eustathius* the venerable Bishop of that See, was accused by *Cyrus* Bishop of *Beera*, as a favourer of *Sabellianism*, for which he was deposed; though there was something else that lay at the bottom. He liv'd sometime with *Euphronius*, one of them that succeeded *Eustathius*, and that with so great fame and reputation, that he was press'd to accept a Bishoprick; and that with so much earnestness, that to avoid the importunity, he resolv'd to quit that place. Indeed his vast and capacious Soul was not yet satisfied with those great attainments he had already made; but was still roving after farther measures and degrees of knowledge, and to that purpose he went to *Alexandria*, where there were the most famous Professors of all the more abstruse and mysterious parts of Learning. Here he perfected himself in the utmost improvements of Philosophy; after which, he returned back to *Antioch*, and liv'd familiarly with *Flaccillus*, *Euphronius*'s Successor in that See.

III. A N. CCCXLI. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople* conspiring with the chief of the *Arian* Party, held a great Council at *Antioch*; wherein among other things, having condemn'd and depos'd *Athanasius*, their next work was to fill up his See. And for that, none appear'd every ways so fitly qualified as our *Eusebius*; a man of a strict life and eloquent tongue, whereby they hoped he would be able to charm the people of *Alexandria*, and bring them off from their unreasonable fondness of *Athanasius*. But he prudently declin'd the offer, wisely considering how uneasy that Chair must be to any man, out of which *Athanasius* had been turn'd; for whom he knew the People had a most dear regard, and that they would not endure any to be thrust up into his room. But though the Synod could not prevail with him in this matter, yet were they loth the Church should lose so useful and excellent a Person; and therefore perswaded him to accept the Bishoprick of *Emisa*, a City in *Phenicia*, near Mount *Libanus*, not many Miles distant from *Laodicea*. Thither he went to receive his Consecration, but the People informed of his incomparable skill in *Astronomy* and the *Mathematicks*, cried out against him as a Conjuror, and mutin'd against his Ordination; so that foreseeing how little quiet he was to expect among them, he left them, and went to *Laodicea*, to his dear and intimate Friend *George* Bishop of that place, who surviv'd him, and wrote his Life. *George* brought him back to *Antioch*, where upon consultation with *Flaccillus* and *Narcissus*, it was resolv'd that he should return to his charge at *Emisa*; which he did accordingly, and where 'tis probable he continued till his death, which happened about the year CCCLX, not long before that of the Emperor *Constantius*; he died and was buried at *Antioch*, the place where he had spent a considerable portion of his Life.

HE was of great esteem in the age he liv'd in, highly honour'd by *Constantius* himself; who was so exceedingly delighted in his Company, that he us'd to take him along with him in his *Persian* Expe-

Expeditions; and if *George* of *Laodicea* may be credited, he was famous for many miracles which he wrought. He passes under a very different character; by some he is said to have been an *Arian*, and by *S. Jerom* to have been *Ariane signifer factionis* (a Title which he claps upon more than one *Eusebius*) though when he speaks of him elsewhere more fully, he says no such matter. By others he was directly charg'd with *Sabellianism*, but it was by such says *Sozomen*, who were enviously tormented with the virtues of others. Were his Writings Extant, they would enable us to judge more critically and certainly in this matter. All that we can now guess is, that from his ordinary corresponding with the *Arians*, he lean'd towards that side; and perhaps was of the moderate or *Homoiousian* Party. He was a man says *St. Jerom*, *Elegantis & rhetorici ingenii*, of neat and eloquent parts, and wrote many Books and Discourses; and those in a popular and familiar strain: in his expounding Scripture, he kept most commonly to the Literal sense, as the truest and most immediate way to understand its meaning. He employ'd his Pen against *Jews* and *Gentiles*, *Novatians*, and such like; and in writing brief Notes and Strictures upon the Gospels. Vast numbers of Homilies have been heretofore publish'd under his Name; which 'tis plain were the works of *Eucherius* of *Lions*, and several others. Nothing genuine of his, has yet been brought to light; though it may perhaps deserve the Readers enquiry, whether those XIII Books or Homilies confidently publish'd by *Sirmond*, under the name of *Eusebius Casariensis*, be not rather the work of this *Eusebius* who was his Scholar; and who it may be, compos'd the two first, which are against *Sabellius*, to clear himself from the charge of that Heresy. Certain it is, that they favour not the vein and way of Writing us'd by the *Cæsarean Eusebius*. Nor has *Sirmond* any argument or authority to support his confidence, more than that he found it so inscrib'd in the antient Copy. And who knows not how easy it was for Transcribers, when they met with a work intitled to *Eusebius*, to clap *Pamphilus* to it, as supposing it to belong to *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, as the person best known among the Writers of the *Latin* Church. But in this I leave every one to his own conjecture.

His W O R K S.

Not Extant.

ὡς ἔστιν, Lib. X.

In Evangelia Homilie breves, sed plurime.

Supposititious.

In Evangelia totius Anni Homilie breves.

Homilie L. varii argumenti.

THE LIFE OF
EPHRAIM
 THE
Syrian, Deacon
 OF
EDESSA.

His Birth place. The care taken of his Education. The great pregnancy and strictness of his early age. His eloquent Speech presignified to him by a vision. His vast attainments in Learning. His retired life. His changing that Course, and fixing at Edessa. What happened to him at his first coming thither. His sober and abstemious course of life. His feigning himself distracted, to avoid the offer of a Bishoprick. His journey to Cæsarea to converse with S. Basil, and the satisfaction he reapt by that intercourse. His return to Edessa. The extraordinary care he took of the Poor in a common Famine. His charge to his Friends upon his Death-bed. What happened to one that complied not with that charge. His dying reflections upon the integrity of his life; and last exhortation. The time of his death. His exemplary piety, and love to God, purity of mind, devotion, abstinence, contempt of the World, Charity and Humility. His hearty and immovable zeal for the Catholic faith. His memorable device to shame and confound Apollinaris. His natural and acquired accomplishments. The great advantages of his natural eloquence. The elegance of his discourses, though translated into other Languages. His composing Hymns for the use of the Syrian Churches, in imitation of Bardesanes. The vast number of his Writings. None of these extant, but what are translated into Latin.

I. **S**AINTE PHRAIM was born (as the Greeks will have it) at Edessa, but as Sozomen tells us * at Nisibis (at least thereabouts) a well-known City of Mesopotamia, standing upon the River Tigris; which I am the rather inclin'd to believe, because Gregory Nyssene † comparing his case to that of Abraham, plainly opposes Edessa to the place of his Nativity. His Parents were Christians, who took all due care

of

of his Education, his recreation as well as his employment was to read, study, and meditate upon the Holy Scriptures, which was attended with an honesty and piety of mind far above his childish years, and from which he suffered not the familiarity of his equals to divert him: whose vain or vicious company and conversation he did studiously avoid. By which means, he attained to a vast comprehension of divine knowledge, which with a mighty grace and eloquence flowed naturally from him. And this Heaven was pleas'd to signify to him by a vision † in his early years (which he was wont oft to speak of) he thought he saw a most fruitful Vine growing from the root of his tongue, which did so spread and enlarge it self, that it fill'd the whole earth, and all the Fowls of Heaven came and eat of the fruit of it; while the Vine, the more it was pluckt, and its fruit devoured, did so much the farther encrease, and was loaded with more and heavier clusters. A clear representation of that plentiful portion of divine and excellent gifts, wherewith Heaven was resolv'd to crown his Studies. And it fell out accordingly, for while he yet understood little (if any thing) more than the Language † of his own Countrey, besides his profound skill in Theology, he attained to a vast proficiency in foreign Learning; so as to be able to master the hardest and most difficult Theorems in Philosophy, and by the wisdom, clearness, and eloquency of his discourses out-went the wisest sages of Greece.

II. THE former part of his age, he spent in solitudes, † and the exercises of a retired life; where being free from the noise and crowd, he might quietly converse with Angels, and entertain himself with pious and divine contemplations. But God seasonably brought it into his mind, that we were not born merely for our selves, but were obliged to help forwards the welfare and happiness of others. This made him resolve to quit his solitary recess, and betake himself to the great City of Edessa, both that he might partake in the benefit of their public and solemn Assemblies, and meet with some wise and good man, unto whose conduct and instruction he might commit himself, and from whom he might receive further knowledge himself, or at least might have an opportunity to impart it unto others. At his entrance † into the gate of the City, instead of the wise man he had so much wish'd for, he met with a common Strumpet, who earnestly fixt her eyes upon him, while he ashamed to fall so short of his expectation, turn'd his face from her. Woman, said he, tell me why dost thee so wisely behold me? I do, replied the Woman, and not without reason; for what can be more fit and proper, than to look up to thee, out of whom, as the Man, was I form'd and made, whereas thou oughtest to look not to me, but to the ground, out of which thou wast created. An answer which he did not expect, and he inwardly blessed the Divine providence, that had turned the chance to so good advantage; and was so greatly delighted with the remembrance of it, that he wrote a Book particularly upon that occasion; esteemed one of the best he ever wrote.

III. AT Edessa he fixt his station, where though he was in the midst of a populous City, he kept to the strictness of a monastic life, by the severities whereof, he perfectly conquered all extravagant passions;

* L. 3. c. 16.
p. 525.

† Enc. S. Ephr.
p. 1036. Tom. 2.

* Nyss. lib. 1.
1037.

† Sozom. loc. cit.

* Nyss. lib. 1.
1038.

* 1st lib. epist.
Soz. ubi sup.

sions; so that though naturally extremely inclin'd to choller, he so intirely subdued it, that he was never after seen to be angry in all his life. When he espied his man under some terror and consternation for having spilt the dinner he was bringing to him, after he had fasted several days together (as he often did) he pleasantly told him, don't be troubled, let us go to the meat, since the meat will not come to us, and so went and sat down, and took his repast of the fragments that were left upon the broken shivers of the Pot. Besides the constant returns of private Devotion, he preach'd frequently and with infinite satisfaction to the People. Scholars he had in great numbers, that diligently attended upon his Lectures, who became famous in those parts of the World; such as *Abbas, Zenobius, Habraam, Maras, Symeon, Paulonas, and Aramad*, though the two last turn'd aside to the Errors of *Apollinaris*. He attained no higher degree than that of Deacon in the Church of *Edeffa*; not that he might not, but that he would not. He was elected to a Bishoprick (probably the See of *Edeffa*) and the Order was bringing to him, and persons sent to conduct him to his Ordination. Which he no sooner got notice of, but in a frantic manner, and with his garments hanging loose, and dragging after him, he ran into the Forum; where he fell to his victuals, and by uncouth and fantastic gestures put on the habit of a Mad man. Which when they who were sent to apprehend him, found, they dismiss him as a man distracted; by which means he gain'd an opportunity to escape, and conceal'd himself, till another person was ordain'd to the place.

IV. ABOUT the year CCCLXX, he took a journey, and that as himself tells us, ^w by a divine admonition, to *Cæsarea in Cappadocia*; where he saw and with admiration heard the great *S. Basil* preaching to the People of that place; and remarkt the order and comeliness, the ardor and piety of their devotions: and what's more, we are told, ^{*} that he beheld a bright shining Dove sitting upon *Basil's* right Shoulder, prompting him with words of heavenly wisdom, which he immediately scattered among the people. *Basil* had it made known to him, who this great man was; and calling him to him, askt him by an interpreter, whether he was not *Ephraim*; upon whose confession, he saluted him with the most endear'd embraces, entered into mutual Conferences and Discourses; the venerable Bishop imparting to him at his request, the most excellent Rules for the Government of the Divine Life. Loaded with the satisfaction of a well spent journey, *Ephraim* returns to *Edeffa*; where he improv'd the small remainder of his life, to the most public and useful purposes. Not long before his death, a severe famine ^v raged in the City, and the helpless died in great multitudes unregarded. He waited some time to see what care would be taken in the common calamity; but finding little or none, he left his Cell, and sharply reprov'd the rich and the wealthy, for suffering their poor Neighbours to starve; while they hoarded up their stores to the ruine of their own souls, which he shew'd them were of infinitely more value than all their riches, or whatever else concern'd the body, how much soever they slighted and neglected them. The men were ashamed, and turn'd it off by telling him, they did not stand so much upon

^v *Eph. Orat. de Laud. Basil. Tom. 3. p. 534.*

^{*} *Nysseni Supr. p. 1037.*

^v *Socrom. lib. p. 527.*

upon their money, but the world was so bad, so full of fraud and self-interest, that they knew not where to find a man in whose hands they might safely trust this affair. He askt them what they thought of him? they all confessed they lookt upon him as a good man, a very honest and faithful person; *why then*, said he, *I will undertake it*. So receiving their Charity, he caus'd three hundred beds to be brought into the public Cloisters of the City; and those whom want and languishment had made weak and impotent, to be plac'd in them; whom he provided both of Food and Physic. He took care also of Strangers, and those whom necessity had driven out of the neighbouring Countrey; and furnisht them with all necessary accommodations. And thus he continued till the dearth abated, and then he returned back to his Cell again; and within few days after, was arrested with his last sickness. Lying upon his Death-bed, ^{*} he strictly charg'd his attendants to abstain from any pompous solemnity at his Funeral, that they should sing no funeral Hymns, nor have any encomiastic Oration at his Burial, provide no costly shrouds to inwrap him, nor any peculiar Monument to receive him; that he desired nothing but the portion of a Pilgrim, for that he accounted himself but as a *Stranger and Sojourner as all his Fathers were*; that if any person out of respect to him, had design'd any such chargeable kindness, they should divert the cost, and bestow it upon the poor. There happened to be present a Person of Quality, ^a who had provided a very rich and costly Shroud for his interment; which he thought too good to give to the Poor, and resolv'd rather to give its value in Money. Whereupon (says mine Author, a Person of unquestionable credit, who liv'd at that time, and in those parts of the World) he was immediately taken after the manner of a possessed Person; and fell down at the Bed-side, foaming and tearing like the most wild *Demoniac*. The good man espying the sad spectacle, askt him what he had done to bring this upon him, who presently confest the truth; whereupon *Ephraim* laid his hands upon him, and having pray'd for him, restor'd him to his health and senses, and dismiss him with this charge, *go thy way Friend, and perform what thou hast long since propos'd and promised to thy self*. After this, reflecting upon the course of his own life, he told the Company, Never in my whole life (said he) ^b did I any ways willingly reproach or dishonour God; nor has foolish and vain talk, at any time gone out of my lips: I have curs'd or miscall'd no man, nor have I ever had the least contentious quarrel with any honest man in all my life. So long as his breath served, he most earnestly prest all about him to a vigorous emulation in the practice of goodness and virtue, as his last Discourse (says *Nyssene*) ^c does sufficiently shew. And indeed there is still extant a dying Speech, or his last Will and Testament (as 'tis call'd) wherein there is an excellent vein of piety, and very patheticall exhortations, and admirable councils and rules for an holy life; but 'tis too large to be inserted in this place. He died, as may probably be conjectur'd, about the year CCCLXXVIII, (not long after the death of *S. Basil*, *January* the xxviii, as the *Greeks* observe it, or the first of *February*, according to the account of the *Western Church*. In an ancient Monastery ^d at *Constantinople* call'd *Sula*, vulgarly the *Six Marbles*, here

^{*} *Nyss. lib. p. 1039.*

^a *Il. lib. p. 45.*

^b *Il. lib. p. 1037.*

^c *Il. lib. p. 1036.*

^d *Il. lib. p. 1036. Apoc. T. 1.*

heretofore the Pallace of the Patriarch, but now inhabited by *Armenians*, his Effigies, being an Original, is yet preserved, with this Sentence at his right hand, Η ΑΓΑΠΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΚΑΘΕΡΟΥΣΙΝ, *Charity and Continency purify the Soul.*

V. A MAN he was of as Religious a temper, and as strict a life, as that or perhaps any age has produc'd; he had all the virtues that can render a man great and excellent, and this that crown'd all the rest, that he would not know it, nor car'd to hear of it; being desirous, as *Nyssene* tells us, ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, not to seem, but to be really good. He lov'd God above all things, convers'd with him by divine Meditations, and the constant returns of duty. The scriptures he read continually, considered and thought upon them; and while he was musing, the fire kindled, and his Soul was inflamed with love and mounted up nearer unto Heaven. He refin'd his faculties from all gross and sensual passions; and did as absolutely govern his appetites, as the Master does the Horse he rides on. He fasted, and prayed, and wept a great part of his time; and his frequent reflections upon the public or private state of things seldom left him dry eyes. When he had done preaching, he went to Prayer, and then fell to discoursing afresh, and then would burst into tears, and after that to prayer again; and this was ὁ λόγος τῷ λόγῳ, the very life and spirit of his Sermons. He had so kept under his body by abstinence and strict severities, that he seem'd insensible of pleasure; he indulg'd himself no more sleep than what was just necessary to keep him alive, and that too taken upon the bare ground. No man with greater generosity despis'd the World, with all the riches, honours, pomps, and pleasures of it. He spoke it with some kind of triumph when he lay a dying; *Ephraim had had neither Purse, Staff nor Scrip; Gold or Silver, or any thing else have I not possessed. I hearkened to our Lord in the Gospel, who said, ye shall possess nothing upon earth; which suppress'd all greedy and inordinate desires after these things.* He thought most modestly of himself, and that every thing was too high and good for him; he lookt upon commendations, as so many abuses put upon him, and when at any time he could not avoid them, would cast his eyes down to the ground, and vent himself in silent tears. His Bowels were act'd with a very quick compassion, and he had a common concernment for the Poor, and when his voluntary relinquishing of the World had left him nothing to give himself, he thought himself oblig'd the more strongly to move others to acts of mercy and charity, which he never did but with great success; for who was able to resist the force of his Arguments, and that mighty *πῶς*, that hearty and most affectionate spirit and temper, with which he was wont to set it home upon them.

VI. HE liv'd in an age of strife and bustle, wherein the several contending Parties in Religion fought to undermine each other, and every one to establish their particular sentiments and opinions, as the Doctrines of the Church. But he always kept on the Catholic side, and steer'd the middle way between *Sabellianism* on the one hand, and *Arianism* on the other. His great zeal for truth, made him readily encounter with any error, which he refuted with no little warmth and briskness, both by discourse and writing. He thought he could not do better service to the Church, than to

recover

recover men back to truth, to stop the infection that spreads like a Cancer, and to shame and put to silence the boldness and subtlety of those that lie in wait to deceive. Whereof one passage must not be forgotten; his Country-man *Apollinaris* had fill'd those parts with the venom of his Poisonous Principles, and for his own as well as other mens conveniency, had drawn up the state of his notions, and the strength of his arguments into two Books, which he had left with a woman; a prime intimado and zealous confidant of his Party. *Ephraim* hearing of it, goes to the woman, and pretending himself desirous of further confirmation in those Principles, begs of her to lend him the Books a while, which might be of great advantage to enable him to refute the contrary errors. The woman assents, and he takes the Books along with him; and having brought them home, glues all the Leaves fast to one another; and so carries them back, without any visible sign of what had been done to them. Not long after he put some of the Catholic Party upon the challenging *Apollinaris* to a Dispute; the day is set, and *Apollinaris* appears, and desires of the Company, that by reason of his great age he might not be prest to dispute verbally, but might be suffered to argue or answer out of his Book. So taking one of the Books from his Companion, he began to open it, but it would not stir; he tried in the middle, but 'twas as fast there as before. Then he took the other Book, but found both alike, not one Leaf parting from another; which did so amaze and confound the man, that like one forsaken of his reason, rose he up and ran out of the Meeting, and was so unable to sustain the shame and ignominy, that it brought a Discase upon him, that had like to have cost his life.

VII. BUT though Religion and Piety was his greatest glory, he wanted not the inferior Ornaments of Parts and Learning. He had ravell'd into the secrets of *Gentile* learning, and well understood what Treasures they were masters of; the Chaff and Rubbish he left behind, and retain'd only so much as he could make useful to Religion, and the Service of the Sanctuary. He had the advantage of a strange natural Eloquence, wherewith he pour'd forth his conceptions with so much perspicuity, politeness, sententiousness and plenty, that he easily captivated and charmed his Auditors where-ever he came. And his Discourses had this peculiar excellency, that contrary to the fate of all other versions, being translated out of the *Syriac* (for he always spoke and wrote in his mother tongue) into *Greek*, they lost nothing of their native grace and elegancy; but what was admired in its own proper garb, was little less admirable when clothed in a foreign Dress. *S. Jerom* confirms this observation by that one Book of his, *De Spiritu sancto*, which he had read; where he tells us, even under a Translation he met with the acumen of a sublime and excellent wit. None knew better how to accommodate himself to what he was about; in his Homilies and popular Discourses, he us'd an easy and unaffected stile, but which yet made its way with such powerful persuasives, insinuated it self with so much sweetness, and came recommended with so pathetic a vehemency, that nothing was able to stand before it. The tropes and schemes of Speech so familiar to the *Syrian* Language, being

added

¹ Id. ibid. p. 1040.

^k *Id. Sopom. ubi sup. q. Nyss. ib. p. 1034.*

^l *De script. c. 115.*

^m *Id. Phot. Cod. CXXVI. Col. 513.*

^{*} *Id. p. 1028. vid. p. 1033. &c.*

^e *Id. p. 1038. C.*

^g *Id. p. 1030. C 1039.*

^{vid. ib. p. 1031.}

added to the height and solidity of his notions, set off his way of speaking with an uncommon force and beauty. He had no unhappy *genius* for poetry, though he traded that way more to please others than himself. *Harmonius* = the Son of *Bardanes* (who flourished under the Reign of the Emperour *Antoninus*) was the first that had introduc'd Poetical numbers and measures into the Language of that Country, and had therein compos'd many Poems. *Ephraim* observ'd his Countrymen infinitely delighted with such Poetical compositions, and that he might restrain them from reading those of *Harmonius*, who had every where interperst his corrupt sentiments and opinions, he set himself to compose *Syriac* Hymns and Songs containing Catholic Doctrines and Principles, especially *Encomiasticks* of the Martyrs and other excellent and holy-men, in all to the number of thirty hundred thousand Verses. Indeed the Books he wrote were almost innumerable, above a Thousand Discourses, as *Photius* reports from the People of that Country; which for their Piety, Gravity, Orthodoxy, and Elegancy, were held in such estimation and authority, that in many places they were publicly read in the Church next to the holy Scriptures. Many of them were in his life time translated into Greek, and the rest afterwards; and were greedily read by all with equal admiration and delight. And pity it is, that as yet we have nothing of him publicly extant, but at the third hand, the translation of Translations; when almost with the same care and trouble the Greek might have seen the World. Perhaps posterity may be more happy.

His WRITINGS.

Opera S. Ephraim III. Tomis Latine edita.

Tomus I. continet Homilias & Tractatus LXXXIX.

II. Libros & Tractatus XVIII.

III. Sermones & Orationes XXVII.

Singuli uniuersum
Iulij Tom. Tractatus
ad Labbeo
Syllabam recens-
centur. Descrip-
Tom. 1. v. d. S. E-
phraim opera a
Ger. Voss. edit.
Rom. 1593. vel
Amst. 1619.

THE LIFE OF DAMASUS BISHOP OF ROME.

His Country. Contest about the particular place of his Nativity. Prefbyter of Rome under Liberius. His siding with Faelix during Liberius his Exile. Restor'd by Liberius. The Competition between him and Ursicinus about the See of Rome. The mischiefs happening during these dissensions. The bloody and violent Proceedings of Damasus against Ursicinus and his Party related by Marcellinus and Faustinus. What credibility in their reports. His Synodical condemning the transactions of the Council of Ariminum. S. Basils resentment of his coldness and indifferency in the cause of the Catholic Churches of the East. Consulted by S. Jerom, with whom to Communicate at Antioch. The Apollinarian heresy condemned in a Synod at Rome. Vitalis head of the Party, abjures his errors there. A large confession of faith sent by Damasus to Paulinus. The 2d. general Council not holden by his authority. A Canon of his asserting the supremacy of the Church of Rome against the Decree of Constantinople, pretended by Baronius. The Τόπος Δελφίων in the Constantinopolitan Canon what. The great age and death of Pope Damasus. His public Buildings. His intimate correspondence with S. Jerom. The Liber Pontificalis falsely ascrib'd to him. His skill in Poetry. His Writings.

I.



DAMASUS was a Spaniard, the Son of one Antonius, of a considerable Family, and born not long after the beginning of this Seculum. There is some contention among the Spanish Writers about the place of his Nativity. Some will have him born in Portugal at Egita or Igadita, call'd at this day Juimaranes, a Town situate between the Rivers Minus and Durius, three leagues from Bracara Augusta: others at Tarraco, * an ancient City and of great note in Spain. But that which pleads most strongly for the honour of his Birth is Madrid † (supposed to be the Mantua Carpetanorum of the Ancients) the Seat of the present Kings of Spain; and we are told

* Voss. Chron. Hist. An. 363.
Hist. Illustr. T. 1. p. 653. vid. Marian. de reb. Hist. l. 4. c. 19. ib. T. 2.
* P. Ant. Beuter. ap Voss. ib. An. 387.
† Vid. Fl. Dexir. Chron. An. 366. § Comment. ib. & L. Marin. sic. de reb. Hist. l. 2. p. 39.

extra Augustā: others at Tarraco, * an ancient City and of great note in Spain. But that which pleads most strongly for the honour of his Birth is Madrid † (supposed to be the Mantua Carpetanorum of the Ancients) the Seat of the present Kings of Spain; and we are told

of an Inscription upon Marble in Antique Letters in one of the Parish Churches of that Place, importing that *Damasus* was baptiz'd in that Church. Where or what his Education was, doth not appear, no mention being made of him, till we find him among the Deacons and Presbyters of the *Roman* Church under the Government of Pope *Liberius*, who seems to have had a peculiar kindness for him, and whom he succeeded in that See; though his first arrival at it was very tragical and tempestuous. There was at this time a woful schism in that Church, which happened upon this occasion. *Liberius* being banisht by the Emperor *Constantius* for his constancy to the Catholic interest, the Clergy of that Church, oblig'd themselves by oath before all the People never to admit another Bishop while *Liberius* liv'd; and *Damasus*, we are told, purpos'd to accompany *Liberius* into Exile; but having gone part of the journey, left him, and return'd back to *Rome*, where by the prevalency of the *Arian* faction, *Felix* the Archdeacon was ordained Bishop, one otherways found in the faith. With him the Clergy notwithstanding their former oath complied, and *Damasus* among the rest; though the people were generally offended at it, and refus'd to go the wonted Procession with the new-made Pope. Three years after, viz. An. CCCLVIII, *Liberius* upon his subscribing the *Arian* cause, was releas'd from Banishment; upon whose return *Felix* was driven out of the City; and when a little after he came back, and held his Assemblies in the *Julian* Church beyond *Tiber*; the people rose up a 2d. time and thrust him out, *Liberius* in the mean time doing all he could to compose affairs, and to reconcile the Clergy, who had taken part with *Felix*, whom he restored to their former places. *Liberius* surviv'd his restitution eight years, dying *September* the xxvith, Anno CCCLXVI.

II. UPON his Decease appear'd two Competitors for the Chair, *Damasus*, and *Ursicinus* or *Ursinus*, a Deacon of that Church, who with some few more, had kept strictly to their engagement, and had all along refus'd to own *Felix* for their Bishop. *Damasus* and his Party appear'd in *Lucius* say mine Authors, though where that was, I am yet to seek; where they demanded him for their Bishop, and who was accordingly consecrated in the *Lateran* Church: while *Ursicinus* and his Followers made their procession in the Church of *Julius*, and requir'd him who had never been defiled with the *Arian* Communion for Bishop, and in the Church of *Sicinius*, or rather ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν (as *Socrates* tells us¹) in the *Vestry*, or some obscure Chapel belonging to that Church, he was ordain'd by *Paul* Bishop of *Tibur*. These contrary proceedings quickly filled the City with tumult and confusion; factions grew high on both sides, from words they fell to blows, and thence to blood and slaughter, and nothing was seen but Swords and instruments of fury; and the holy places filled with dead or mangled Bodies. *Viventius* the Provost endeavoured what in him lay to put a stop to the torrent, but finding the stream swell'd too high, and that he was neither able to sweeten nor controul the exasperated humour, he was forced to retire out of the City for his own security. But *Damasus* his party, at length prevailed, the other being beaten out of sight, and that with so considerable a loss, that only in the Church of *Sisinius*, there were kill'd in

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one day no less then CXXXVII persons; to the infinite scandal of Religion, and the resentment of all sober and good men.

III. THIS is the account, bad enough at best, that's agreed on all hands: But *Marcellinus* and *Paulinus* two Presbyters, who liv'd at that time, in the preface of their Petition to the Emperor *Theodosius* represent a much more tragical face of things, with a heavy charge upon the memory of Pope *Damasus*. They tell us, that *Damasus* hearing of *Ursicinus* his Ordination, hired a mighty crew of Charioteers, Sword-players, and the infamous rabble, and marcht with them to the *Julian* Church, which they broke open and murdered all they met with for three days together; and having by bribes made *Viventius* the Provost, and *Julian* Presb't of the Granary of his side, procur'd *Ursicinus* with *Amantius* and *Lupus* his two Deacons to be banisht, beating or killing those of the people that refus'd to come over to him. And understanding that the people had secur'd seven Presbyters, and had plac'd them in *Liberius* his Church, he came thither with his armed multitude; and *October* the xxvith beset the Church, broke open the Doors, and put fire to the place, where they were secur'd, that there might be no passage to escape, while others untill'd the roof and threw down the tiles upon the people within, and then rushing in kill'd men and women to the number of CLX, wounding many more, of whom several died afterwards; while *Damasus* lost not one of his party: that the people earnestly petition'd God and the Emperour (while *Damasus* rais'd a fresh, and as they call it, a fifth persecution against them) that the cause might be heard in a convention of Bishops, and things fairly tried; whose Petitions being presented to *Valentinian*, he the year following releas'd them that had been banisht: so *Ursicinus* and his Deacons return'd *October* the xvith, and were joyfully wellcom'd by their people: That *Damasus* having made those at Court his Friends, kept the Emperour from being acquainted with the true state of things, who accordingly commands that *Ursicinus* should create no farther trouble; and he now finding that no good was to be done, for peace sake surrendred himself to the mercy of his Enemies, and by order from the Emperor on the xviith of *December* went again and into banishment, after whose departure his people destitute of all their Ministers kept their stations in the *Cemiteries* of the Martyrs; and being assembled on a time in S. *Agnes* Church, were again set upon by *Damasus*, who slew many of them. After which he invited the Neighbour Bishops of *Italy* (as the custom was) to solemnize his Birth-day, whom he endeavour'd to perswade to joyn with him in the condemnation of *Ursicinus*, but receiv'd no other answer, then that they came to celebrate his nativity, not to condemn a person unheard, and before they knew what he had to say for himself.

IV. THIS is the sum of that account, which those two Presbyters give of this matter. They were 'tis true of the *Luciferian* separation, that is, those that rejected all communion with any that had communicated with the *Arians*; which perhaps might make them write a little more tartly. But whether this be sufficient to destroy their evidence, and enervate the force of their testimony in matters of fact within their knowledge, is left to the Reader to judge: if so, 'twill be some abatement to S. *Jerom's* testimony (upon which *Baronius* lays

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* *Marcel. & Paulin. prefat. ad libel. precum.*

¹ *L. 4. c. 29. p. 247.*

* *Am. Marcell. lib. 27.*

The Life of DAMASUS

so much stress, though he says nothing very material to the purpose) his dear friendship and kindness to Pope *Damasus* bringing him within the suspicion of partiality. To me it seems scarce credible that persons of their character in so solemn an address to the Emperor should usher it in with nothing but pure lies and falsehoods; and those too gross and palpable, the things done being still fresh in memory, and *Damasus* himself yet alive. And methinks what pains soever *Baronius* takes to put a gloss upon the Story, it looks a little odd, the account which their own *Pontifical Book* gives of this affair, that *Damasus* was constituted Bishop, because he had the greater and the stronger party. But let the Reader weigh the whole matter in an impartial balance, and then incline to which side he please. Certain it is, that what ever irregularities might happen in *Damasus* his election; or what ill things he or his party might be guilty of, he sufficiently recovered his credit, and for his prudence piety and zeal against *Arianism* purchas'd a great and just reverence throughout the whole Christian World.

V. BEING at length settled and confirm'd, he began to act in his public station. About the year CCCLXIX, he conven'd a Synod, whereat met ninety Bishops out of *Italy* and some parts of *France*; who considering how much the *Arian* Artifices still prevail'd, and how many were misled by false apprehensions and misrepresentations of things, condemn'd the transactions of the Council of *Ariminum*, and particularly *Auxentius* Bishop of *Milan*, the great stickler for *Arianism* in those parts, confirm'd and reinforc'd the *Nicene* faith, an account of all which Pope *Damasus* and the rest gave in a Synodical Epistle to the Bishops of *Illyricum*, wherein they recommend the Catholic Doctrine, and what they had done in it to them, and to desire them by an answer to signify their consent and concurrence with them. Sad in the mean time was the case of the Catholics in the *Eastern* Church, where by the favour and passionate concernment of the Emperor *Valens*, the *Arians* bore all the sway, and almost in every place carried all before them. Of which *S. Basil* makes a lamentable representation in his Epistles, who wrote likewise, and sent Legats to *Damasus* and the *Western* Bishops to implore their aid and help in this common cause. And to speed more effectually, he engag'd the great *Athanasius* (whose authority was then enough to give reputation to any request) to write to *Damasus* in their behalf. But whatever answer *Damasus* return'd (for his Letters are not now extant) 'tis plain he was very cold and indifferent in this affair; as appears from the many complaints and sometimes tart reflections which *Basil* makes upon this occasion, as elsewhere we have related more at large.

VI. BUT the Catholic interest in the *East* did not only suffer from the malice and cruelty of the *Arians*, but from their intestine quarrels and divisions among themselves; as appear'd especially in the Church of *Antioch*, where besides *Eudoxius* the *Arian* Bishop, and *Vitalis* the Lay-Ringleader of the *Apollinarian* party there were *Meletius* and *Paulinus* both Catholic Prelates in that Church, some taking part with the one, and some with the other; and the Church by this means rent asunder into a miserable schism. *Damasus* espous'd the cause of *Paulinus*, who had been consecrated by

Lucifer

Lucifer Calaritanus a Western Bishop: and when *S. Jerom* then residing at *Antioch* knew not well whom to joyn with, he sent to *Rome* to consult with Pope *Damasus*, who advis'd him to hold communion with *Paulinus*: Nay after the death of *Meletius*, and that another was chosen in his room, he still persisted in abetting and patronizing *Paulinus*, thereby giving no little life to the pernicious divisions of that Church. About the year CCCLXXIII. (if *Baronius* compute it right) a Synod was holden at *Rome*, whereat was present *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, Successor to *Athanasius*, who forc'd away by the barbarous cruelties of the *Arians*, had fled hither for shelter. The chief thing transacted in this Synod, was the condemnation of the chief thing transacted in this Synod, was the condemnation of the *Apollinarian* heresy, then newly sprung up in the World, asserting our Lord to have assum'd human flesh without any rational mind or understanding, his Deity supplying the room of that: *Apollinarius* himself, together with his prime disciple *Timotheus* being depos'd and censur'd. *Vitalis* the head of that Sect at *Antioch* (though a Lay-man; as the *Alexandrian Chronicon* assures us, and that his Followers were call'd the Sect of the *Vitalians*) was at this time at *Rome*; where he solemnly retract'd and abjur'd his errors before the Council, subscribed the Catholic faith, and was receiv'd to Communion, and by him *Damasus* wrote to *Paulinus*, referring the man to him for a farther trial and discussion of his case. Of the proceedings of this Synod in the cause of *Apollinarius*, *Damasus* afterwards wrote an account to the *Eastern* Bishops, who it seems had desired his concurrence in the deposition of *Timotheus*, which he certifies them he had synodically done some time before. At the same time, and by assent of the same Synod, he publish'd a large confession of faith, in which he denounces particular anathema's against all the heretical Dogmata of every Sect, which then infested the Church, and spake Deniance to the Faith of *Nice*; and this he directed to *Paulinus* (no doubt him of *Antioch*) then lying at *Thessalonica* in *Macedonia*.

VII. THE distracted state of the Church, and the care and piety of the good Emperour *Theodosius*, brought together the great Synod at *Constantinople*, An. CCCLXXXI, which ever had the title and authority of a General Council; though Pope *Damasus* was neither himself, nor by his Legats present there. However *Baronius* according to his custom to secure the Papal prerogative, would persuade us that *Damasus* afterwards confirm'd this Council; but withal is forc'd to strain so hard for a trifling pretence or two to give colour to it, that any man may plainly see 'tis more than the cause will naturally bear. Though if he had confirm'd it, this had implied no superiority, confirmation in this sense signifying no more than a consent and approbation, a thing usually done by all Bishops, but especially those of the greater Sees. In the third Canon of this Council, the Fathers advanc'd the Bishopric of *Constantinople* to the next degree of honour and privilege to the *Roman* See. This vext them at *Rome*, and therefore the next year to chastise the folly and presumption of the Council (as *Baronius* speaks) *Damasus* in a Synod at *Rome* made a Canon, extant in the *Cresconian* Collection, wherein having briefly prefac'd something concerning the Prerogative of *S. Peter*, he adjusts the precedence and privileges of the three great Sees, giving the first place to that of *S. Peter*, or the *Roman* Church, that has neither spot nor wrinkle;

^aIn vit. Damas. Con. cil. T. 11. col. 859.

^bExt. ap. Theod. l. 2. c. 22. p. 102.

^cBaron. col. 1. A.

^dAd An. Julian. 1. p. 653.

^eExt. Epist. ap. Theod. l. 5. c. 10. p. 212.

^fExt. ib. c. 11. p. 213. &c.

^gAd An. 381.

^hAd An. 383.

wrinkle; the second, to the See of *Alexandria*, founded by *S. Marek* in *S. Peter's* name, and by his authority; the third, to that of *Antioch*, immediately constituted by *S. Peter* himself. But the mischief is, what ever *Crescinius* pleasantly dreamt of, *Damasus* and his Council past no such Canon, and therefore the last Publishers of the Councils wisely refer it to the *Roman Synod* held many years after under Pope *Gelasius*, *An. CCCCLXIV*. But to proceed with the *Constantinopolitan Council*; in the fifth Canon the Synod agrees to receive all those at *Antioch*, that confess'd the Deity of all the three Persons of the Trinity, according to the *τομὴ & Δόξα*, the *Tome* or *Volume* of the *Western Bishops*. What this *Tome* was, is not agreed on; the *Greek Scholiasts*, *Zonaras*, &c, widely and without any pretence of reason refer it to a definition of the *Sardican Council*. *Baronius*^d will have it to be the confession of faith sent by *Damasus* to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*, which we mentioned before: *Palestus*^e to be an exposition of the faith drawn up by *Damasus* in a Synod at *Rome*, *An. CCCLXXVII*, or the year after, sent to *Antioch* and confirm'd in a convention of *Eastern Bishops* there. But a Learned^f man of our own not improbably conjectures, that it's meant of the Synodal Epistle which *Damasus* and his Council at *Rome* sent *Ann. CCCLXXXII*, to the remainder of that of *Constantinople*, and that this fifth Canon, as also the two following were not made in the General Synod, but in that part of it that re-assembled the year following. Certain it is, from the answer^g of those *Eastern Bishops*, that a *Tome*, or Definition of faith, especially concerning the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, had been lately drawn up in a Synod at *Antioch*, and another in the late Oecumenical Council at *Constantinople*, which being sent to *Rome*, probably produc'd that *Συνεδριον*, or Conciliary Letter, from *Damasus* and his Synod about that matter, and which the Fathers stile the *Western Tome*, or Volume, in that Canon. In the same Letter he desir'd the *Eastern Bishops* to come to a general Council at *Rome* (about which it seems he had been dealing with the Emperor) especially to adjust and decide the case of the See of *Antioch*, still as much divided as ever, between *Paulinus*, and *Flavian*, *Meletius* his Successor, whose election had been ratified by the *Constantinopolitan Synod* the year before. To this Epistle the Fathers (many of whom met again at *Constantinople* the next year) return'd an answer; as for the journey to *Rome*, they excus'd themselves; as for the faith, they agreed with him; and for other proceedings, they gave him an account of what they had done both in the business of *Antioch*, and in that of other Sees.

VIII. IT was not long that *Damasus* liv'd after this. He was full of days, near fourscore years of age, dying, as *Baronius* reckons, *December the xith*, *An. CCCLXXXIV*. after he had sitted Bishop of *Rome* seventeen years, and near three months. As for the miracles reported to have been done by him, they that can believe the Acts of *Damasus*, may find them there. The works of Magnificence attributed to him by the Writers of the *Roman Church*, are two Churches, one near *Pompey's Theater*, the other in the *Via Ardeatina*, where he was buried in the *Catacumbæ* near the bodies of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, the floor whereof he had beautified with a Pavement of variegated Marble. He diligently sought out the graves of many Martyrs, whose

hither

Tombs he adorn'd with suitable Epitaphs, enobled the Church of *S. Laurentius*, and enrich'd it with many exquisit and costly gifts, and hither his body was translated from the place of its first interment. In his life time he held an intimate correspondence with *S. Jerom*; whom he oft consulted about the fence of obscure and difficult places of Scripture; *S. Jerom's* great skill in *Hebrew* enabling him to return very satisfactory resolutions. What his parts and learning were, we can make no certain guess, little of his being extant. His Tracts de *Virginitate*, both in *Prose* and *Verse* (mentioned by *S. Jerom*^b) are lost. The *Liber Pontificalis*, or short account of the Bishops of *Rome*, so often ascrib'd to him, is notoriously known and granted to be the work of *Anastasius* the *Roman Library-keeper*, who flourish'd several ages after, the stile as well as the matter favouring of the rudeness and barbarism of those later times; tho it must be something elder than *Anastasius*, if what *Labbee*^c says be true, that he saw a Copy of it written in the time of *Charles* the great, wherein those lives were ascrib'd to *Damasus*, and this before *Anastasius* was born, to be sure before capable of writing Books, but withal he strongly concludes 'twas none of *Damasus* his work. *S. Jerom*, who knew him best, says^k he had an elegant wit, especially for Poetry (which perhaps he ow'd in some measure to the *Genius* of his Country, heretofore famous for some excellent Poets) and compos'd very many short Poems, viz. Epitaphs, Inscriptions, &c. Some whereof are extant at this day.

^b De Custod. Virg. ad Euseb. p. 141.

^c De scrip. Tom. 1. p. 252.


^k De scrip. c. 103.

His W O R K S.

Epistola ad Episcopos Orientis. gr. & lat.	Not Extant.
Epistola Synodalis ad Episcopos Illyrici. gr. & lat.	De Virginitate, & prosa & versu.
Confessio fidei Catholice ad Paulinum. gr. & lat.	Supposititious.
Epistola ad Paulinum Antiochenum de Vitali.	Liber Pontificalis.
Epitaphia, inscriptiones, carmina Numero XL.	Ad Hieronimum Epistola II.
Fragmenta quedam apud Gratianum.	Epistola ad Stephanum & Episcopos Mauritanie.
	Epist. ad Prosperum & Episcopos Numidia.
	Epist. ad Episcopos Italia.
	Epist. ad Aurelium Carthaginensem.

THE LIFE OF AMPHILOCHIUS BISHOP OF ICONIUM.

His originals obscure. His monastic life: Companion therein to Basil and Nazianzen. Fabulous reports concerning the manner of his being consecrated Bishop of Iconium. S. Basil's Letter to him to congratulate his election to that See. Appointed one of the Commissioners for admitting Persons to communion by the Council at Constantinople. His vigorous opposing the Arians and other Heretics, especially the Massalians. The rise and Principles of that Sect. Its condemnation in a Synod at Sida, wherein he presided. Present in a Synod at Constantinople to determine a controversy about the See of Boftra. His great age. The time of his death uncertain. The high esteem S. Basil had of him, and the excellent Character he gives him. Several Spurious or doubtful pieces entitled to him. His writings.

I.  HE Originals of this Holy man are altogether obscure, no Writer having given any intimation either where he was born, or how descended. If I might guess, I should conjecture from one of S. Basil's Letters to him, that he was born in Cappadocia, and am farther confirm'd in it by S. Jerom, 'who speaking of that noble Triumvirate, Basil, Gregory and Amphilocheus, styles them all Cappadocians. In

his younger years, he was brought up in all excellent and useful Learning, and became an accomplish'd Scholar. After which he gave up himself to the severities of a monastic Life, and was Companion to S. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen in their Pontic Solitudes. And this it seems Basil and he had agreed upon long before; but the infirmities of his aged Father then kept Amphilocheus at home, and that so close, that he could not spare so much time, as to wait upon the Bishop of Caesarea, whose excellent company and conversation Basil earnestly recommended to him. Freed from Domestic cares he betook himself to the deserts, and the pleasures as well as the hardship of a contemplative life. The place, if I conjecture aright, where he resided, was called Ozizale, a place destitute of Grain, but abounding in Fruits, Herbs, and especially Coleworts, a parcel whereof Na-

zianzen

zianzen in two witty Epistles "beg'd of him, when he was to treat S. Basil one night at Supper. *Simon the Metaphrast*, or whoever 'twas wrote that trifling account of him, reports, "that he liv'd forty years in a Cell under-ground, without any other sustenance then hard Bread and Water; and that the Bishopric of Iconium, the Metropolis of Lycania, being vacant, an Angel appear'd to him, and three nights together bad him go into the City; and at last having pray'd together, the Angel took him by the right hand, and led him into the Church, which was full of Lights, and innumerable Persons in shining Garments, who conducted him up to the Altar, and delivered the Book of the Gospel into his hand; and having told him, that the divine grace made him Bishop of that place, and having pray'd for, and blest him, immediately disappear'd. After whose departure came several Bishops into the Church, with an intention to have proceeded to his consecration; but he told them, they might spare their pains, for the Angels had already done that office for him. Whereat as we may suppose, they were greatly astonish'd, and having given him the peace, went their way. This is the sum of the idle story of his Ordination, for I would not abuse the Readers patience to set it down at large. However it may serve to give us a taste how fruitful the Greek as well as the Latin Church is of Legends and fabulous reports.

II. 'TIS hard to fix the particular time of his promotion to the See of Iconium, more then what the Greek *Meneon* tells us^p, that it was in the reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and perhaps not long after S. Basil's advancement to the See of *Caesarea*. He soon gave his dear Friend S. Basil an account of what had pass'd, and how unwillingly he had suffered this burden to be laid upon him. Basil wrote^q back to him to congratulate his happy election to that place, and to persuade and press him to go on in a vigorous and successful discharge of it. The fame of the man increas'd every day, and his learning and zeal for the Catholic faith advanc'd him to the first rank of Worthies in all those parts; insomuch that in the great Synod at Constantinople, An. CCCLXXXI, when persons were to be appointed as Judges of Catholic Communion who were fit to be taken in, he and *Optimus* of the *Pisidian Antioch*, had the whole *Asian* Dioceses committed to them. And when about two years after, the Emperor call'd another Synod for composing the distractions of the Church; he went boldly to the Emperour, and desired the suppression of the *Arian* Conventicles, then grown to a great height of insolence; and upon the neglect of his Petition, convinc'd the Emperor how great his offence was to God, by putting a notorious slight upon his Son, the young prince *Arcadius* before his face. An account of which passage we have related in another place. About the same time he appeared briskly against the *Massalian* Heretics. These were a sort of primitive Enthusiasts, who plac'd all Religion in praying, neglecting not only the duties of common life, but all other parts of devotion, affirming that they were to do nothing else but pray. And when fill'd with Enthusiastic heats, and diabolical raptures, they were wont to cry out, 'twas the impulse and presence of the holy Ghost. And as most heresies tend to, or end in sensuality, so they fell into the trade of promiscuous mixtures in their irregular

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Altera

^p Epist. XII. XIII. p. 776.

^q Gell. S. A. p. 11. p. 11. a. C. 398.

^p T. 1. p. 11. N. 11. p. 11.

^q Epist. CXXII. p. 402.

Epist. ad magn. tom. II. p. 327.

^p Vid. Basil. Epist. CXXII. ad Amphil. p. 398, 399.

^q T. 1. p. 11. LXXX. p. 11. 451. Theod. Hara. f. 11. c. 11. p. 242. 243. T. 1. p. 11. de bar. c. 17. col. 26. D. 11. c. 17. p. 11.

Assemblies. These Cattel abounded most in Syria, and being driven thence, spread into Pamphilia, and the Neighbour Provinces. Against whom a Synod was call'd at Sida, a City in Pamphilia, in the Confines of Cilicia, where met six and twenty Bishops. Amphilochius was President of the Council, who as Theodoret informs us, wrote a particular Book against them: in the Synod the case was considered, and the herely condemn'd, and a Synodical Epistle giving an account of what they had done, sent to Flavian Bishop of Antioch, who conven'd a Synod of his Bishops about the same matter, where Adelphius a Laic, and head of the Sect offered to recant and abjure his errors, but was not admitted, the Synod looking upon his repentance as feign'd and hypocritical.

III. WE meet with no more concerning Amphilochius, till the year CCCXCIV, when we find him in a Synod at Constantinople, with Nestarius of that Church, Theophilus of Alexandria, Flavian of Antioch, and many others determining the controversy between Bagadins and Agapius, who contended about the Bishopric of Bostra, Bagadins having been depos'd only by two Bishops, contrary to the Canon, which requir'd three at least; to prevent which, for the time to come, they decreed that such Depositions should not be made but by the sentence of provincial Synods. Soon after this Synod we may suppose he died, being of a great age; the Greek Ritual assuring us, that he liv'd till the time of Theodosius and his Children; the XXIII^d of November is sacred to his memory. He was a man of singular worth, held in great veneration by all the persons of that age. He held an inward friendship with those two great men Nazianzen and Basil, the latter of whom had so high a value for him, that (as he oft intimates in his Epistles) he was never well but when he was either conversing with him, or writing to him. To him he had recourse upon all occasions, to him he communicated all his affairs and transactions, so that he tells us him his daily Letters to him might serve his Book De Spiritu Sancto, and at his request wrote to him his three Canonical Epistles, containing LXXXV Canons about Ecclesiastical discipline, in answer to several cases, which Amphilochius had put to him. He frequently commends his vast industry in the pursuit of knowledge, his unwearied inquiries after truth, the clearness of his apprehensions, the firmness and solidity of his judgment, his admirable humility in so oft condescending to learn of others who was so incomparably able to teach himself. Books he wrote many in vindication of the Catholic Faith, though the Ancients have not so much as consign'd the names of them to us. S. Jerom only mentions his Book De Spiritu Sancto, which he says Amphilochius himself read to him. Several Tracts were some years since publish'd under his name, but most of them spurious, at least uncertain, and we are the more at a loss in this matter, because we have none of his Books unquestionably genuine left us as Standards to judge of these.

His

His WRITINGS.


Doubtful.
Oratio in Christi Natalem.
In Christi Circumcisionem, & de
Basilio.
De occurſu Domini.
In Lazarum Quasriduanum.
In mulierem peccatricem, &c.
In diem Sabbati Sancti.
De penitentia, & quod non sit deſperandum.
Iambica ad Seleucum.

Genuine.
Excerpta varia ex Libris Amphilochii, quæ apud veteres extant.

Supposititious.
Oratio in S. Deiparam, & Symeonem.
Vita S. Basilii.

THE LIFE OF GREGORY BISHOP OF NYSSA.

His Country, Parents, and Kindred. Education, and love of Rhetoric. Hardly drawn off to the study of Theology. His Preference to the See of Nyssa. His Zeal for the Catholic Interest. Banish'd by the Arian Faction, and hardly us'd. Delegated by a Synod at Antioch to visit the Eastern Churches. His journey into Arabia; thence to Jerusalem. His entertainment there, and survey of that place. His return, and large Letter against making Pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The unanswered Reasons he offers in that matter. His visiting his Sister Macrina, and assisting at her Death. His Book De Anima & Resurrectione, on what occasion penn'd. His going to the Council at Constantinople. His Books against Eunomius. His Funeral Sermons for the Empress Placidia, and her Daughter Pulcheria. When we meet with the last mention of him. His singular Learning and Eloquence. His Writings enumerated.

I.  REGORY was born in Pontus, the Son of Basil and Emmelia, persons renown'd for their Piety, Charity, and all other Christian Vertues throughout all Pontus and Cappadocia. He was their third Son, S. Basil being the eldest Brother, (so heedlessly do they write, that make our Gregory the eldest) tho he had an equal care taken

* Aut. prefat. græc. Ed. Lat. Opp. Nyss. Gr. inde Cont. Mag. Cent. IV. Col. 532.

6f

of his Education. He was brought up in all the polite and fashionable modes of Learning, but specially applied himself to that of Rhetoric, wherein he became more than ordinarily eminent, and so great a power had it gain'd over him, that *Nazianzen* was forc'd to write ^b to him, to persuade him to lay that fond course aside, to get above that *εὐδὲμον εὐδὲμον* (as he call it) that unworthy kind of Glory, with which he was vainly tickled, and to apply himself close to Divine Studies, and to the service of the Church, severely chiding him for taking more pride to be accounted an Orator than a Christian. Having broke loose from the study of Oratory and Eloquence, he betook himself to Solitude, and the Monastic Discipline, and had now leisure to put *Nazianzen's* Counsel into practice, and accordingly applied himself strictly to the study of Theology, and the holy Scriptures, and to enquire into the Controversies of the Age, in the knowledge whereof he became as eminent, as he had been before in the course of more smooth and pleasant Studies.

II. HE was preferr'd to the See of *Nyssa*, a City situate in the Borders of *Cappadocia*, and by some reckon'd to the lesser *Armenia*. *Stephanus* reckons up no less than ten Cities of this name, the eighth whereof he places upon Mount *Caucasus*, but whether he means this of ours, is to me uncertain. The exact time of his promotion to this Bishopric cannot be recovered: that he was Bishop when *Basil* created *Nazianzen* Bishop of *Sasima*, is plain from the Oration with which that eloquent Man the day after his Consecration entertain'd him when he came to visit him. But however it was, he prov'd in that station a stout Champion of the *Nicene* Faith, and so vigorously oppos'd the *Arian* Party, that soon after he was banish'd ^d by command of the Emperor *Valens*, the execution whereof was committed to the *Vicarius* of those Parts, who calling a Synod of *Galatian* Bishops of that side in the depth of Winter, depos'd and condemn'd him to Banishment at the suggestion only of one mean and inconsiderable fellow; and afterwards removing to *Nyssa*, summon'd thither a Convention of the Bishops of *Pontus* and *Galatia*, and there thrust in an unworthy Successor in his room. By his Brother's Letter ^e to *Alyrtius* in his behalf, as well as by his own complaints, it appears, that he met with very hard usage, was toils'd and hurried up and down, heavily fin'd, and expos'd to the rage and petulancy of the people, all which fell the heavier upon him, as being both unus'd to trouble, and naturally unapt to bear it. In this condition he remain'd for seven or eight years together, comforted by his Friends, and especially by the Letters of *Gregory of Nazianzen*; all which time he went about doing good, countermining the Stratagems of the Enemy, and strengthening others in the Faith. In the Council held at *Antioch* about nine Months after the death of *Basil*, which happen'd *Ann. CCCLXXVIII.* he was among others delegated to visit the *Eastern* Churches, miserably haras'd by the late *Arian* Persecution, and upon that Errand not long after went into *Arabia*, ^f the expences of his Journey being furnish'd out at the public Charge, by the immediate allowance of the most religious Emperor (as himself tells us,) that is, I suppose the Emperor *Theodosius*, who about that time had been assumed into a Partnership in the Empire, and whom we find soon after publishing a Law, ^g bearing date *Feb. 27. Ann. CCCLXXX.* to require of Bishops to take heed that they

^b *Epist. xliii. p. 504.*

^c *De Urb. in p. Niceni. p. 500.*

^d *Basil. Epist. cxxix. p. 265. Nyss. vii. Miscr. p. 186, 192.*

^e *Basil. Epist. cccviii. p. 351.*

^f *Fid. Naz. Epist. xxxiv. xxxv.*

^g *Fid. Nyss. Epist. de eunt. lib. i. Microf. T. 2. p. 1086.*

^h *Ext. C. Th. lib. 16. Tit. II. l. 25.*

they betray'd not the Faith either through ignorance or carelessness; several such unskilful or unfaithful Guides having 'tis like, to serve bad ends, been promoted in the time of his Predecessor. Having dispatch'd the Affairs of the *Arabian* Churches, he resolv'd for *Jerusalem*, having engag'd to confer with the Bishops of those Parts, and to assist in their Reformation. Coming thither he was most kindly entertain'd by three pious Ladies, *Eustathia*, *Ambrosia*, and *Ephissa*, persons of considerable note and account there. He was not a little delighted to contemplate those venerable places, where the Son of God had convers'd upon Earth, but much more to behold those pious Souls, that were the Spiritual Monuments of his Birth, Life, Death, and Resurrection. But these, alas! were thin sow'd there, the place he found for the most part over-run with Vice, Schism, and Faction, some that shun'd his Communion, and set up Altars in opposition to him. This soon gave him enough of that place, and with an heavy heart he return'd to the Metropolis, (I suppose he means *Antioch*, the Metropolis of the *East*, where he met ^k with *Olympius* the Monk, then going to visit the Holy places at *Jerusalem*) whence he wrote back to the three Ladies at *Jerusalem*, to let them know his sense of things, and to caution them not to be seduc'd by those that sought to make a prey of them. Upon occasion of this Journey he was afterwards consult'd ^l by a Friend, whether (what it seems was the opinion of some monastic Disciplinarians of that time) it was any essential part of Religion to make Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*. In answer whereunto he freely declares himself in the Negative, that our Lord had not by any Precept bound this Duty upon us, nor made it any of the necessary qualifications to Eternal Salvation, that such Journeys could not be accomplish'd without manifest inconveniences both to the Body and the Soul, that the grace of God and his favour were not confin'd to *Golgotha* or Mount *Olivet*, or our Lord now corporally present in those places; that they had more reason to expect his Spirit in *Cappadocia*, where God was more frequently and sincerely worship'd, than at *Jerusalem*, where all sorts of Vices and Immoralities did so much abound; that if he himself had been there, it was not so much to gratifie himself, as to comply with the necessities of the Church, he being sufficiently fatished in the truth of our Lord's Life and Death before ever he saw *Bethlehem* or *Calvary*, and this was the only advantage he had reap'd, to find that Piety flourish'd much more at home; that 'tis not the change of places makes us nearer to Heaven, but where-ever we are, God will come to us, if the Soul be but a fit Habitation for God to dwell in; but if it be deli'd with Lust and Sin, tho thou should'st dwell at *Golgotha*, or upon the Mount of *Olivet*, thou would'st be as far from his Presence and Company, as if thou hadst never once heard of him. A Discourse that so mortally wounds the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *Rome* in point of Pilgrimages, that after all their vain attempts to evade the blow, they are forc'd to run away, and give up the Cause. But my business now is not to insist upon that. Being return'd home, he went to visit his dear Sister *Mucrina*, whom by reason of his Troubles he had not seen of many years. His visit was most opportune, for he found her in a dying condition, he pray'd with her, blest'd her, and assisted her in her last hours, and saw her decently brought to her Grave: All which

^k *Fid. Epist. ad Eustath. &c. p. 158. & p. 1093.*

^l *De vit. Basil. in init.*

^m *Fid. Epist. de eunt. Hieros. in init.*

he relates at large in the account he has given of her Life. And upon this occasion he penn'd his excellent Book *De Anima & Resurrectione*, (wherein if some later hand have intersperst some few *Origenian Dogmata*, 'tis no more than what they have done to some few other of his Tracts) to give his Thoughts vent upon those noble Arguments.

III. IT was not long after his *Arabian* progress, when he was summon'd to the great Council at *Constantinople*, whither he brought along with him the Twelve, (or as others divide them, XIII.) Books which in vindication of his Brother *Basil* he had written against *Eunomius*, who had pretended to answer what *Basil* had written against his Sect and Principles, but durst never publish his Book while that great Man lived. After his Death he suffer'd them to creep abroad, against which *Nyssen* took up the Controversie, and at once defended the Truth, and the Memory of his Brother. These Books he read to *Nazianzen*, and *Jerom*,^m who at that time resided at *Constantinople* under that good Man's tutorage. He made no inconsiderable Figure in the Synod, his advice being chiefly relied upon in the most important cases, and therefore when it was thought necessary to make an explanatory Confession of Faith, especially in the Article of the Holy Ghost, the drawing it up was committed to his care, and this is the *Constantinopolitan*, or as among us 'tis call'd the *Nicene* Creed. And when *Meletius* the aged Bishop of *Antioch* died, during the sitting of the Council, he entertain'd a that grave Assembly with an Oration at his Funeral, and was appointed one of the two Commissioners for admitting persons to Catholic Communion within the whole *Pontic* Diocels. Some few years after he preach'd the Funeral Oration of the Empress *Placilla*, as he had done a little before for her Daughter the Princess *Pulcheria*, a little Infant that died not long before her. And here we must take leave of the Historical part of his Life, nothing memorable appearing afterwards.

IV. HE was a married Man, and liv'd with his Wife *Theophia* even after he was Bishop, upon whose Death *Nazianzen* wrote him a Consolatory Letter, wherein he gives her more than ordinary Commendations. He liv'd to a great Age, and was alive when *S. Jerom* wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, *Ann. CCCXCII.* and two years after that he was present in the Synod at *Constantinople*, at the adjusting the Controversie between *Agapinus* and *Bagadius*, as appears by the Acts of that Council. No notices are to be met with concerning his Death, more than that the memory of it is celebrated in the *Western Martyrologies* *March* the ixth, in the Greek on *January* the xth. A Man equally venerable for the clearness and elegance of his Style, the quickness of his Parts, and the piety of his Life. *Photius*^t has pass'd this censure upon his Books in defence of *Basil* against *Eunomius*, that his phrase above that of any other Rhetorician, is perspicuous, elegant, and very pleasant, and that however he did not equal *Theodorus* of *Antioch* (who had labour'd in the same Work, and upon the same occasion) in the length of his Discourses, yet he far outwent him in his Arguments, and in the plenty and sweetness of his Eloquence, and in the beating down his Adversary by returning the very Foundations of his impious Principles. *Jerom*, or Discourse upon the History of the Creation, which perfect, he fill'd up with an accuracy that became the Brother

^m Hieron. de Script. c. 133.

ⁿ Niceph. l. 12. c. 13. p. 245.

^o Soc. l. 4. c. 26. p. 244. id. l. 5. c. 8. p. 265.

^p Ext. Op. T. 2. p. 956.

^q Ext. ib. p. 946.

^r Vit. l. 1 ejus de Virgin. c. 3. p. 548, 549. Niceph. l. 11. c. 19. p. 137. ^t Epist. xcvi. p. 846.

^u Cod. vi. 7. col. 9.

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ther of the great *S. Basil*. Many other excellent Works he left behind him, the lasting Monuments of his Learning and Eloquence, the greatest part whereof are extant at this day.

His WORKS.

Genuine.	De Anima & Resurrectione, Dialogus.
Hexaemeron, seu de opere sex dierum.	Adv. Apollinarem, ad Theophilum.
De hominis officio, Liber.	Quid nomen professione Christiani si bi velit.
De vita Mosis, seu de vita perfecti.	De perfectione Christiani, ad Olympium.
In Psalmorum inscriptiones Tractatus II.	De proposito secundum Deum.
In Psalmum sextum de Olfava.	In eos qui aegre ferunt reprehensiones.
In Ecclesiasten Conciones VIII.	De infantibus, qui premature abiciuntur.
In Cantica Canticorum, explicatio.	In diem natalem Christi.
De Oratione Dominica, Homilie V.	De S. Stephano protomartyre, Oratio.
De vita beata comparanda Orationes VIII.	De sancto Christi baptismo.
In illud Apostoli, 1 Cor. 15. Quando sibi subjecerit, &c.	De sancto Pasche festo, & resurrectioni Domini Orat. V.
De imagine Dei in homine, libellus.	De Ascensione Domini.
Epistola de Ventriloqua seu Pythonissa.	De occurfu Domini, & Simeone.
Oratio in suam ordinationem.	De Deitate Filii, & Spiritus S. & de Abraham.
Contra Apollinarem.	In laudem Basilii M. fratris, Oratio.
Contra Fatum.	In laudem SS. XL. Martyrum, Orationes III.
Tractatus de communibus notionibus adv. Græcos.	In funere Pulcherie Oratio consolatoria.
De Anima.	De Placilla Angusta, Oratio funebris.
Epistola Canonica ad S. Letoium.	Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi.
In eos qui differunt baptismum.	De laudibus S. viri ac Martyris Theodori.
De fugienda fornicatione in 1 Cor. 6. 18.	De magno Meletio Oratio funebris.
In mulierem peccatricem, & eos qui durius alios judicant.	Encomium S. Patris Ephraim Syri.
De pauperibus amandis.	Non esse dolendum ob eorum obitum qui in fide &c.
In Pentecostem, Oratio, Lat.	Epistola ad Flavianum.
Contra Eunomium Libri XIII.	Oratio de iis qui advenit Hierosolymam.
Tres Deos dici non oportere.	
De fide ad simplicem Tribunal.	
Catechetica Magna, Oratio.	
De Virginitate vera & incorrupta.	
Contra Manicheos Sylogismi X.	

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Epistola

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^b *Epist. XLiii. p. 564.*

^c *De Urb. in p. 110. c. 1. p. 500.*

^d *Basil. Epist. c. lxi. p. 263. Nys. vii. Macrim. p. 188, 192.*

^e *Basil. Epist. cclxviii. p. 351.*

^f *Id. Naz. Epist. xxxiv. xxxv.*

^g *Id. Nys. Epist. de eunib. Hicof. T. 2. p. 108.*

^h *Ext. C. Th. lib. 16. Tit. II. l. 25.*

ⁱ *Id. Epist. ad Eustath. Gr. p. 188. & p. 193.*

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^m Hieron. de Script. c. 133.

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His WORKS.

Genuine.

Hexameron, seu de opere sex dierum.
De hominis officio, Liber.
De vita Moysi, seu de vita perfectæ.
In Psalmorum inscriptiones Tractatus II.
In Psalmum sextum de Olfava.
In Ecclesiastem Conciones VIII.
In Cantica Cantecorum, explanatio.
De Oratione Dominica, Homilie V.
De vita beata comparanda Orationes VIII.
In illud Apostoli, 1 Cor. 15. Quando sibi subjecerit, &c.
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Tres Deos dici non oportere.
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Catechetica Magna, Oratio.
De Virginitate vera & incorrupta.
Contra Manicheos Syllogismi X.

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Adv. Apollinarem, ad Theophilum.
Quid nomen professione Christiani sibi velit.
De perfectione Christiani, ad Olympium.
De proposito secundum Deum.
In eos qui agra ferunt reprehensiones.
De infantibus, qui premature abripiuntur.
In diem natalem Christi.
De S. Stephano protomartyre, Oratio.
De sancto Christi baptismo.
De sancto Pasche festo, & resurrectioni Domini Orat. V.
De Ascensione Domini.
De occursum Domini, & Simeone.
De Deitate Filii, & Spiritus S. & de Abraham.
In laudem Basilii M. fratris, Oratio.
In laudem SS. XL. Martyrum, Orationes III.
In funere Pulcherie Oratio consolatoria.
De Placilla Augusta, Oratio funebris.
Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi.
De laudibus S. viri ac Martyris Theodori.
De magno Meletio Oratio funebris.
Encomium S. Patris Ephraim Syri.
Non esse dolendum ob eorum obitum qui in fide &c.
Epistola ad Flavianum.
Oratio de iis qui adeunt Hierosolymam.

Epistola ad Eustathiam, Ambrosi-
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Vita S. Macrine, sororis.

In principium jejuniorum, Oratio.

Supposititious.

In hominis creationem Oratioes II.

De Trinitate adversus Indeos ex
V. T. Testimonia, Lat.

De differentia substantie & hypost-
ases ad Petrum fratrem.

De Philosophia Libri VIII, [sunt
Nemesii.]

A

A

Chronological Table,

Relating to the affairs of the

CHURCH

IN THE

Fourth Century.

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperours.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
300	<i>Diocl. a } Sept. 17. } 16</i>	Constantius Chlorus Cæ- sar III. Galerius Armentarius Cæ- sar III.	Peter made Bishop of Alexan- dria upon the death of Theonas.
301	17	Posthumius Titianus II.	Diocletian triumphs at Rome for his victory over the Persians. <i>The Christians at Rome severely treated.</i>
302	18	Fl. Popilius Nepotianus. Constantius Chlorus Cæ- sar IV.	Diocletian returns to Nico- media, and consults with Ga- lerius about persecuting the Chri- stians.
303	19	Galerius Cæsar IV. Diocletianus Imp. VIII.	<i>The Diocletian persecution set on foot at Nicomedia, Febr. 23d, and soon affect in all other pla- ces.</i>
	20	Maximianus Herculus Aug. VII.	

Ann. Chr.	Roman. Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
	20	Diocletianus IX.	
304	<i>Constant. 7 & Galer. 1</i>	Maximian. Herculus VIII.	<i>The Persecution carried on with great severity in the East.</i>
	1	Constantius Imp. V.	
305	2	Galerius Maximianus Arment. Aug. V.	<i>Diocletian and Hercules Maximian lay down the Empire. Galerius succeeds in the East, and continues the Persecution.</i>
	2	Constantius Imp. VI.	
306	<i>*Constant. M. Im. à Jul. 25.</i>	Imp. Galerius VI.	<i>Constantine the Great succeeds his Father Constantius in the Empire; and Maxentius sets up for himself at Rome.</i>
	1	Constantinus M. Aug.	
307	1	Maximianus Herculus IX.	<i>Licinius created Cæsar by Galerius the Emperour.</i>
	2	Maximianus Herculus X.	
308	2	Galerius Maximianus VII.	<i>A Convention of 270 schismatical Bishops and Traditores in Afric. vid. Aug. Epist. 48. ad Vincent.</i>
	3	Coſs. incerti. <i>aliis</i>	<i>The Martyrdome of Pamphilus, Eusebius his dear friend.</i>
309	4	Maxentius II. Romulus II.	<i>A whole City in Phrygia suffers Martyrdome.</i>
	4	Coſs. incerti. <i>aliis</i>	<i>About the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, the Persecution ceased in Palestine, and the Eastern Parts.</i>
310	5	Maxentius III. Solus.	
	5	Galerius Maximianus VIII. Licinius Augustus. <i>aliis</i>	<i>Peter Bishop of Alexandria suffers Martyrdome Novemb. 24, or as others, 26.</i>
311	6	Rufinus & Eusebius.	<i>Lucian suffers at Nicomedia.</i>
	6	Imp. Constantinus II.	<i>Constantine beholds the vision of the Cross, and overcomes Maxentius.</i>
312	7	Imp. Licinius II.	<i>Towards the end of the year the Persecution ceases.</i>
	7	Imp. Constantinus III.	<i>Several Laws publisht by Constantine in favour of the Church, Clergy, and Christians.</i>
313	8	Licinius Aug. 3.	<i>Maximinus his last Edict in their behalf.</i>

* Tho there be, that place the death of *Constantius*, and *Constantines* Succession, An. 305, yet we have cholen to follow the general computation, as built upon firmer and more certain grounds.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
	8	Cecionius R. Volusianus.	<i>A Synod holden at Arles about the cause of Cæcilian and Donatus.</i>
314	9	Annianus.	<i>The Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea holden this, or as others think the year following.</i>
	9	Constantinus M. IV.	<i>Several Priviledges and Immunities conferr'd by Constantine upon the Church.</i>
315	10	Licinius Aug. IV.	<i>About this time Arius began more openly to broach his heresy.</i>
	10	Ruf. Cecionius Sabinus.	<i>Licinius renews the Persecution against the Christians.</i>
316	11	Rufinus Proculus.	<i>Diocletian dyes at Salona, December 3d.</i>
	11	Ovinus Gallicanus.	<i>Crispus and Constantine junior created Cæsars.</i>
317	12	Septimius Bassus.	<i>Peace made between Constantine and Licinius.</i>
	12	Imp. Licinius V.	<i>Arius quits Alexandria, and flies into Palestine, where he courts the Bishops to espouse his cause.</i>
318	13	Crispus Cæsar.	<i>Private Auguries and divinations forbidden.</i>
	13	Constantinus M. V.	<i>The Christian Clergy exempted from public Offices.</i>
319	14	Licinius jun. Cæsar.	<i>Great Reformation of manners made at Rome, as appears by several Laws in the Theodosian Code.</i>
	14	Constantinus M. VI.	<i>A Law publisht for the observacion of the Lords day.</i>
320	15	Constantinus jun. Cæsar.	<i>Several others in favour of the Church, and against Pagan superstitions.</i>
	15	Crispus Cæsar II.	<i>A famine raging in Afric; a Rescript is sent to relieve the Poor out of the publick Exchequer.</i>
321	16	Constantinus jun. II.	
	16	Petronius Probianus.	
322	17	Anicius Julianus.	
	17	Acilius Severus.	
323	18	Junius Rufinus.	<i>Licinius finally routed by Constantine, whose Laws and Edicts he abrogated part this year, and part the next.</i>

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
324	18	Crispus Cæsar III.	Hosius Bishop of Corduba dispatched by Constantine with Letters to Alexandria, to compose the controversy between Alexander and Arius; but in vain.
	19	Constantinus jun. III.	
325	19	Paulinus.	The first general Council Assembled at Nice, wherein Arius and his Principles are confuted and condemned.
	20	Julianus.	* Athanasius chosen to the See of Alexandria.
326	20	Constantinus M. VII.	Command given by Constantine for the erecting a stately Church at Jerusalem.
	21	Constantius Cæsar.	The death of the pious Helena mother to the Emperor Constantine.
327	21	Fl. Valerius Constantinus.	Christianity propagated in the Barbarous Countries.
	22	Maximus.	Eusebius and Theognis return from banishment (as Arius had done not long before) upon a pretended compliance with the Nicene faith.
328	22	Januarius.	The Arians and Meletians jointly accuse Athanasius to the Emperor, who discovers their malice.
	23	Justus.	Constantinople, begun two years since, finished, and solemnly dedicated, May the 11th.
329	23	Constantinus M. VIII.	Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem dyes about this time, Maximus succeeds.
	24	Constantinus Cæsar IV.	Athanasius commanded to clear himself of the death of Arsenius, enquires out the man.
330	24	Gallicanus.	Heathen superstitions abolished, their Temples demolished, or shut up, and the rents and revenues belonging to them taken away.
	25	Symmachus.	
331	25	Annius Bassus.	
	26	Ablavius Ægyptius.	
332	26	Pacatianus.	
	27	Hilarianus.	
333	27	Dalmatius.	
	28	Xenophilus.	

* Athanasius at the time of his advancement to that See, was probably in the 28th year current of his Age. See his Life, *Self. IV. Num. I.*

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
334	28	Optatus.	A Law to free Widows, Orphans, the Poor and Infirm, from being compell'd to follow the Court in suits at Law.
	29	Paulinus.	A Synod at Cæsarea, whereat Athanasius refuses to appear.
335	29	Constantius.	A Synod holden by the Arians at Tyre in August and September, where they try, condemn and depose Athanasius.
	30	Albinus.	The great Church at Jerusalem dedicated.
336	30	Nepotianus.	The Arians at Constantinople charge Athanasius afresh; he is banished by the Emperor to Triers.
	31	Facundus.	The Death of Arius.
337	31	Felicianus.	Constantine the Great dyes May the 22d.
	31	Titianus.	* Athanasius releas'd from banishment by the younger Constantine.
338	1	Ursus.	Nisibis miraculously defended against the siege of the King of Persia by the prayers of James Bishop of that place.
	2	Polemius.	The Arians by Letters accuse Athanasius to the three Brother-Emperours.
339	2	Constantius Aug. II.	The younger Constantine slain at Aquileia about the beginning of April
	3	Constans Aug.	
340	3	Acyndinus.	
	3	Proculus.	
341	4	Marcellinus.	The Synod at Antioch (call'd Synodus in Encaniis) deposes Athanasius, and ordains Gregory the Cappadocian in his room.
	5	Probinus.	Athanasius flies to Rome.
342	5	Constantius Aug. III.	Athanasius acquitted in a Synod at Rome.
	6	Constans Aug. II.	A tumult at Constantinople about Paulus their Bishop.

* This was done, as appears from that Emperours Letter, June the 17th of that year.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
343	6	Placidus.	The death of Paul the aged Hermit. Some immunities granted by Constantius to the Clergy.
	7	Romulus.	
344	7	Leontius.	The persecution against the Christians in Persia begun the foregoing year, carried on with great severity.
	8	Sallustius.	
345	8	Amantius.	A second Synod holden at Antioch, wherein the large confession of faith is drawn up, and sent into the West.
	9	Albinus.	
346	9	Post. C. Amantii & Alb. ^{alii}	A Synod assembled at Milan, which rejects the Message and Confession of the Eastern Bishops.
	10	Constantius IV. ^{alii} Constantius III.	
347	10	Rufinus.	The Synod at Sardica, where the Eastern Bishops refuse to join with them of the West, notwithstanding which, Athanasius is heard, absolv'd, and restor'd.
	11	Eusebius.	
348	11	Philippus.	This year dies Gregory Bishop of Alexandria, ten months after the Sardican Council.
	12	Salas.	
349	12	Ulpian Limenius.	In a Synod at Sirmium, Photinus is depos'd, but retain'd by the People.
	13	Aco Catullinus.	Athanasius being recall'd, in his return waits upon Constantius at Antioch.
350	13	Sergius.	The good Emperour Constantius treacherously slain by Magnentius, Athanasius is received with joy at Alexandria.
	14	Nigrinianus.	
351	14	Post C. Serg. & Nigr. ^{alii}	A Cross appears in the Heavens over Jerusalem at Whitfuntide.
	15	Magnentius Imp. Gaius.	A Synod holden at Sirmium against Photinus.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
352	15	Constantius Aug. V.	Constantius's severe proceedings against the Jews in Palestine for their rebellion. The death of Pope Julius April 12th. Liberius succeeds May the 8th.
	16	Constantius Gallus Cæsar.	
353	16	Constantius Aug. VI.	Athanasius condemned by the Arians in a Synod at Arles: the Popes own Legats drawn into the confederacy. Paulinus of Trier banisht for his refusal.
	17	Constant. Gallus II.	
354	17	Constantius Aug. VII.	Gallus put to death. Julian comes to Athens, and there converses with Basil and Nazianzen.
	18	Constant. Gallus III.	* A Council assembled by Constantius at Milan, wherein Athanasius is depos'd, and several Catholic Bishops banisht for not subscribing to it.
355	18	Arbetio.	
	19	Mavortius Lollianus.	
356	19	Constantius Aug. VIII.	George the Cappadocian in a Convention at Antioch is made Bishop of Alexandria: the cruel proceedings there at his arrival.
	20	Julianus Cæsar.	Athanasius his flight thence.
357	20	Constantius Aug. IX.	An Arian Synod holden at Sirmium, which draws up a Confession of faith. Hosius compelled to subscribe it.
	21	Julianus Cæsar II.	
358	21	T. Fab. Datianus.	A new confession compos'd in another Synod at Sirmium, which Pope Liberius subscribing, is recall'd from banishment, and restor'd to his See.
	22	Neratius Cerealis.	* Another confession drawn up at Sirmium May 22, with the date of the Consuls affixt to it.
359	22	Eusebius.	A Council at Ariminum by the Western Bishops, another at the same time at Seleucia for the East.
	23	Hypatius.	

* At, or about the time of this Synod, Pope Liberius was banisht by the Emperour into Thrace.

* Tho' Valesius and some others make but four Synods holden at Sirmium under Constantius, viz. Ann. 349, 351, 357, 358. (vid. Vales. Annot. in Soc. om. p. 125.) yet very evident it is, that there was one more there this year, as is plain from the Confession there drawn up, with the date of the Consuls affixt to it.

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
	23	Constantius Aug. X.	<i>A Synodal convention of Arians at Constantinople Januar. 27th, wherein the several parties fall out. The Ariminum confession ratified.</i>
360	24	Julianus Cæsar III.	
	24	Taurus.	<i>Constantius dies at Mopsucrenæ in Cilicia, Octob. the 5th as some will; but as most others, Novemb. the 3d.</i>
361	25 Julianus à Novemb. 3.	Florentius.	<i>Julian begins openly to declare for Paganism.</i>
	1	Mamertinus.	<i>Several methods set on foot by Julian to extirpate Christianity. He winters at Antioch.</i>
362	2	Nevita.	<i>Athanasius forced to fly from Alexandria.</i>
	2	Julianus Aug. IV.	<i>Julian slain in the battle with the Persians.</i>
363	27 Junii.	Sec. Salustius Promotus.	<i>Jovian succeeds, and favours Athanasius, and the Catholic side.</i>
	1	Jovianus Aug.	
364	Valentinian. (cum Val.) à Febr. 25.	Varronianus ejus F.	<i>Valens the Eastern Emperor begins to take part with the Arians against the Catholics.</i>
	1	Valentinianus } Augg.	
365	2	Valens. }	<i>A Synod holden at Lampfacus by the Macedonian and Semiarian Party, who confirm the old Antioch confession of faith.</i>
		Gratianus Nobiliss.	
366	3	Diglaiphus.	<i>Valens shuts up the Churches belonging to the Novatians, and forces the Semiarians to subscribe the Arian confession.</i>
		Lupicinus.	
367	4	Jovinus.	<i>Eustathius, Sylvanus and Theophilus appointed Legates by the Synod at Lampfacus, about this time take their journey, and impose upon Pope Damasus and the Western Bishops.</i>

Ann. Chr.	Roman. Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
		Valentinianus Aug. II.	<i>The Macedonian Legatus returning are received and restored by a Synod at Tyana.</i>
368	5	Valens Aug. II.	<i>Basil returns from his solitude, and is active at Cæsarea.</i>
		Valentinianus Nobiliss.	
369	6	Sex. Aurelius Victor.	<i>S. Hilary goes to Milan to confute Auxentius the Arian Bishop, returns home, and dies.</i>
		Valentinianus Aug. III.	<i>The Catholics severely persecuted by Valens.</i>
370	7	Valens Aug. III.	<i>Basil made Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia.</i>
		Gratianus Aug. II.	
371	8	Sex. Anicius Probus.	<i>S. Jerom arrives in the East, and places himself in the deserts of Syria.</i>
		Modestus.	<i>Nazianzen about this time made Bishop of Sasima.</i>
372	9	Arintheus.	<i>The death of S. Athanasius. He is succeeded by Peter. Lucius made Bishop by the Arians. A grievous persecution thereupon at Alexandria.</i>
		Valentinianus Aug. IV.	<i>The Apollinarian heresy condemned by Damasus in a Synod at Rome.</i>
373	10	Valens Aug. IV.	<i>S. Austin falls into Manichæism.</i>
		Gratianus Aug. III.	<i>S. Chrysostom retires into the Monasteries near Antioch.</i>
374	11	Fl. Equitius.	<i>S. Ambrose made Bishop of Milan Decemb. 7.</i>
		Post c. Gratiani III. & Equitii.	<i>S. Ambrose studies Theology under Simplician.</i>
375	12	Obit Valentinianus Aug.	<i>The death of Photinus the Hæresarch.</i>
		Valens Aug. V.	<i>The Gentiles greatly restrained at Rome.</i>
376	13	Valentinianus jun. Aug.	<i>Gratian forbids the Conventicles of Hereticks, and makes the places forfeitable to the Exchequer.</i>

58 <i>A Chronological Table.</i>			
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377	14	Gratianus Aug. IV. Fl. Merobaudes.	Valens afflicted by the invasion of the Goths, recalls the Catholics from banishment. Symmachus at Rome appears in favour of the Gentile-rites.
378	15	Valens Aug. VI. Valentinianus jun. Aug. II.	S. Basil dies; and not long after him, Ephraim Deacon of Edessa. A Synod at Antioch for composing the distractions of the Eastern Church.
379	Theodosius à Januar. 16.	Aufonius Poeta. Hermogen. Olybrius.	Greg. Nazianzen comes to Constantinople and settles there. Jerom comes thither and studies under him.
380	2	Gratianus Aug V. Imp. Theodosius.	Theodosius baptiz'd at Thessalonica. He strenuously promotes and patronizes the Catholic faith. Chrysostom made Deacon at Antioch.
381	3	Syagrius. Eucherius.	The second general Council, holden at Constantinople, begun in May, and dissolved in July. Nazianzen resigns the See of C. P. and retires.
382	4	Antonius. Afranius Syagrius.	A Synod assembled at Rome about the See of Antioch, at which were present Paulinus and Epiphanius. Some part of the general Council reassembled at Constantinople.
383	5	Merobaudes II. Saturninus.	S. Austin teaches Rhetoric at Rome. Another Synod holden at Constantinople against Hereticks.
384	6	Ricimer. Clearchus.	S. Austin sent to be Professor at Milan. Symmachus presents his address in behalf of the Altar of victory, but is oppos'd by S. Ambrose.

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<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperours.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
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386	8	Honorius Nobiliss. Fl. Euodius.	The death of Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem. S. Jerom travels to Alexandria, and hears Didymus.
387	9	Imp. Valentinianus III. Eutropius.	S. Ambrose sent upon an Embassy to Maximus. The tumult at Antioch against the Imperial Statues, which others refer to the next year.
388	10	Imp. Theodosius II. Cynegius.	The death of Cynegius the Prefect, the great suppressor of Paganism in the East. S. Austin is baptized at Milan by S. Ambrose.
389	11	Timasius. Promotus.	Jovinian condemn'd by Pope Siricius, and the next year by a Synod at Milan. The death of S. Gregory Nazianzen.
390	12	Imp. Valentinianus IV. Neoterius.	The sedition at Thessalonica against the Emperors Officer. The miserable slaughter of Citizens there by the Emperors command.
391	13	L. Aur. Avianus Symmachus. T. Fabius Titianus.	Laws made against Pagan Sacrifices. S. Austin ordain'd Presbyter at Hippo.
392	14	Arcadius Aug. II. Fl. Rufinus.	S. Jerom finish his Catalogue of Ecclesiastic Writers. Epiphanius writes to John of Jerusalem about the quarrel between them: and soon after Jerom writes to Pammachius adv. errors Joan. Hierosolym.

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393	15	Theodosius Aug. III. Abundantius.	<i>A Synod at Hippo for the reformation of discipline in the African Churches.</i> S. Jerom's <i>Epistle</i> ad Nepotianum.
394	16	Arcadius Aug. III. Honorius Aug. II.	<i>A convention of 310 Donatist Bishops at Bagaia in Numidia to ally the schismatisen amongst them.</i> <i>A Synod at Constantinople about the Bishoprick of Boltra.</i>
395	<i>Arcadius in Oriente. Honorius in Occidente à Januar. 17.</i> 1	Sex. Anicius Olybrius. Sex. Anicius Probinus.	S. Austin ordain'd Bishop, and made coadjutor with Valerius at Hippo. <i>Severe Laws made against Heathens and Heretics.</i>
396	2	Arcadius Aug. IV. Honorius Aug. III.	S. Ambrose by Letter instructs <i>Fritigil Queen of the Marcomanni in the Christian faith.</i> S. Jerom writes his <i>Epitaphium Nepotiani</i> to Heliodorus.
397	3	Fl. Cæsarius. Nonius Atticus.	<i>The third Council at Carthage.</i> S. Ambrose dies April the 4th, it being then the passion-week. <i>The death of Nectarius Bishop of Constantinople.</i>
398	4	Imp. Honorius IV. Eutychianus.	Chrysoftom consecrated Bishop of Constantinople, Februar. 26. <i>The fourth Council of Carthage.</i>
399	5	Manilius Theodorus. Eutropius.	Chrysoftom reforms his Clergy, opposes Gainas, Synodically examines the cause of Antonin Bishop of Ephesus, and goes into Asia about mid-winter.
400	6	Fl. Stilicho. Aurelianus.	<i>In a Synod of 70 Bishops at Ephesus, Chrysoftom places Heraclides in that See, and deposes six Asian Bishops.</i> <i>The Origenist-Monks come to Constantinople.</i>

Ann. Chr.	Roman Emperours.	Consuls.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
401	7	Ragonius Vincentius Celsus. Fl. Fravita.	<i>The Monks reinforce their complaints against Theophilus of Alexandria.</i> <i>Two Councils at Carthage, one Provincial, May 27, the other general, Septemb. 13.</i>
402	8	Arcadius } Honorius. } Augg. V.	Epiphanius comes to Constantinople to prosecute the Origenist-Monks, refuses communion with Chrysoftom, returns back, and dies in the passage.
403	9	Theodosius jun. Aug. Rumoridus.	Theophilus summon'd to Constantinople. He condemns and deposes Chrysoftom in the Synod at the Oak; who is banisht, but soon after recall'd, and acquitted in another Synod.
404	10	Imp. Honorius VI. Aristinetus.	Chrysoftom again condemn'd, and by order from the Emperor banisht to Cucufus in Armenia, whether he arriv'd after 70 days journey.
405	11	Fl. Stilicho II. Anthemius.	Arsacius made Bishop of Constantinople, June 28th. Chrysoftom after a years stay at Cucufus, is remov'd to Arabissus.
406	12	Imp. Arcadius VI. Sex. Anicius Petronius Probus.	Arsacius dies Novemb. 11th after he had sat somewhat more than one year and four months.
407	13	Imp. Honorius VII. Theodosius jun. Aug. II.	After four months vacancy, Atticus a Monk is promoted to the See of Constantinople. Chrysoftom ordered to be remov'd to Pityus a Town in Pontus, but dies by the way at Comana Pontica, Septemb. 14th, and is buried there in the Tomb of S. Basiliscus the Martyr.

We have carried this Chronological Table seven years into the following *Saculum*, to comply with the story of S. Chrysoftom, whose death happen'd not till Anno 407.

F O L I O.

Speed's Maps and Geography of Great Britain and Ireland, and of Foreign Parts.
 Dr. *Cave's* Lives of the Primitive Fathers, in 2. Vol.
 Dr. *Cary's* Chronological Account of Ancient Time.
Wanley's Wonders of the little World, or Hist. of Man.
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